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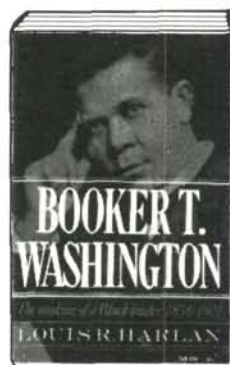
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MARY BETH NORTON is professor of American history at Cornell University. She received a B.A. from the University of Michigan and a Ph.D. from Harvard University, where she studied with Bernard Bailyn. After the publication of her revised doctoral dissertation, *The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774–1789* (1972), she became interested in the then-novel field of women's history, which she pursued in her second book, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800* (1980). The essay in this issue represents her attempt to answer a question left open in the preface of *Liberty's Daughters*: what was the nature of white women's experience in America before 1750 and how did it relate to patterns in the Revolutionary period?

KAREN OFFEN is an independent scholar, affiliated with the Center for Research on Women at Stanford University and the Institute for Historical Study in San Francisco. At Stanford, she studied with Gordon Wright, earning the Ph.D. in 1971 in modern European political and intellectual history. Since turning to the investigation of women's history, she has co-edited two comparative documentary interpretations, *Victorian Women: A Documentary Account of Women's Lives in Nineteenth-Century England, France, and the*

United States (1981) and *Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents* (1983). She is completing a book on the woman question in Third Republic France, 1870–1940, and has published related articles in *Third Republic/Troisième République*, *Women's Studies International Forum*, and *French Historical Studies*. With Susan Groag Bell, she is conducting an NEH 1984 summer seminar for college teachers on "The Woman Question as a Central Theme in Western Thought, 1750–1950," under the auspices of the Stanford University Department of History. She currently serves on the Executive Council of the Society for French Historical Studies and on the AHA Committee on Women Historians.

M. JEANNE PETERSON, an associate professor of history at Indiana University, Bloomington, studied at the University of California, Berkeley, with L. P. Curtis, Jr. In "The Victorian Governess: Status Incongruence in Family and Society," *Victorian Studies* (1970) and *The Medical Profession in Mid-Victorian London* (1978), she followed her interest in the social history of the Victorian middle classes, their private and professional lives. Her work on the Paget family in nineteenth-century England, of which the essay in this issue is a part, continues her research into the themes of family, profession, and social mobility. Her next project will explore the mentality of the Victorian middle classes through a study of doctors, clergymen, and neurosis.

BONNIE SMITH teaches European and women's history at the University of Rochester. Author of *Ladies of the Leisure Class* (1981), she has also written a social biography of a concierge, forthcoming from Yale University Press in 1985. Her essay in this issue summarizes a work in progress on women's historiography.

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The Evolution of White Women's Experience in Early America

MARY BETH NORTON

FOR OVER FIFTY YEARS one theme has dominated historians' thinking about women in early America: the notion that colonial women were better off than either their English contemporaries or their nineteenth-century descendants. That "golden age" theory originated in the 1920s with the work of Elisabeth Anthony Dexter. In the preface to the 1931 edition of her now-classic book, *Colonial Women of Affairs*, Dexter asserted that "conditions for women, in some respects at least, were more favorable in colonial days than they [later] became." Dexter and other researchers developed a series of arguments to support that contention. Women were scarce in the colonies, and all hands—male or female—were needed to sustain the growing settlements. Rigid sex-role distinctions could not exist under such circumstances; female colonists could accordingly engage in whatever occupations they wished, encountering few legal or social constraints if they sought employment outside the home. The high sex ratio also gave women crucial bargaining power in the marriage market, since their productive contributions were vital to the survival of colonial households. As a result, they and their work were highly valued by men and by society at large. Furthermore, English common law, which restricted women's independence, either was never fully enforced in colonial America (because of the primitive state of the legal system) or else was circumvented through the use of equity jurisdiction.¹

This interpretation, fully developed by the mid-1940s, was later incorporated into modern scholarship on women's history during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Dexter's portrait of female colonists living under conditions of rough equality with

An earlier version of this essay was presented as the keynote address at the Conference on Early American Women, cosponsored by Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., and the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., November 1981. For helpful comments, I am grateful to the conference participants, especially Lois Green Carr, Marylynn Salmon, and Carole Shammas, to the members of the Cornell Faculty-Student Study Group on Women and Gender, particularly Joan Jacobs Brumberg, and to Nancy F. Cott and Laurel T. Ulrich. My special thanks go to those many scholars who generously shared with me their unpublished work in progress. Without their assistance, this essay could never have been written.

¹ Dexter, *Colonial Women of Affairs* (2d edn., Boston, 1931), vii. The other major early contributions to the golden-age hypothesis are Richard B. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law, with Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1930), chap. 3; Herbert Moller, "Sex Composition and Correlated Culture Patterns of Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. [hereafter, *WMQ*], 2 (1945): 113–53; and Mary Ritter Beard, *Woman as Force in History* (New York, 1946). The most comprehensive recent account of the golden age is Roger Thompson's *Women in Stuart England and America: A Comparative Study* (London, 1974).

their male counterparts formed a convenient backdrop for studies of nineteenth-century domesticity. The contrast between the self-sufficient, independent, colonial woman and the oppressed, middle-class victim of industrialization confined to her home by a stultifying ideology gained an extraordinarily tenacious hold on American women's history. Many scholars who have recently started to question the favorable assessment of the status of colonial women still accept the paradigm of women's nineteenth-century decline from a preferable past. In a recent review, for example, Gerda Lerner flatly asserted that "there was no golden age," but she nevertheless maintained that "women in the American colonies had a broader range of choices, more economic opportunities, and greater freedom than European women" and that women suffered "a status loss" in the nineteenth century. Similarly, Joan Hoff-Wilson has termed the golden-age theory a "straw argument" and yet has emphasized that the nineteenth century brought "increased loss of function and authentic status for all women."²

Such inconsistencies suggest that the entire question of women's status in the colonial period needs to be rethought, for adherence to the concept of "decline" or "status loss" necessarily implies that women's standing was higher in the colonial period than subsequently. Even if most historians now recognize that the golden age was not very golden when measured against an ideal standard, their insistence that women lost status in the nineteenth century reveals the persistence of the essential aspects of the older theory. Fortunately, the material is at hand for a re-examination of the subject, as the 1970s produced a veritable flood of publications on colonial women. Before 1970, the largest number of scholarly books and articles published on the topic in a single twentieth-century decade had been five (in the 1930s); between 1970 and 1979 an amazing total of fifty works appeared. And the trend seems to be continuing: the 1980s have already witnessed the publication of six books and ten articles specifically on early American women.³ But these monographic works have remained isolated entities, like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle that no one has started to put together. This essay attempts to form the fragments into a whole. Gaps will undoubtedly remain at the end of the exercise, but it is time to begin the task of synthesis.

One point is immediately evident: the concept of a decline in status for American

² Lerner, review of Mary Beth Norton's *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800* (1980) and Linda K. Kerber's *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (1980), in *Washington Post Book World*, January 4, 1981, p. 7; and Hoff-Wilson, review of Norton's *Liberty's Daughters* and Kerber's *Women of the Republic*, in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* [hereafter, *Signs*], 7 (1982): 882. Also see Joan Hoff-Wilson, "The Illusion of Change: Women and the American Revolution," in Alfred Young, ed., *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb, Ill., 1976), 431. Two examples of the use of the colonial period as a positive contrast to the nineteenth century are Gerda Lerner, "The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson," *American Studies*, 10 (1969): 5–15, reprinted in her *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York, 1979), 15–30; and Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate—The Origins of American Feminism: The Woman and the City, 1800–1850* (New York, 1978), 11–29.

³ For the literature so far in this decade, see John Putnam Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (New York, 1982); Peter Hoffer and N. E. H. Hull, *Murdering Mothers: Infanticide in England and New England, 1588–1803* (New York, 1981); Kerber, *Women of the Republic*; Lyle Koehler, *A Search for Power: The "Weaker Sex" in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Urbana, Ill., 1980); Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*; and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (New York, 1982).

women between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries is, quite simply, irrelevant to the new scholarship. That paradigm has been exposed as simplistic and unsophisticated, as a theory that rests its assessment of women's status solely on one factor (their economic function in society) and assumes all too readily that a less complex social system automatically brings higher standing for women.⁴ By contrast, the new scholarship presents a far more complicated picture, one in which definitions of gender roles, the nature of the colonial economy, demographic patterns, religion, the law, household organization, ideas and behavior brought from the Old World (especially England), and the colonists' attitudes toward themselves and their society all contributed to defining the circumstances of women's lives. Indeed, the issue of women's status in the abstract itself appears as something of a diversion from the primary concern of modern scholarship: the identification of the major changes and continuities in women's lives during the colonial and Revolutionary periods.

Whereas the older works led historians to believe that the years before 1800 were a time of little if any change for women (one possible break occurs around 1700),⁵ the new scholarship suggests that a three-part chronological division more accurately reflects women's experiences. First was the initial period of settlement, roughly congruent with the lifespan of the migrant generation, when American patterns of family and community were first laid down (from the 1620s to about 1660); then came a long period of transition, during which those patterns were reinforced, challenged, and eventually reshaped (roughly from 1660 to 1750). Finally, the era of the American Revolution brought other changes to women's lives and altered the definition of their role in society and polity (approximately from 1750 to 1815).⁶

THE ENGLAND THAT THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MIGRANTS left behind was undergoing dramatic changes, many of which stemmed from a rapid rise in population that began early in the sixteenth century. As the population grew, the economy altered, social stratification increased, and customary modes of political behavior developed

⁴ On the many complexities of measuring women's "status," see Sheila Johansson, "'Herstory' as History: A New Field or Another Fad?" in Berenice Carroll, ed., *Liberating Women's History* (Urbana, Ill., 1976), 405–10. For a recent example of the assumption that a simpler social system brings improvements for women, see Joan Gunderson and Gwen Gampel, "Married Women's Legal Status in Eighteenth-Century New York and Virginia," *WMQ*, 39 (1982): 114–34, esp. 115, 133. A recent survey of anthropological literature on gender roles has exposed the fallacies in such assumptions; see Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Female Power and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality* (New York, 1981).

⁵ See, for example, the confused chronology of the account of colonial women in the editions of the leading textbook of American women's history, Mary P. Ryan's *Womanhood in America* (New York, 1975, 1979, 1983). Ryan relied on two classic, well-researched books that paid little attention to chronology: Mary Sumner Benson, *Women in Eighteenth-Century America: A Study of Opinion and Social Usage* (1935; reprint edn., Port Washington, N.Y., 1966); and Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (1938; reprint edn., New York, 1972). For a suggestion of change after 1700, however, see Spruill, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*, 241.

⁶ In an earlier version, this article contained a discussion of black as well as white women. I have decided to omit that discussion because I have now come to question whether the chronology developed here for female whites applies to female blacks. Also, the number of secondary works that deal with colonial black women is still very small; it is difficult to generalize from such fragmentary evidence and analysis. For Indian women the record is similarly sparse, and the circumstances of their lives were so different that I excluded them at the outset.

into new forms. England's ruling elites saw chaos everywhere, and they became obsessed with the problem of maintaining order in the evidently anarchic society around them. The large-scale migration of English people to America can itself be taken as an indication of the extent of these changes, for never before in the century-old history of European expansion had more than a small number of male adventurers chosen to emigrate to the New World.⁷ Within the overall context of change new forms of familial and religious organization were especially important for women. In late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England, Lawrence Stone has argued, patriarchal, nuclear family structures had recently become dominant, replacing an older, open-lineage system characterized by powerful lineal and collateral kin relationships. English families of the day increasingly turned inward on themselves, cutting the ties that had previously bound them to extended kin. In such nuclear households, power gravitated to the husband and father: he dominated his wife, children, and other dependents without fear of interference from kin or community. A wife was expected to defer to her husband, and he in turn expected to direct the lives of all his dependents—spouse, children, and servants alike. Reformation (and especially Puritan) theology, which was aggressively masculine in its orientation, reinforced this secular development. The rejection of Roman Catholicism included the abolition of the cult of the Virgin Mary and the removal of the convent option from women's lives. In addition, Puritanism stressed the religious role of the paterfamilias; he was responsible for the spiritual well-being of all members of his household, and they were consequently expected to defer to him in religious as well as secular matters.⁸

The family pattern most familiar to the migrants, then, was nuclear, with authority ideally—if not always in reality—concentrated in the hands of the father. The conditions of migration further reinforced such tendencies by physically severing individuals and families from their wider English kin connections. In America, migrants were thrown on their own resources: the colonies lacked the web of traditional communal institutions that still governed many aspects of life in England, even though those institutions were beginning to lose much of their force. By migrating to America the colonists accelerated and intensified the effects on their own lives of the changes already evident in their homeland. Moreover, given their origins, they were especially concerned about the maintenance of social order. In the absence of other institutions, the family took on greater relative importance and had to bear heavier social responsibilities. Therefore, even more than in England, the family became the central focus of society.⁹

⁷ A vast literature discusses the many changes in seventeenth-century England; for a recent survey, see Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580–1680* (London, 1982), esp. chaps. 5–6.

⁸ Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (New York, 1977), 85–218; Carol Karlsen, "The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: The Witch in Seventeenth-Century New England" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1980), 245–302; and Koehler, *Search for Power*, 7–107. Gordon Schochet revealed the links between political thought and family structure in his *Patriarchalism in Political Thought* (New York, 1975). Although agreeing that the family was patriarchal in form, Wrightson disputed many aspects of Stone's thesis; *English Society, 1580–1680*, chaps. 3–4.

⁹ This point has been made by a number of scholars, but it has never previously been examined specifically in light of its impact on women. See, for example, Ronald Cohen, "Socialization in Colonial New England," *History of Education Quarterly*, 13 (1973): 73–82. In addition, Sanday's study demonstrates that migration tends to lead to societies in which men are especially powerful; *Female Power and Male Dominance*, 49, 50, 158, 172–73.

The adult woman occupied a clearly defined place in the seventeenth-century family—so much so that she was seen more as part of that system and less as an autonomous person. Indeed, her authority derived from her role as mistress of the household. She directed the household's daily affairs (under her husband's supervision, of course), and in his absence she could act on his behalf. Thus, although his role and hers were defined in mutually exclusive terms, they involved some overlap of function. She was positioned below her husband in the hierarchy of sex, but above her children in the hierarchy of age, and considerably above her indentured servants, who lacked the essential attribute of freedom. The delineation of the female role was remarkably consistent throughout seventeenth-century Anglo-America. Robert V. Wells has perceptively suggested that such role stability may well have been a reaction to the uncertainties of life in the early colonies; when particular persons might not survive long enough to develop mutually understood relationships, clarity of role definition could help guide individual behavior.¹⁰

Although gender-role expectations remained the same whatever the female migrants' American destination, the circumstances of their lives in the colonies varied considerably according to geography. Vastly different patterns of settlement developed in New England and the Chesapeake, defining the outer limits of demographic possibility. The early seventeenth-century colonies identified the range of variation along the spectrum; the experiences of later migrants to Britain's North American possessions fell somewhere between the two extremes. Thus, it is important to define those extremes with precision and to understand the way each affected the colonists' attempts to re-create English family forms in America.

In the Chesapeake—the first region to be colonized—environmental and economic factors conspired to prevent patriarchal family practices (as opposed to ideals) from taking root, at least during the first three-quarters of the century. Devastatingly high mortality rates and a heavily imbalanced sex ratio—the results, respectively, of a high-risk disease environment and the almost exclusive importation of young male laborers to cultivate tobacco—together produced a society with anomalous characteristics. High mortality rates for adults and children alike made specific families short-lived and ensured that membership in them changed repeatedly. Under such conditions, it was difficult for fathers to exercise much sustained control over their families. Members of the migrant generation—those who came from England primarily as isolated individuals—obviously governed their lives without paternal interference, and the members of the first American-born generations, often orphaned at an early age, may also have been largely free to determine their own futures. The relative lack of women meant that few men could marry at any one time but that widows remarried quickly, often to previously

¹⁰ Wells, *Revolutions in Americans' Lives: A Demographic Perspective on the History of Americans, Their Families, and Their Society* (Westport, Conn., 1982), 56–60. For the best description of a seventeenth-century woman's role, see Ulrich, *Good Wives*. The overlapping functions of premodern gender roles have caused some scholars to conclude erroneously that such roles were fluid and undefined. Nothing could be further from the truth. They were carefully delineated; the organization of traditional households, where public and private functions mingled under the same roof, simply made it impossible for men's and women's activities (as opposed to their roles) to be entirely separate. For an example of such confusion, see C. Dallett Hemphill, "Women in Court: Sex-Role Differentiation in Salem, Massachusetts, 1636 to 1683," *WMQ*, 39 (1982): 164–75.

unmarried men, thus allowing more men to find spouses than would otherwise have been possible. In addition, native-born Chesapeake women were more likely to marry, and to do so at younger ages, than were English women. (Indeed, they married so young that a large age differential between themselves and their husbands was common.) More of them also experienced widowhood, and again at younger ages. Since such young widows accordingly were normally left with minor children to raise, their husbands bequeathed them greater proportions of their estates than was the case elsewhere in Anglo-America. These demographic circumstances led Maryland to grant widows more legal independence than any other colony yet investigated. And both Chesapeake colonies allowed widows to challenge their husbands' wills if the property they inherited was less than a stated minimum.¹¹

If the Chesapeake constitutes one demographic extreme, New England constitutes the other. There, the full impact of English patriarchal ideas and practices can be seen, for the early settlements in the Northeast, where the sex ratio was more nearly balanced, experienced low mortality and high nuptiality rates. Like their Chesapeake contemporaries, New England women were more likely to marry, and to marry at younger ages, than were English women of the day. But, since New England proved to be a healthy environment, marriages in the Northern colonies lasted longer and produced more children than those in the South. New England women were likely to be widowed only late in life and were unlikely to remarry frequently. In other words, they spent a longer part of their lives within a single patriarchal household than did their counterparts elsewhere in the English-speaking world. Indeed, the stability of their marital lives is remarkable, especially in contrast to their contemporaries in England—who married later—or the Chesapeake—who were widowed sooner. New England fathers arranged their daughters' marriages, and New England husbands expected to dominate their wives. Marylynn Salmon's investigation shows that civil law in the Northern colonies gave women less independence, in marriage and in widowhood, than did law in the Chesapeake colonies—or even in England. The civil code of the New England colonies embodied a concept of marital unity striking in its expression of the patriarchal ideal that women's private interests had to be subordinated to the greater familial whole.¹²

¹¹ This paragraph draws on a number of recent studies, most notably Lois Green Carr and Lorena Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *WMQ*, 34 (1977): 542–71. Also see Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics* (New York, 1979); and Marylynn Salmon, "The Property Rights of Women in Early America: A Comparative Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1980). Two recent examinations of men's wills have demonstrated that the age of the widow (and, by implication, the age of her children) was the most important determinant of the size and type of her inheritance; the younger she was, the more she was likely to receive. See Kim Lacy Rogers, "Relicts of the New World: Conditions of Widowhood in Seventeenth-Century New England," in Mary Kelley, ed., *Woman's Being, Woman's Place: Female Identity and Vocation in American History* (Boston, 1979), 26–52; and Linda Speth, "More than her 'Thirds': Wives and Widows in Colonial Virginia," *Women and History*, no. 4 (1982): 5–41.

¹² Again, I have summarized my understanding of many studies in this paragraph. Most important in my thinking have been Philip J. Greven, *Four Generations: Land, Population, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970); Koehler, *Search for Power*; Daniel Scott Smith, "Population, Family, and Society in Hingham, Massachusetts, 1635–1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1972); John J. Waters, "The Traditional World of the New England Peasants: A View from Seventeenth-Century

Major variations in religion reinforced these demographic differences between the Chesapeake and New England. With the exception of a few Catholic migrants to early Maryland, all English settlers in America were Protestants. But the contrast between Southern and Northern religious practices was marked. Since transferring a vigorous Anglican parish structure to the seventeenth-century Chesapeake proved impossible, religion in Maryland and Virginia remained more a matter of personal piety than a constant institutional presence. In New England, however, Puritan church and state were closely entwined; each supported the other, and determining which was the superior authority (especially in the early years) was often difficult. Thus, New England women had to reckon with two strong institutions—the Puritan church and the stable patriarchal family—that Chesapeake women did not. The effects of these religious differences have not been explored as fully as those resulting from demography, but the case of Anne Hutchinson suggests that Puritanism in its formative stages offered women opportunities for religious leadership obviously denied Chesapeake residents with no comparable institutions. Although Puritan theology reinforced secular patriarchal tendencies, it also emphasized the spiritual equality of all souls before God and the ability of all believers (male or female) to interpret the scriptures. Hutchinson took advantage of the ambiguities in Puritan teachings and, for a time, established herself as one of the most powerful residents of Massachusetts Bay. Whether she saw herself as a spokeswoman for other females is unclear, but she certainly did not believe that her sex disqualified her from engaging in theological speculation or from influencing others in spiritual matters. The severity of both church and state reaction against her indicates the magnitude of the threat she posed to social order in the colony. Indeed, that threat was three-fold: political, for she threatened to divide Massachusetts Bay at a time when it was under attack by the Pequot; theological, for she challenged some of the basic tenets of Puritanism; and familial, for as a woman she violated patriarchal norms of behavior. Hutchinson was unique, yet early New England records yield many other lesser examples of female religious activism. And, as Laurel Ulrich has pointed out, when access to church membership is restricted and confers special status, considerable significance necessarily derives from women's ability to attain that status on an equal basis with men.¹³

It is easier to describe the demographic and religious contrasts between New England and the Chesapeake than to assess their meaning for women. If the criteria derive from the classic golden-age approach, with its emphasis on ability to select marital partners and on relative economic independence, then Chesapeake women were clearly better off. That is indeed the position taken by Lois Green Carr

Barnstable," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 130 (1976): 3–23; and Salmon, "Property Rights of Women," esp. 324–34.

¹³ See Ben Barker-Benfield, "Anne Hutchinson and the Puritan Attitude toward Women," *Feminist Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1972–73): 65–96; Mary Maples Dunn, "Saints and Sisters: Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period," *American Quarterly* [hereafter, *AQ*], 30 (1978): 582–601; Lyle Koehler, "The Case of the American Jezebels: Anne Hutchinson and Female Agitation during the Years of Antinomian Turmoil, 1636–1640," *WMQ*, 31 (1974): 55–78; Koehler, *Search for Power*, 216–63; Karlsen, "Devil in the Shape of a Woman," 316–35; and Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 215–35, esp. 216. There is no published work or Ph.D. dissertation on women and religion in the seventeenth-century South.

and Lorena Walsh, the two historians who have worked most directly on the topic. But if the criteria are instead the benefits of marital stability, better health, a smaller age differential between husband and wife, and possibilities for religious expression, New England women seem to have had the preferable lifestyle, at least in the first half-century of settlement. Some suggestive evidence from architectural remains and estate inventories appears to support the latter interpretation. If we assume that women were centrally concerned with the nature of their domestic environment and, therefore, that the shape and composition of that environment can reveal the extent of women's power in the family by measuring their impact on familial spending decisions, then seventeenth-century New England homes experienced considerably greater female influence than those in the Chesapeake. The houses themselves were better built and more spacious; the domestic work spaces were more efficiently organized; and families more quickly acquired a wider range of domestic amenities (like table linen).¹⁴ Since both methods of measuring seventeenth-century women's power—through men's wills and through material culture—are essentially inferential, the contradiction between the two cannot now be resolved. Indeed, the difficulty of finding a clearcut answer once again demonstrates the futility of using components of the golden-age theory as conceptual tools for understanding the everyday experience of colonial women.

The inquiry as to who was better off—New Englanders or Chesapeake residents—is misdirected in another way as well, for it overlooks the underlying unities of women's lives in both regions. Tempting as it is to forget the similarities, which were many, and stress the differences, the important characteristic of colonial women's lives was alike, whatever the region: an adult woman's status was everywhere determined by her marital state. In the Chesapeake no less than in New England, a woman was seen chiefly as an adjunct of her husband. Her social standing depended on her husband's position in the colonial hierarchy; her primary role in family and community was as mistress of his household. Granted, the same was true of her English contemporaries. But two major differences separated the women of the Old World from those of the New. First, because of later marriage and longer widowhood, seventeenth-century English women most likely earned wages and lived independently of a paternal or marital household for a period of time at least as long as the terms of their marriages. In other words, they spent as much of their adult lives outside a marital household as inside one. Few American women had similar experiences: demographic constraints precluded long-term, independent lives in the colonies. Second, English women actively engaged in a market economy, exchanging goods and services with neighbors and working in shops alongside their husbands and fathers. The economic life of

¹⁴ Carr and Walsh, "Planter's Wife," *WMQ*, 34 (1977): 542–71; Carole Shammas, "The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America," *Journal of Social History* [hereafter, *JSH*], 14 (1980–81): 3–24, "Mammy and Miss Ellen in Colonial Virginia?" paper presented at the Conference on Women in Early America, held in Williamsburg, Va., November 1981; and Cary Carson and Lorena Walsh, "The Material Life of the Early American Housewife," paper presented at the Conference on Women in Early America, held in November 1981. Sanday's analysis implies a similar conclusion, for it shows that the greater the social disruption, the more dominant men become; Sanday, *Female Power and Male Dominance*, 163–83.

seventeenth-century English households, unlike that of colonial households, was highly interdependent.¹⁵

Although some of the same patterns reappeared in America, they did so on a much more limited scale. The small colonial population was scattered over a wide geographic area, and so farmers and their wives had to strive for greater self-sufficiency than did the English. The American economy offered women few opportunities to work for wages, even had they had the time and inclination. Most of women's time was probably occupied with subsistence activities. The overall pattern is unmistakable: in the colonies, women's productive work took place primarily within the confines of their own households; in England, the reverse may well have been true.¹⁶ Economic conditions thus reinforced social trends that tended to make all American women more dependent on the family for the definition of their lives and roles than were their English counterparts. Consequently, the significance of the household roles of colonial women was increased. That was true in both New England and the Chesapeake, and the similarity may well have been far more important as a crucial determinant of the shape of their lives than varying demographic or religious experiences. It remains to be seen whether households in one of the two regions can be clearly identified as more dominated by patriarchal power than those in the other.

THE DECADES AFTER 1660 BROUGHT MAJOR CHANGES to the English colonies in America. Even the longest lived of the first migrants died, and native-born Americans gradually became a majority of the population (in New England, the transition occurred by the late seventeenth century; in the Chesapeake that milestone was not reached until approximately 1720). New colonies were founded in both North and South: Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and New York offered alternative destinations for migrants from Continental Europe as well as from England. In the South, planters began to replace their white indentured servants with African slaves, thereby dramatically altering the racial composition of American society. In the North, New Englanders turned increasingly to maritime trade as a source of income, thus introducing alien commercial elements into the Bible commonwealths. And throughout the colonies the rapid expansion of white settlement into the interior initiated what became a half-century of sporadic conflict with Indian tribes attempting to prevent encroachment on their lands.

¹⁵ For a discussion of English women's economic roles, see Carole Shammas, "The World Women Knew," paper presented at the World of William Penn Conference, held in Philadelphia, March 1981. Also see Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680*, 67-70.

¹⁶ On women's role in the colonial economy, see Koehler, *Search for Power*, 108-35; and Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 35-50. On contents of early estate inventories, see Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 16-17; Carson and Walsh, "Material Life of the Early American Housewife," table 10; and James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten* (New York, 1977), 53-55. Some New Englanders may have engaged in more domestic manufacturing than was the norm for the early colonies. A recent study that completely ignores women asserts that "men" from cloth-making and cheese-producing areas of England re-established those industries in New England. Since spinning and cheese making were largely female tasks, although weaving was done by men in England, women in those communities may well have had quite different economic roles from their contemporaries elsewhere in America. See David

These changes both increased and decreased diversity in the colonies. The new white immigrants, who came from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds, brought with them their own definitions of family norms. Scottish, Dutch, German, and Quaker wills reveal inheritance practices that vary, at times considerably, from those of families of English Anglican or Puritan origin. How to interpret such differences in testation patterns is not yet clear; they may or may not imply differences in family behavior during a husband and father's lifetime. Still, the variations in wills are undeniable.¹⁷ But, while the colonies were thus growing ethnically diverse, they were also becoming more demographically similar. The extremes characteristic of the migrant generation began to disappear as native-born Americans came to dominate the population numerically and as the sex ratio approached equality. American women were still more likely to marry than were their English contemporaries, but the average age of marriage for females drifted slowly upward in both New England and the Chesapeake. Mortality rates fell in the South (for reasons still somewhat obscure) and rose in the North, as the once-isolated New Englanders were increasingly exposed to epidemic diseases through the region's expanding overseas and coastal trading connections. Therefore, Northern women were likely to be widowed earlier in life, and Southern women later, than had been true. The initially sharp regional divergence in women's demographic experiences had probably disappeared by the late 1700s.¹⁸

Nevertheless, the family as an institution still occupied its accustomed central place in colonial life at the end of the seventeenth century. In the Chesapeake and New England as well as in the more recently settled areas, stable families now dominated the landscape. Just as in the early years of settlement, the family was regarded as the primary mainstay of social order and, indeed, as a critical microcosm of society. Colonial governments accordingly offered families effective support in the form of legislation upholding the powers of parents over children and masters over servants and slaves. Strong family structures helped the state maintain civil order; in return, political authorities strengthened families by publicly punishing transgressions of familial norms, especially sexual offenses. The relationship between the state and the family was reciprocal, with a multitude of

Grayson Allen, *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferral of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981), 28–29, 101–02.

¹⁷ The relevant studies include David Narrett, "Patterns of Inheritance in Colonial New York City, 1664–1775: A Study in the History of the Family" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1981); Ned Landsman, "Old World Patterns in a New World Colony: Scottish Family Networks in East New Jersey," paper presented at the Ninety-Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, held in Washington, December 1980; Elizabeth A. Kessel, "The Social World of Frederick County (Maryland) Germans," paper presented at the Millersville State College Early American History Conference, held in May 1981; and Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1976), 249–326. A recent article contends, however, that religion and ethnicity were less important determinants of a will's provisions than was the type of property its author owned; see Daniel Snyder, "Kinship and Community in Rural Pennsylvania, 1749–1820," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, [hereafter, *JIH*], 13 (1982–83): 41–61, esp. 49.

¹⁸ For a discussion of the changes in New England, see Greven, *Four Generations*, 175–258. On the Chesapeake, see Russell Menard, "Immigrants and Their Increase: The Process of Population Growth in Early Colonial Maryland," in Aubrey Land *et al.*, eds., *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore, 1977), 88–110; and the essays by David W. Jordan and Carole Shammas in Tate and Ammerman, eds., *Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century*.

benefits for both; statutory authority, for example, now underlined the customary powers of patriarchal heads of households. The male-dominated family norm was especially evident in property laws. In several colonies, wives could not legally prevent their husbands from selling portions of the family estates; in others, their technical right to do so was just that—technical and usually unexercised. Intestacy laws—which governed the distribution of a majority of colonial estates because fewer than half of the male decedents had actually written wills—favored the eldest son over his mother and his siblings, thus perpetuating the patriarchal structure to another generation.¹⁹

When they did draft wills, men revealed their strategies for maintaining their families even after their own deaths. Although (unlike the statutes) men did not normally give preference to the first-born, they did favor the male lineage, giving larger shares of their estates to sons than to daughters. Bequests to wives were intended to give widows some means of support and to keep them off the public relief rolls, not to give financial independence. The law required that a man leave his wife a minimum share of his estate, called her dower right. But a wife's inheritance could be—and often was—restricted in various ways: she might lose her interest in the property on remarriage, for example, or she might be forced to rely on her adult sons for subsistence. Daughters commonly received legacies approximately half the size of those granted their brothers, usually personal property (household goods, livestock, or slaves) instead of real estate. The fathers' assumptions in such cases were clear: sons had the primary claim on landed property, for they needed the means to lead an independent existence; wives deserved sufficient support, but not financial autonomy; and daughters eventually married and left the family, so they received reduced amounts of movable goods. Daughters ultimately were supported by their husbands, not by their paternal inheritance. If anything, the patriarchal tendencies evident in such inheritance practices increased over time. Eighteenth-century testators gave their widows less power over the family estates than had their seventeenth-century ancestors. The increasing scarcity of good land may well have contributed to fathers' ability to control their wives' and children's lives; certainly a patriarch's threat to withhold a necessary legacy could have proved a formidable weapon in any family conflict.²⁰

¹⁹ Wells, *Revolutions in Americans' Lives*, 61–65; David H. Flaherty, "Law and the Enforcement of Morals in Early America," *Perspectives in American History* [hereafter, *PAH*], 5 (1971): 203–53; David H. Flaherty, "Crime and Social Control in Provincial Massachusetts," *Historical Journal*, 24 (1981): 339–60; and Salmon, "Property Rights of Women," 27–83. On intestacy rates and laws, see Carole Shammas, "Women and Inheritance in the Age of Family Capitalism," paper presented at the Ninety-Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, December 1980, p. 19, table 1; Lois Green Carr and Lorena Walsh, "Woman's Role in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," paper presented at the Conference on Early American Women, held in November 1981, pp. 4–5, 11–12; and Karen Andréén, "Marah Revisited: The Widow in Early New Hampshire," paper presented at the Fifth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, held at Vassar College, June 1981, pp. 14–24.

²⁰ This paragraph summarizes my understanding of a large number of studies, including Shammas, "Women and Inheritance in the Age of Family Capitalism"; Carr and Walsh, "Woman's Role in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake"; Andréén, "Marah Revisited: The Widow in Early New Hampshire"; Alexander Keyssar, "Widowhood in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts: A Problem in the History of the Family," *PAH*, 8 (1974): 83–119; James K. Somerville, "The Salem Woman at Home, 1660–1770," *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 1 (1974): 11–14; James W. Deen, Jr. [Jamil Zainaldin], "Patterns of Testation: Four Tidewater Counties in

In a recent article, Karin Calvert demonstrated that family portraits painted before 1750 fully reveal this patriarchy. She pointed out that the family was presented in polarized visual terms: "Dress distinguished a dominant group of men and breeched boys from a subordinate group of women and children in petticoats." In clothing, at least, women and children therefore made up a single conceptual category of dependents. Adult males and their older sons dominated the other members of the household, who shared qualities of immaturity and inferiority. "If a girl could be viewed as a miniature adult," Calvert noted with insight, "the grown woman could be viewed as a more advanced child." Still, *men* were the ones doing that viewing: the artists were male, and their fees were paid by the patriarchs themselves. The style and content of family portraits remained static before 1750, and so too, it seems, did most men's attitudes toward their dependents. But what of women? Even though they were subordinate to their husbands, they directed the daily affairs of the household and exercised a certain limited authority over their children. In fact, if the historian focuses on women rather than on men, and refuses to accept the male perception of the family as the only valid perspective, then change rather than stasis becomes the hallmark of the century following 1660.²¹

The sources of change in women's lives lay primarily in developments in religion and the economy. In the economy, women were especially affected by population growth and the colonies' increasing prosperity. As rural areas became more thickly populated and farm life more settled, families were able to acquire more and better-quality household goods. They thereby not only improved the quality of life but also increased the amount of home manufacturing. Early seventeenth-century households rarely contained spinning, weaving, or dairy equipment. Even in later years the incidence of such equipment was less than might be expected; for example, only about half the households in mid-eighteenth-century Massachusetts owned spinning wheels, cheese molds, or butter churns, and fewer than 10 percent had looms and wheels in conjunction with sheep or flax. Therefore, the classic image of the colonial housewife as a woman who normally engaged in a full range of domestic manufactures has been exaggerated. Indeed, those households most likely to contain the requisite equipment were in the Chesapeake, where female slaves did the work under the supervision of their white mistresses. But households did not exist in isolation. Thus, a woman who made cheese and butter could trade those items to her neighbors for woven cloth and other necessities. In other words,

Colonial Virginia," *American Journal of Legal History*, 16 (1972): 154–76; Linda Speth, "More than her 'Thirds'"; David Narrett, "English Social Customs in a New World Setting: Patterns of Inheritance and Family Life in Colonial Suffolk County, New York," paper presented at the Conference on British Studies, held in New York City, October 1981. "The Status of Women in the Hudson Valley Family: The Case of Colonial Ulster County," paper presented at the Conference on Early Hudson Valley Families, held in Albany, N.Y., September 1981, and "Patterns of Inheritance"; John J. Waters, "Family, Inheritance, and Migration in Colonial New England: The Evidence from Guilford, Connecticut," *WMQ*, 39 (1982): 64–86; and James M. Gallman, "Determinants of Age at Marriage in Colonial Perquimans County, North Carolina," *ibid.*, 176–91. Daniel Scott Smith has suggested that daughters may have received equal shares of the family property through gifts at the time of their marriage; Smith, "A Perspective on Demographic Methods and Effects in Social History," *ibid.*, 463–64.

²¹ Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraiture, 1670 to 1810," *WMQ*, 39 (1982): 93, 94–95. Michael Zuckerman has all too readily assumed that an eighteenth-century patriarch's perception of his family was the only accurate depiction of it; see his "William Byrd's Family," *PAH*, 12 (1979): 255–311.

as domestic manufacturing developed, so too did specifically female trading networks. Women exchanged work and produce, employing each other's skills and easing their own burdens in the process. Furthermore, the production of surpluses for the market may have increased women's power within the home, but only in German-American households did women probably control the proceeds from the sale of goods they produced.²²

In the growing seaport towns women engaged in less home manufacturing than they did elsewhere. In fact, as Gary Nash has pointed out, when early eighteenth-century Northern entrepreneurs wanted to start spinning factories, they recognized that their first task was to teach female city residents how to spin. Still, poor women—especially widows—tended to congregate in the cities because they offered women opportunities to support themselves not available in the countryside. They hired out as seamstresses or nurses, or opened shops, inns, or schools, attempting to eke out a living for themselves and their families. Many colonial governments encouraged married women to support themselves by adopting feme-sole trader statutes that allowed women some limited powers to run businesses in the absence of their husbands. But such laws did not represent male endorsement of economic independence for women: rather, they were a means of keeping women from relying on public relief. The feme-sole trader statutes, in short, served the same purpose for married but deserted urban women as did dower-right provisions for widows.²³

Even so, when coupled with a number of other legal developments the passage of feme-sole trader statutes indicates a trend away from the fiction of marital unity that had prevailed in most seventeenth-century colonies. Provincial governments that had once allowed women no say in the sale of the family property now gave them a limited voice in such decisions. Moreover, court decisions and new statutes adopted by every colony except Connecticut and Massachusetts accepted—however reluctantly and with whatever restrictions—the idea that it was possible for a married woman to have a separate estate. The significance of this development should not be overstated, for a separate estate could benefit a woman's husband and children as well as herself by preserving some property from demanding creditors. Also, many women with separate estates did not exercise direct control

²² Shammas, "Domestic Environment," *JSH*, 14 (1980–81): 3–24; Carole Shammas, "How Self-Sufficient Was Early America?" *JH*, 13 (1982): 247–72; Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 51–67; Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 9–20, 26–29; Priscilla Waggoner, "Women in Rural Pennsylvania German Culture," paper presented at Millersville Early American History Conference, May 1981. For a different explanation of the rise of home manufacturing in the Chesapeake, see Gloria Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650–1720* (Princeton, 1982), 71–74. Dairying, especially in cheese-exporting areas like Connecticut, could have offered women particular opportunities for economic power in the household. Joan Jensen is currently investigating that possibility for women in early nineteenth-century Pennsylvania. Consider Bruce Daniels, "Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut: An Overview," *WMQ*, 37 (1980): 441; and Elinore F. Oakes, "A Ticklish Business: Dairying in New England and Pennsylvania, 1750–1812," *Pennsylvania History*, 47 (1980): 195–212, esp. 201–08.

²³ Nash, "The Failure of Female Factory Labor in Colonial Boston," *Labor History*, 20 (1979): 165–88; Koehler, *Search for Power*, 108–35, 336–450 *passim*; Elaine Crane, "Dealing with Dependence: Women and the Law in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island," paper presented at the Fifth Berkshire Conference, held in June 1981; Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 20–26; and Marylynn Salmon, "Equality or Submersion? Feme Covert Status in Early Pennsylvania," in Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, eds., *Women of America: A History* (Boston, 1979), 93–113, esp. 109–10, 112–13.

over that property because of restrictive clauses in their marriage settlements. Still, the formal legal recognition of separate estates indicates that American male policy makers were forced to acknowledge publicly, if not privately, that women could retain some economic independence even after marriage. And women made effective use of what little freedom they had. In one Maryland county more than half the widows granted less than dower right by their deceased husbands successfully challenged the wills in court, and in South Carolina, although only a small number of women had marriage settlements, 40 percent of those with separate estates won sole control of their property, and another 28 percent shared that power equally with their husbands.²⁴

Just as economic development helped foster changes in women's legal position and household roles, the changing circumstances of American religious life also had a major impact on female colonists, particularly Puritans and Quakers. In societies in which religious affiliation is conferred by birth, children's spiritual welfare generally arouses no special concern. But in communities in which individuals must formally accept and affirm their own religious faith and practice, pious parents necessarily take a greater interest in their children's spiritual upbringing; not only do parents want to guarantee their offspring's salvation but they also want to ensure the very survival of their sect. So it was with colonial Puritans and Quakers. Both groups became obsessed with child rearing. They could not regard children with the indifference characteristic of their Anglican contemporaries. Children were more than nuisances or amusing playthings, and their development had to be carefully supervised. To the Puritans, that meant breaking a child's will at an early age; to the Quakers, it meant taking a more nurturant approach. In both cases, the motive was the same, and so was the result: the families in both sects were child oriented.²⁵

Such a development had major consequences for women, since increased attention to children necessarily implied increased attention to mothers. Appropriately enough in this patriarchal society, literature on child rearing was directed to fathers, and continued to be until the early nineteenth century. But mothers nevertheless had the primary responsibility for all children under the age of six or seven, and continuing responsibility for raising daughters. The early moral development of the child—so critical in Puritan thinking in particular—thus fell actually, if not theoretically, within the mother's domain. A formal acknowledg-

²⁴ Salmon, "Property Rights of Women," 40–49, 150–233; Marylynn Salmon, "Women and Property in South Carolina: The Evidence from Marriage Settlements, 1730 to 1830," *WMQ*, 39 (1982): 654–85, esp. table 3, p. 670; and Carr and Walsh, "Woman's Role in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," 55–56.

²⁵ On Puritans, see C. John Sommerville, "English Puritans and Children: A Social-Cultural Explanation," *Journal of Psychohistory*, 6 (1978–79): 113–37; and Peter Gregg Slater, *Children in the New England Mind: In Death and in Life* (Hamden, Conn., 1977). On Quakers, see Barry Levy, "'Tender Plants': Quaker Farmers and Children in the Delaware Valley, 1681–1735," *Journal of Family History*, 3 (1978): 116–35; Barry Levy, "Radical Family Formation in Early America: The Case of Middling Families in Pennsylvania and 'The Dark Corners,'" unpublished paper, February 1981, courtesy of the author; and J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America* (New York, 1972). For the very different child-rearing style of a colonial Anglican, see Zuckerman, "William Byrd's Family," 255–69. Robert V. Wells identified a demographic reason for the Americans' attention to children: more than half the population in the colonies was under sixteen years of age; *Revolutions in Americans' Lives*, 83.

ment of the importance of the maternal role came first from Quakers, but Puritans soon followed their lead. The Northern family's concentration on children thus helped focus attention on adult women in their maternal capacity.²⁶

What religion produced in the North, growing prosperity helped foster in the South, since successful tobacco and rice planters began to hire servants or purchase slaves to do domestic chores. In the early days of the colonies, a mother had to divide her time between her demanding household responsibilities and her equally demanding babe-in-arms (for she almost always had one). In such circumstances children above the age of two or three had to fend largely for themselves. But, if a family were wealthy enough to have household help, the adult woman could devote more time to her offspring. Obviously, class formed the basis for this increased attention to children in the South (and in nondissenting Northern families as well). Poorer women still had to cope with the conflict between household and child-care obligations. Even so, child-rearing activities now occupied more of some women's time, and nurturant attitudes comparable to those of the Quakers appeared in many Southern slave-owning families. There, too, the importance of women's maternal functions began to be recognized.²⁷

The amount of time a mother spent with her children was rendered all the more significant by her obligation to educate them in the rudiments of learning, to teach them religious precepts, and to guide their behavior. Because the colonies had few schools, public or private, and because those that did exist tended to admit only those pupils who had already had some education, parents bore the primary responsibility for teaching their children the basics. Children's acquisition of literacy, therefore, largely depended on whether their parents, and especially their mothers, were literate. Many colonial women seem to have been able to read, but far fewer knew how to write. Those skills were taught separately, and, although most Protestants recognized that girls should be able to read the Bible, they saw little reason for women to wield a pen. Accordingly, mothers who could read taught that skill to all their children, but fathers normally instructed their sons alone in writing. Regional differences also affected children's acquisition of skills of literacy: religious motives undoubtedly led Northern Puritan and Quaker mothers to pay more attention to their children's education than did Southern Anglicans and Catholics.²⁸

²⁶ I am here relying heavily on Barry Levy's "Women, Religious Motherhood, and Community Building in the Delaware Valley, 1681–1735," paper presented at the Fifth Berkshire Conference, held in June 1981.

²⁷ Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 71–109, esp. 84; and Daniel Blake Smith, *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980). Philip J. Greven, though not in agreement with this chronology, ably described the more nurturant style, which he termed "genteel"; see Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Religious Experience, Child-Rearing, and the Self in Early America* (New York, 1977), 265–331. There is an apparent contradiction in the ways Daniel Blake Smith and Michael Zuckerman have analyzed eighteenth-century Chesapeake planter family life: Zuckerman found indifference to children; Smith, concentration on them. The discrepancy may have arisen from a variety of causes: first, Zuckerman's exclusive focus on William Byrd, who may have been idiosyncratic; second, chronology, for most of Smith's sources deal with a later period than Zuckerman's; and third, Zuckerman's failure to look at women's attitudes as well as men's. Probably all three are involved; Smith appears to have been closer to the truth. Consider Smith, *Inside the Great House*; and Zuckerman, "William Byrd's Family," 255–69. Also see Jan Lewis, *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia* (New York, 1983).

²⁸ The large literature on colonial literacy and education is, in my opinion, less sensitive to sex differences than it should be. But see Linda Auwers, "Reading the Marks of the Past: Exploring Female Literacy in

Religion, state, and family had been closely intertwined in early seventeenth-century New England; after 1660 much of that relationship remained intact, and a similar linkage was established in the new Quaker colony of Pennsylvania. But there were some subtle alterations in the relationship, most notably that the mother, rather than the father, became the key person linking church and family. This development was, of course, directly tied to the maternal emphasis common to the dissenting sects. In Pennsylvania, women's meetings assumed the chief responsibility for monitoring Quaker family life, mediating family disputes, and disciplining recalcitrant members. The women's meeting paid particular attention to other females, often organizing charitable enterprises aimed at relieving poor widows and their children, but it also had an impact on male Quakers. Most important, women's and men's meetings cooperated in approving all marriages, investigating the character and piety of young couples who wished to marry in the faith. Quaker women, in other words, acted collectively in their maternal capacity. Among Quakers, maternity acquired a public function.²⁹

Puritan women did not have the same formal role. But in New England, too, women gained greater visibility within the church. For some years, based on a reading of sermon literature, historians have believed that the late seventeenth century was a time of "declension," of a decrease in the number of church members. Mary Dunn and Gerald Moran have recently shown, however, that only *male* church membership declined. After about 1660, female converts outnumbered males, and women came to constitute the majority in most congregations. A phenomenon that Edmund Morgan has termed "tribalism" developed at the same time—that is, ever tighter connections were woven between church membership and family ties. Increasingly, congregations were numerically dominated by certain families, and specifically by the women of those families. Thus, women could no longer automatically turn to their husbands for spiritual guidance; they were forced into a condition of religious independence. Moreover, women tended to join the church at about the time of their marriages, a correlation not seen for men. In individual women's minds, religious and familial roles appear to have been closely linked, perhaps because a woman facing a career of repeated pregnancies (and thus the constant risk of death in childbirth) had reason to be concerned about her spiritual well-being. Clergymen reacted to the increasingly feminine composition of their congregations by using feminine imagery in their sermons and preaching more frequently on the female role. They also began to encourage pious, church-going mothers to participate in the religious instruction of their children, since the paterfamilias was by the end of the century likely to be unchurched and, therefore, untrustworthy in spiritual matters. By the beginning of the eighteenth century,

Colonial Windsor, Connecticut," *Historical Methods*, 13 (1980): 204–14; and David D. Hall, "The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600–1850," in William Joyce *et al.*, eds., *Printing and Society in Early America* (Worcester, Mass., 1983), 1–47, esp. 22–26. It is revealing that the literacy skill normally acquired by women was *passive* (receiving the thoughts of others through reading), whereas the *active* skill, writing (conveying one's thoughts to others), was available primarily to men.

²⁹ Levy, "Women, Religious Motherhood, and Community Building"; Mary Maples Dunn, "Women of Light," 114–36.

even though Puritan women no longer contended for public leadership roles in the church, they made their presence felt in other, more private ways.³⁰

The relationship of family and religion was reshaped once again during the Great Awakening of the 1740s, the first major American revival movement. The number of male converts increased dramatically; although women continued to make up the bulk of the membership of Congregational churches, the earlier sexual imbalance was partially redressed. Moreover, the Awakening broke down the tribalistic patterns of the previous century, because of its broad appeal to the unchurched: no longer would church membership and family membership be so tightly intertwined. Mothers continued as the primary religious instructors within the household, but, since the Awakening tended to make religion more of a private matter by stressing individual conversion experiences, the role of religious instruction lost its public significance. Religious affiliation no longer had so many secular implications, and the ties between women's religious and familial roles loosened appreciably.³¹

In sum, then, the eight to ten decades after 1660 witnessed a series of subtle but important shifts in women's experiences in the colonies. No longer fully occupied with the effort to achieve mere subsistence, women devoted more of their time to domestic manufacturing and to child care. In the latter endeavor Puritan and Quaker women in particular received support from their sects' special concern with child rearing. Women in these two sects also became prominent in church affairs, although in different ways. Yet over the same period, men's attitudes toward women changed little: they persisted in seeing their wives and daughters in traditional patriarchal terms. In men's eyes, women were properly viewed as dependents of a specific marital household. But by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries women's lives were no longer fully encompassed within such confines—either physical or mental. Whereas their primary role had previously been as mistress of the household, their responsibilities as mothers now seemed of equal importance. In addition, their standing as church members whose husbands had often not achieved the same status tended to free them from their spouses' spiritual authority. And finally, the tentative recognition of their independent legal identity written into law in most colonies put an official cachet on the overall trend.

³⁰ The classic explication of "declension" is Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953). But see Dunn, "Saints and Sisters"; and Moran, "Sisters in Christ: Women and the Church in Seventeenth-Century New England," in Janet Wilson James, ed., *Women in American Religion* (Philadelphia, 1980), 47–65. Also see Morgan, *The Puritan Family* (rev. edn., New York, 1966), 161–86; Philip J. Greven, "Youth, Maturity, and Religious Conviction: A Note on the Ages of Converts in Andover, Massachusetts, 1711–1749," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 108 (1972): 119–34; Margaret Masson, "The Typology of the Female as a Model for the Regenerate: Puritan Preaching, 1690–1730," *Signs*, 2 (1975–76): 305–15; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Vertuous Women Found: New England Ministerial Literature, 1668–1735," *AQ*, 23 (1976): 20–40; and Gerald Moran and Maris Vinovskis, "The Puritan Family and Religion: A Critical Reappraisal," *WMQ*, 39 (1982): 29–63, esp. 48–49.

³¹ Cedric Cowing, "Sex and Preaching in the Great Awakening," *AQ*, 20 (1968): 624–44; and Richard Shiels, "The Feminization of American Congregationalism, 1730–1835," *AQ*, 33 (1981): 46–62. Gerald Moran, though, argued that the old patterns of female dominance and tribalism continued during the Awakening in at least some Connecticut towns; Moran, "'Sinners are turned into saints in numbers': The Social Demography and Geography of Revivalism in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut," paper presented at the Seventy-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in Los Angeles, April 4–7, 1984.

Once, early American women had had to look solely to their husbands for guidance in both secular and spiritual affairs; by the middle of the eighteenth century, they had acquired independence in the latter and at least the potential for autonomy in the former, if no more than that.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find evidence of tension between men and women and of a breakdown in familial social control mechanisms in the later years of the seventeenth century. This was especially true in New England, where effects of religious as well as economic change were felt most fully. Evidence of such tension exists, not only in such well-known phenomena as witchcraft accusations but also in records that reveal both rising numbers of prosecutions for sexual offenses and steadily increasing rates of premarital pregnancy. Such records may not accurately reflect actual trends in behavior, but, regardless of whether in fact more colonists practiced witchcraft or engaged in nonmarital sexual relations after the 1650s, the leaders of the Puritan church and state believed such behavior constituted a threat to the social order that seemed to be increasing in its intensity as the decades passed. Furthermore, the authorities focused their concern on women: although fornication cases by definition involved equal numbers of men and women, far more women than men faced prosecution for that offense. Similarly, although witches in theory could be of either sex, 75 to 80 percent of accused witches in New England were female.³²

The reasons why male civil and religious authorities saw women as the chief source of disorder in their society are evident when the context of the prosecutions is fully understood. As should already be clear, the seventeenth-century family and polity were closely intertwined. Just as the family was seen as the state writ small (the classic "little commonwealth"), so the state was, in effect, the family writ large. The relationship of men and women, and particularly of husbands and wives, was the model for the general social hierarchy. Disruptions in male-female relationships thus posed especially salient threats to society as a whole. Crimes against the family, in other words, were simultaneously crimes against the polity and violations of morality subject to church discipline. Women's misdeeds were potentially more disruptive than men's for two reasons: first, such misbehavior by women automatically involved insubordination to male superiors (be they husbands or fathers) and therefore in itself challenged the status hierarchy; and, second, since as mothers women were responsible for the transmission of culture to the next generation, misdeeds on their part raised the possibility of continuing reverberations in the social order.³³

John Demos's recent investigation of New England witchcraft cases lends support to such an analysis. Demos observed that witchcraft charges "always and everywhere . . . reflected chronic disturbance in human relationships." Witchcraft beliefs, he noted, defined the boundaries of acceptable action and revealed ideals of

³² See Robert V. Wells, "Illegitimacy and Bridal Pregnancy in Colonial America," in Peter Laslett *et al.*, eds., *Bastardy and Its Comparative History* (London, 1980), 349–61; Koehler, *Search for Power*, 345–54, 361, 372–73; and Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, 61.

³³ The synthesis here is my own, but I drew ideas from Karlsen, "Devil in the Shape of a Woman," 273, 293; David H. Flaherty, "Law and the Enforcement of Morals," *PAH*, 5 (1971): 217, 253; and Sanday, *Female Power and Male Dominance*, 163–211.

behavior by identifying their opposite. It is thus important in understanding witchcraft episodes in seventeenth-century New England to be aware that accusers were normally males and that the accused were usually females at mid-life, a time that placed them both at the height of their power over others and on the brink of symbolically losing that power with menopause. They also tended to be women with strife-filled family histories, which would have made them especially visible in a society that valued domestic harmony and stability so highly. Above all else, witches were suspected of interfering with basic life processes, in particular the birth, care, and feeding of infants and animals. After examining the evidence from a variety of approaches, Demos found in witchcraft accusations "a central preoccupation . . . with maternal function." Attention to the antithesis of maternity is, of course, precisely what one would anticipate in a society in which motherhood had taken on such significance.³⁴

But it is not merely witchcraft cases that point to severe social disturbances in late seventeenth-century New England and indeed specifically in the 1690s. Demos commented that the decade was a "time of extreme and pervasive anxiety in New England" for a number of reasons, including the Massachusetts Bay constitutional crisis, the growing impact of commerce on the economy and society, renewed Indian war, and devastating epidemics. As is well known, colonial witchcraft accusations reached an extraordinary peak in 1692–93 with the hysteria in Salem Village, a town torn between old and new ways of life. What is less well known is that prosecutions for infanticide—essentially a crime of unwed mothers—also peaked during that same decade. Fornication cases, too, reached a new high. Whereas before 1665 only about one-fifth of female criminals were accused of fornication, nearly 63 percent were so charged in the 1690s. As Carol Karlsen has observed, uncontrolled female sexuality was especially disruptive to society because it not only represented insubordination against men but also raised questions about the legitimacy of male heirs and the perpetuation of a man's lineage. Again, it is less important here to determine whether more New Englanders actually engaged in nonmarital sex than it is to recognize that the authorities' almost exclusive focus on fornicating women reveals a great deal about elite males' perceptions of the sources of disorder in their society. They sensed change in the traditional structure of gender relationships, and they responded to that change with ferocity by prosecuting female witches, fornicators, and suspected child-murderers with particular vigor.³⁵

The fervor, of course, could not last. After the Salem Village cataclysm, male authorities drew back in horror at what they had wrought, and many later recanted their witchcraft beliefs. Even where such beliefs persisted, prosecutions ceased. Infanticide and fornication cases saw no such crisis, and change in those prosecutions came more slowly. But in New England the 1730s and 1740s marked a turning point in the treatment of all female criminals, including sexual offenders. Fewer infanticide charges were prosecuted, and many fewer defendants were

³⁴ Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, 54, 57–94, 153–210, esp. 198.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 368–86, esp. 384; Koehler, *Search for Power*, 352, 383–450; Hoffer and Hull, *Murdering Mothers*, 56, 107, 109; and Karlsen, "Devil in the Shape of a Woman," 273.

convicted; and, although fornication prosecutions continued, they became a mechanism for distributing the costs of rearing bastards rather than a means of upholding community standards of morality and social order. Finally, the overall pattern of female criminality changed—from one in which gender-based crimes and punishments predominated to one in which crimes committed by women and penalties levied on them resembled the pattern for men. By the end of the eighteenth century, female and male criminals received almost exactly the same treatment.³⁶

What had happened? Peter Hoffer and N. E. H. Hull, who have analyzed the infanticide cases, concluded that such crimes by 1730 posed a “diminished threat” to the social order. But why? Quite simply, the men who wielded power in New England had at last come to terms with the changing nature of female roles, both inside and outside the family. No longer did women’s transgressions seem to be more disorderly or disruptive than men’s. And that was at least partly because the crucial link between family and polity had been broken. By the mid-eighteenth century, sexual offenses still violated religious and familial codes, but they were not viewed, as they had been earlier, as challenges to the stability and survival of the state. The family, in other words, had acquired more privacy. Patriarchal power had not disappeared, but its impact was now confined primarily to individual households. The state-family analogy, once so meaningful, had only limited relevance for colonial Americans by the middle of the eighteenth century. And that relevance lay in the imperial relationship rather than in the structure of local government.³⁷

The other colonies must also be considered in light of the analysis developed so far. Unquestionably, the trends noted in this section had their greatest impact in New England. There, precisely because state, church, and family had been so tightly entwined, the severing of those bonds had the most striking implications. In New England the changes were clearly evident and are thus more readily assessed. Further, since scholars have not studied the Middle and Southern colonies in the same detail, discussions of those regions are necessarily less complete. Still, one can speculate on the basis of the available, if admittedly fragmentary, evidence that similar trends occurred throughout the colonies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

All seventeenth-century settlements, not merely those in New England, adopted strong laws punishing sexual offenses. New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians, Virginians, and Marylanders alike believed that violations of sexual and familial codes of

³⁶ Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, 387–400; Hoffer and Hull, *Murdering Mothers*, 75–78; Hendrik Hartog, “The Public Law of a County Court: Judicial Government in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts,” *American Journal of Legal History*, 20 (1976): 299–308; and N. E. H. Hull, “Female Felons: Women and Serious Crime in the Superior Courts of Massachusetts, 1673–1774” (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1981), 36–82, 196–99.

³⁷ Hoffer and Hull, *Murdering Mothers*, 79. On the gradual disappearance of the state-family analogy and its reincarnation as an imperial metaphor, see Edwin G. Burrows and Michael Wallace, “The American Revolution: The Ideology and Psychology of National Liberation,” *PAH*, 6 (1972): 169–254. Also see Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolt against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (New York, 1982). Although New England political authorities stopped prosecuting sexual offenses as such in the 1730s, church prosecutions continued; Emil Oberholzer, Jr., *Delinquent Saints: Disciplinary Action in the Early Congregational Churches of Massachusetts* (New York, 1956).

conduct posed a threat to the stability of state and society. Like New Englanders, the other colonists also focused their attention on female offenders: more women than men were prosecuted for fornication and related crimes, and sex-differentiated punishments usually fell more harshly on women. As in the Northern colonies, this pattern began to shift early in the eighteenth century. Indeed, practices in the Chesapeake may have started to change somewhat earlier than those in the North. Assuming that a strong established church helps foster continued secular attention to sexual morality and that a weak church (or a diversity of sects) has a less pronounced effect on government policies, then one would anticipate precisely such a pattern of development. In any event, the changes were the same: fewer fornication prosecutions and greater attention to the economic (rather than to the moral) consequences of bastardy in the cases that did come to court. There were even a few witchcraft accusations and prosecutions in the late seventeenth-century Chesapeake, but without any convictions. This faint echo of New England is another indication that the relationship of men's and women's roles was changing everywhere in English America, although the impact of that change varied by region.³⁸

Yet one major regional difference did emerge in the decades following the 1660s. The rapid and widespread introduction of slavery into the Chesapeake, coupled with the development of more stable demographic patterns there, ended the conditions that had tended to prevent the establishment of patriarchal power in the region. The transition was swift but long lasting. As households enlarged and the plantation "family" became the basic unit of Southern society, the powers of male heads of household expanded and stabilized. Southern men's conception of their authority over their white and black dependents (their wives, children, and slaves) was tempered by their eighteenth-century sensibility, but if the glove was velvet the hand it concealed was nonetheless iron. Ironically, Southern women in the early years of the eighteenth century, for the first time, found themselves in circumstances roughly comparable to those their Northern counterparts had long experienced. With slavery, patriarchy became the norm in the South; and, although it did not achieve its fullest force until the early nineteenth century, white plantation women soon felt the effects of unchallenged male dominance. In mid-eighteenth-century North and South alike, women were subject to husbands and fathers wielding patriarchal authority, but the long-term trends were moving in opposite directions. In the North, the props of patriarchal power were gradually crumbling; in the South, those same props were in the process of being constructed. For some decades, probably approximating the first half of the eighteenth century, Northern

³⁸ See Flaherty, "Law and Enforcement of Morals," 214, 226, 231, 245–49; Wells, "Illegitimacy and Bridal Pregnancy," 352–53; Lee Gladwin, "Tobacco and Sex: Some Factors Affecting Nonmarital Sexual Behavior in Colonial Virginia," *JSH*, 12 (1978–79): 69; and Spruill, *Women's Life and Work*, 314–39. Because bastardy cases in the Chesapeake often involved female indentured servants, prosecutions of such offenses there always had an economic component lacking in the North. The law provided that the master of a pregnant servant had to be compensated for the loss of her time caused by the pregnancy, although the person liable for the compensation varied (in Virginia, it was the mother herself; in Maryland, the bastard's father); Spruill, *Women's Life and Work*, 321. In New York, women were not prosecuted for fornication, but they were charged with "keeping disorderly [that is, bawdy] houses"; Douglas Greenberg, *Crime and Law Enforcement in the Colony of New York, 1691–1776* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1976), 49–53, 76–83.

and Southern women's experiences resembled each other; then, after the American Revolution, their lives diverged once again, re-creating in different form the disparate patterns of the seventeenth century.³⁹

All of the changes discussed so far occurred without conscious intent. The transformation in the boundaries of women's lives and the delineation of their roles came about not because they or the male members of their families sought change but because economic, social, religious, and demographic patterns over which they had little or no control emerged. Furthermore, the shifts were so gradual and subtle that few who lived through them even recognized what was happening. In the post-1750 era, the situation was considerably different. Americans not only became aware that women's lives were changing but also began consciously to promote or oppose those changes. Indeed, women became the subject of a heated debate that played an essential part in reshaping American society to fit a republican mold.

THE REVOLUTIONARY YEARS BROUGHT ACCELERATED CHANGE to the lives of American women and their children. Historians have identified a number of different trends; all of them point to increasing autonomy for young people and the increasing likelihood that at least some adult women would be able to gain more control over their lives. Premarital pregnancy rates rose precipitously, implying a breakdown in parental authority over youths. At the same time parents began consciously to give their children (especially their sons but also their daughters) more freedom in the selection of mates. In some cases, male testators started to draft wills that allowed their children considerable independence to plan their own futures—despite the ensuing negative consequences for widows. Simultaneously, the iconography of the family, and particularly of childhood, changed: family portraits introduced pictorial distinctions, where none had previously existed, between adult women and their younger children and among the children themselves. The visual changes suggest the development of more individualized images and thus of different attitudes toward children. A new demographic trend—the attempts of some families, especially Quakers, to limit their fertility—also implies a shift in attitudes toward children and, indeed, toward their mothers (since women had always feared death in childbed and had often sought to avoid too-frequent pregnancies). Finally, some states revised their laws and practices to give widows more control over the estates

³⁹ Because of the dearth of research on Southern colonial women, my analysis here is admittedly highly speculative. But its argument is suggested by a number of sources: First, the long-term trends in Southern men's wills, which gave widows progressively less control over the family estates; see the citations in note 20, above. Second, the sketchy hypothesis of Daniel Blake Smith that a patriarchal phase preceded the relatively egalitarian household organization he perceived in the late eighteenth-century Chesapeake (a perception that seems to me exaggerated); Smith, *Inside the Great House*, 21, 284–90. Third, my own discovery of little difference in Northern and Southern women's lives just prior to the Revolution; Mary Beth Norton, "What an Alarming Crisis Is This: Southern Women and the American Revolution," in Jeffrey Crow and Larry Tise, eds., *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978), 203–34. Last, a suggestive account of the relationship between race and gender oppression; see Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York, 1983), esp. 6, 46. Also see Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982).

they had inherited, and many (but by no means all) states passed statutes legalizing divorce. Women as well as men took advantage of those new statutes to end unsuccessful marital unions.⁴⁰

The trends are unmistakable; the issue is how to interpret them. Elsewhere, I have argued that at least some of these developments are related to the effects of the American Revolution on women's consciousness—that their postwar behavior changed as a result of the experiences of assuming previously "male" responsibilities in the absence of men during the war, of participating actively in politics, albeit at a fairly low level, and of reassessing their own abilities after they had coped with wartime disruptions. Others have proposed different explanations. Edwin G. Burrows and Michael Wallace argued, for example, that changes in family organization and behavior helped pave the way for the political change of the Revolution (thus partially reversing the causal sequence I found), and Robert V. Wells saw both the Revolution and familial change as stemming from the same source—modernization—rather than bearing any direct causal relationship to each other. Moreover, some, including Linda K. Kerber, contended that the postwar changes decreased rather than increased women's autonomy, and still others, most notably Suzanne Lebsock, advanced precisely the opposite interpretation. Indeed, Lebsock concluded from her detailed study of the women of Petersburg, Virginia, from 1784 to 1860 that the sole clear trend of the period was the development of increasing autonomy for women in that they "gained greater freedom from immediate and total dependence on particular men."⁴¹

The implications of post-Revolutionary changes for the organization of American religion lend support to Lebsock's interpretation rather than Kerber's. Throughout the colonial period, religion—or at least certain Protestant sects—had provided women with a nonfamilial outlet for their talents. Women's religious activities had worked to increase their independence from husbands and fathers, and religion had consistently supplied the one realm in which women could undeniably claim equality with men, even if that equality was defined in wholly spiritual terms. The disestablishment of American churches in the 1780s and 1790s opened new pathways for the women who numerically dominated the Protestant denominations. As the churches lost their politically privileged positions and access

⁴⁰ The trends are succinctly summarized in Wells, *Revolutions in Americans' Lives*, 65–66. Also see Daniel Scott Smith and Michael Hindus, "Premarital Pregnancy in America, 1640–1971: An Overview and Interpretation," *JH*, 5 (1974–75): 655–68; Daniel Scott Smith, "Parental Power and Marriage Patterns: An Analysis of Historical Rates and Trends in Hingham, Massachusetts," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 35 (1973): 419–28; Neil Shumsky, "Parents, Children and the Selection of Mates in Colonial Virginia," *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 2 (1975–76): 83–88; Narrett, "Patterns of Inheritance," 201–42; Calvert, "Children in American Family Portraiture," 101–13; Robert V. Wells, "Family Size and Fertility Control in Eighteenth-Century America: A Study of Quaker Families," *Population Studies*, 25 (1971): 73–82; Salmon, "Property Rights of Women," *passim*, esp. 335–39; Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 159–84; and Nancy Cott, "Divorce and the Changing Status of Women in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," *WMQ*, 33 (1976): 586–614.

⁴¹ Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 155–255; Burrows and Wallace, "American Revolution," 255–67; Wells, *Revolutions in Americans' Lives*, 85–86; Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, esp. 138–55; and Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860* (New York, 1984), 235. For support for my contention that women's experience of independence from male control may have stimulated them to seek to control their fertility, see Edward Byers, "Fertility Transition in a New England Commercial Center: Nantucket, Massachusetts, 1640–1840," *JH*, 13 (1982–83): 17–40.

to tax revenues, they needed to generate new sources of funds, support, and loyalty. That need helped promote the formation of voluntary associations tied to individual churches; the earliest of these were denominationally sponsored sewing circles or female charitable societies organized in New England in the last two decades of the century. After the Second Great Awakening (1790–1840), which brought even larger numbers of female converts into Protestant churches, women's charitable and reform associations burgeoned, creating what historians of the nineteenth century called "the benevolent empire." Indeed, from these eighteenth-century women's voluntary groups grew such major nineteenth-century movements as temperance and abolitionism as well as the beginnings of urban philanthropy and, later, welfare services. Therefore, disestablishment provided the impetus for one of the most important developments in American community life and in the lives of nineteenth-century American Northern and urban women. Many historians now argue that the benevolent societies were an important step in the American women's movement toward emancipation from patriarchal power.⁴²

Still, the changes in women's roles resulting from disestablishment resembled the others considered thus far in that they occurred without conscious intent. What truly distinguished the Revolutionary era from preceding decades was that Americans initiated a public dialogue on the subject of women and their proper roles. In the colonies, women had been viewed as wholly domestic beings whose influence in the world was confined to their immediate families. It had long been recognized that pious women could reform rakish husbands and raise moral children, but the dimensions of their secular roles—especially their possible individual or collective influence on the polity—had not been carefully examined. During and after the Revolution that topic aroused considerable public comment for the first time, as Americans argued about such subjects as woman's basic nature, the proper aims and content of women's education, and the intellectual abilities of females. The new interest in women flowed directly from a combination of wartime experiences and republican ideology. Patriotic women supported the war effort along with their menfolk; Americans were thus forced to discard the traditional notion that women had no connection to the public sphere and accordingly needed no civic education. Likewise, republican ideology stressed the significant contributions *all* citizens made to the welfare of the polity; women's function in a republic now had to be delineated. The Revolutionary generation, therefore, became the first to define a public role for American women.⁴³

⁴² On the origins of voluntarism, see Richard D. Brown, "The Emergence of Voluntary Associations in Massachusetts, 1760–1830," *Journal of Voluntary Action Research*, 2 (1973): 64–73; and Joan Jacobs Brumberg, "Benevolent Beginnings: The Origins of Women's Volunteer Activity, 1790–1850," in *Proceedings of the United Hospital Fund: Women, Volunteering, and Health Care* (New York, 1980). Also see Nancy F. Cott, "Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England," *Feminist Studies*, vol. 3, nos. 1–2 (1975–76): 15–29. For a superb case study placing female associations in context, see Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (New York, 1981). Catherine Clinton has pointed out that, for a variety of reasons, the Northern benevolent societies had no counterparts in the plantation South: *Plantation Mistress*, 6–15. But Lebsock has noted their existence in Petersburg; *Free Women of Petersburg*, chap. 7.

⁴³ Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 195–272; Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 73–113, 183–231; Patricia J. McAleander, "The Creation of the American Eve: The Cultural Dialogue on the Nature and Role of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century America," *Early American Literature*, 9 (1975): 252–66. For an excellent study of the long European tradition of debate over woman's nature, see Joan Kelly, "Early Feminist Theory and the *Querelle des Femmes*, 1400–1789," *Signs*, 8 (1982): 4–28.

That role, logically enough in light of the persistent colonial emphasis on maternity, was as the republican mother. Revolutionary events reinforced the trends in American family life since the initial settlement of the colonies and generated a powerful image that dominated the lives of white native-born women throughout most of the nineteenth century. The ideal American woman was to be the nurturant, patriotic mother who raised her children, and especially her sons, to be good Christians, active citizens, and successful competitors in the wider arena of life. The image of the republican mother represented a successful fusing of contradictory collective and individualistic tendencies within republican ideology itself, tendencies that quickly proved irreconcilable with respect to men. On the one hand, republicanism looked to the past and preached the necessary sacrifice of the individual will to the good of the whole. On the other, it looked to the future and sang the praises of unencumbered individualism. Such disparate elements could not be joined successfully in the person of an American male; for men, individual values soon became paramount. But women had always been more tightly linked to a collectivity (the family) than had men. Accordingly, both aspects of republicanism could be incorporated into the definition of a woman's role as mother. Her duty was to sacrifice herself to the family, freeing her husband and sons to express their individualism to the fullest. She was also responsible for fulfilling the family's moral obligations to the less fortunate members of society through her participation in charitable associations. Her sacrifice of self to family and society provided the essential prerequisite for the individual endeavors of her male relatives. Women became the keepers of the nation's conscience, the only citizens specifically charged with maintaining the traditional republican commitment to the good of the entire community.⁴⁴

The successful resolution of the conflicting values of republicanism represented by the republican-mother ideal made it a particularly enduring image in American life. But the ideal had two other appealing qualities as well. It became the keystone in the development of clearly defined male and female roles. Although gender roles in the colonies were mutually exclusive, they could not be delineated with precision because men's and women's functions necessarily overlapped in a society based on a household economy. As long as the economic and public elements of men's role could not be distinguished in daily practice from the private and familial elements of women's role, the sexes appeared to be encroaching regularly on each other's domain. The existence of the republican-mother ideal, with its emphasis on child rearing and self-sacrifice, meant that when manufacturing activities gradually began to be moved from the home to the factory the basis for a major redefinition

⁴⁴ See Linda K. Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment—An American Perspective," *AQ*, 28 (1976): 187–205; and Ruth H. Bloch, "American Feminine Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785–1815," *Feminist Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1978): 101–26. The most extensive and thought-provoking discussion of the unsuccessful attempt to reconcile republicanism's divergent elements for men is Joseph Ellis, *After the Revolution: Profiles of Early American Culture* (New York, 1979). Kathryn Kish Sklar emphasized the importance of self-sacrifice as a part of the nineteenth-century domestic ideal in her *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn., 1973). Intriguingly, this nineteenth-century American pattern reversed that found in most world cultures, where men were assigned the task of promoting the "social good" and women were perceived as having strictly private concerns; Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, eds., *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality* (New York, 1981), 7.

of woman's ideal role was already available. Once increasing numbers of adult women were no longer involved in the production of goods for home consumption or the market, their role could come to focus on the essential components of the republican-mother ideal. Thus, nineteenth-century American gender definitions were not only complementary and distinct, as gender roles had always been, but also clearly symmetrical. For the first time public and private functions could be separated within (not just outside) the family context.⁴⁵

Another notable characteristic of the republican-mother ideal was how it managed to recombine state and family. The seventeenth-century link between state and family had been broken by the middle of the eighteenth century. Matters that had once been seen as crucial to the stability of society (such as the concurrent maintenance of the proper sexual hierarchy in each family and the correct social and political hierarchy in the community) no longer seemed so important. The American polity and American families had, in effect, gone their separate ways for much of the century. But republican ideology brought state and family together again. A successful republic, it was believed, required virtuous families—and women, in their maternal capacity, would ensure the existence of those virtuous families. In the seventeenth century, the state had supported the family, in the person of its male head. In the nineteenth century, the family—in the person of its nurturant mother—produced the citizens who supported the state. Republicanism, in other words, reunited state and family but reversed the roles and changed the sex of the key actor in the drama.⁴⁶

THE ROLE OF THE REPUBLICAN MOTHER was limited. It presented no dramatic break with tradition, in spite of its novel political elements. Even so, perhaps the Revolution and its emphasis on republican motherhood were necessary prerequisites for nineteenth-century feminism. Only after women had acquired a public role, however restricted, could the extent of that role become a topic for discussion, definition, and debate. Yet republican motherhood also gave rise to the Victorian cult of domesticity. The image of the republican mother had two sides: if one innovatively stressed the importance of women's political role, the other conservatively emphasized the significance of their domestic role. The latter emphasis had infused American society since its beginnings at Plymouth and Jamestown, St. Mary's City and Boston. For the first one hundred seventy-five years of Anglo-

⁴⁵ Thus, Nancy F. Cott's stress on the removal of men's work from the home in the nineteenth century is misplaced. The key was the removal of *women's* traditional home manufactures, which meant that mothers could no longer combine child-care and productive functions in one location and that their unmarried daughters had to find employment outside the household context. Thus, it at last became possible to define woman's sphere as wholly private and familial. Consider Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's Sphere in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, Conn., 1977), 55–62. On the subsequent image of the mother, see Mary P. Ryan, *The Empire of the Mother: American Writing about Domesticity, 1830–1860* (New York, 1982). The best study of nineteenth-century gender roles is John M. Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven, Conn., 1979).

⁴⁶ On the role of republican families, see Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 242–50. For a somewhat different account of the Revolutionary link between state and family, which pays no attention to sex roles, see Burrows and Wallace, "American Revolution," 255–67.

American history, environmental conditions forced women to concentrate their energies on the domestic sphere. The American Revolution, because it broke the traditional colonial molds of politics, religion, and the family, hastened the onset of change. But that the older stress on domesticity continued, and indeed took on new life, should not surprise us. It had, after all, been the chief theme of American women's existence and could not quickly be abandoned.

In sum, nineteenth-century developments, far from representing a reversal of colonial trends—as the golden-age theory would have it—were a logical consequence of those trends. The cult of domesticity had deep colonial roots; the feminist movement's origins are more recent but are nevertheless intimately connected to the nation's identity. We must thus look to colonial and Revolutionary America if we wish to understand fully the patterns of women's lives in the United States even today.

The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780–1920

PAULA BAKER

ON ONE SUBJECT ALL OF THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY antisuffragists and many suffragists agreed: a woman belonged in the home. From this domain, as wife, as daughter, and especially as mother, she exercised moral influence and insured national virtue and social order. Woman was selfless and sentimental, nurturing and pious. She was the perfect counterpoint to materialistic and competitive man, whose strength and rationality suited him for the rough and violent public world. Despite concurrence on the ideal of womanhood, antisuffragists and suffragists disagreed about how women could best use their power of moral superiority. Suffragists believed that the conduct and content of electoral politics—voting and office holding—would benefit from women's special talents. But for others, woman suffrage was not only inappropriate but dangerous. It represented a radical departure from the familiar world of separate spheres, a departure that would bring, they feared, social disorder, political disaster, and, most important, women's loss of position as society's moral arbiter and enforcer.¹

The debates over female suffrage occurred while the very functions of government were changing. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, federal, state, and municipal governments increased their roles in social welfare and economic life. With a commitment to activism not seen since the first decades of the nineteenth century, Progressive-era policy makers sought ways to regulate and rationalize business and industry. They labored to improve schools, hospitals, and

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¹ Accounts of the suffrage campaign include William H. Chafe, *Women and Equality* (New York, 1977); Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York, 1980), chap. 14; Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848–1869* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1978); Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); Alan P. Grimes, *The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage* (New York, 1967); Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890–1920* (New York, 1965); David Morgan, *Suffragists and Democrats in America* (East Lansing, Mich., 1970); William L. O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave: A History of American Feminism* (Chicago, 1969); Ross Evan Paulson, *Woman's Suffrage and Prohibition* (Glenview, Ill., 1973); and Anne F. Scott and Andrew M. Scott, *One-Half of the People: The Fight for Woman's Suffrage* (Philadelphia, 1975). Important treatments of the ideology of domesticity include Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's Sphere in New England, 1790–1835* (New Haven, 1975); Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," in Mary Hartman and Lois W. Banner, eds., *Clio's Consciousness Raised* (New York, 1974), 119–33; Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, 1973); and Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860," *American Quarterly*, 18 (1966): 151–74.

other public services. These efforts, halting and incomplete as they were, brought a tradition of women's involvement in government to public attention.² Indeed, from the time of the Revolution, women used, and sometimes pioneered, methods for influencing government from outside electoral channels. They participated in crowd actions in colonial America and filled quasi-governmental positions in the nineteenth century; they circulated and presented petitions, founded reform organizations, and lobbied legislatures. Aiming their efforts at matters connected with the well-being of women, children, the home, and the community, women fashioned significant public roles by working from the private sphere.³

The themes of the debates—the ideology of domesticity, the suffrage fight, the re-emergence of governmental activism, and the public involvement of nineteenth-century women—are familiar. But what are the connections among them? Historians have told us much about the lives of nineteenth-century women. They have explained how women gained political skills, a sense of consciousness as women, and feelings of competence and self-worth through their involvement in women's organizations. But as important as these activities were, women were also shaped by—and in turn affected—American government and politics. Attention to the interaction between women's political activities and the political system itself can tell us much about the position of women in the nineteenth century. In addition, it can provide a new understanding of the political society in which women worked—and which they helped change.⁴

² Syntheses of the vast number of works on Progressive reform include John W. Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1900–1917* (New York, 1980); Otis L. Graham, *The Great Campaign: Reform and War in America, 1900–1928* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971); Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1983); Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885–1914* (Chicago, 1957); William L. O'Neill, *The Progressive Years: America Comes of Age* (New York, 1975); and Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York, 1967). For a good recent review essay, see Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History*, 10 (1982): 113–32.

³ Numerous works have appeared over the past decade that deal with the public activities of middle-class women. These works most often examine particular groups and attempt to trace the development of a feminist consciousness in the nineteenth century. See, for example, Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate—Origins of American Feminism: Women and the City, 1800–1860* (New York, 1978); Karen Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868–1914* (New York, 1980); Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873–1900* (Philadelphia, 1981); Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870–1920* (Urbana, Ill., 1981); Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, Conn., 1981); Estelle B. Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution-Building and American Feminism, 1870–1930," *Feminist Studies*, 5 (1979): 512–29; Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980); William Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society* (New York, 1980); Gerda Lerner, "The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson," 15–30, "Community Work of Black Club Women," 83–93, "Political Activities of Anti-Slavery Women," 94–111, and "Black and White Women in Confrontation and Interaction," 112–28, in her *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York, 1979); J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Urbana, Ill., 1973); Keith E. Melder, *Beginnings of Sisterhood: The American Woman's Rights Movement, 1800–1850* (New York, 1977); Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800* (Boston, 1980); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); and Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830–1930* (Chicago, 1970). A number of contemporary accounts are especially useful. See Mary R. Beard, *Women's Work in Municipalities* (New York, 1915); Jane Cunningham Croly, *The History of the Women's Club Movement in America* (New York, 1898); Mary A. Livermore, *My Story of the War* (Hartford, Conn., 1896), and "Women and the State," in William Meyers, ed., *Women's Work in America* (Hartford, Conn., 1889); and Frances E. Willard, *Woman and Temperance: Or, the Work and Workers of the Women's Christian Temperance Union* (Hartford, Conn., 1883).

⁴ A number of studies examine the treatment of women in American political thought. These include Zillah Eisenstein, *The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism* (New York, 1981); Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private*

In order to bring together the histories of women and of politics, we need a more inclusive definition of politics than is usually offered. "Politics" is used here in a relatively broad sense to include any action, formal or informal, taken to affect the course or behavior of government or the community.⁵ Throughout the nineteenth century, gender was an important division in American politics. Men and women operated, for the most part, in distinct political subcultures, each with its own bases of power, modes of participation, and goals. In providing an intellectual and cultural interpretation of women and politics, this essay focuses on the experiences of middle-class women. There is much more we need to learn about the political involvement of women of all classes in the years prior to suffrage; this essay must, therefore, be speculative. Its purpose is to suggest a framework for analyzing women and politics and to outline the shape that a narrative history of the subject could take.

THE BASIS AND RATIONALE for women's political involvement already existed by the time of the Revolution.⁶ For both men and women in colonial America, geographically bounded communities provided the fundamental structures of social organization. The most important social ties, economic relationships, and political concerns of individuals were contained within spatially limited areas. Distinctions between the family and community were often vague; in many ways, the home and the community were one.⁷ There were, to be sure, marked variations from place to place; community ties were weaker, for example, in colonial cities and in communi-

Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought (Princeton, N.J., 1981); Kerber, *Women of the Republic*; and Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (Princeton, N.J., 1979). Historical treatments of women in politics include William H. Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920–1970* (New York, 1972), 24–47; Jane Gruenebaum, "Women in Politics" in Richard M. Pious, ed., *The Power to Govern: Assessing Reform in the United States*, Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, no. 34 (New York, 1981), 104–20; Gerda Lerner, ed., *The Female Experience: An American Documentary* (Indianapolis, 1977), 317–22; and Sheila M. Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present* (New York, 1978), 102–32, 136–53.

⁵ "Government" refers to the formal institutions of the state and their functions. "Policy" includes efforts by those within these institutions as well as by those outside them to shape social or economic conditions with the support of "government."

⁶ Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; Kerber, *Women of the Republic*; Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*; and Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*. Also see Linda Grant DePauw, *Founding Mothers: Women in the Revolutionary Era* (New York, 1975); and Joan Hoff-Wilson, "The Illusion of Change: Women and the American Revolution," in Alfred H. Young, ed., *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb, Ill., 1976), 383–444. Of these works, only Kerber's and Norton's explicitly set out to answer questions about women and politics, and their analyses differ on important points. On the basis of an examination of women's diaries and other papers, Norton argued that the Revolution and republicanism significantly changed the role of women. Family relationships, for example, grew more egalitarian, and women developed a new appreciation of their competence and skills outside the home. Kerber's analysis of American political thought in relationship to women, however, suggests that neither republicanism nor the Revolution had a positive effect on the role of women. Rather, republican thought assumed women were apolitical. But by the early nineteenth century an ideology of motherhood allowed women to combine domesticity with political action.

⁷ Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1978), 68; Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 151; Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690–1765* (New York, 1970), chaps. 1, 2; John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York, 1970), 182–85, chap. 4; James Henretta, *The Evolution of American Society, 1700–1815: An Interdisciplinary Analysis* (Lexington, Mass., 1973), 23–31; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, chap. 1; and Michael Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1970).

ties and regions with extensive commercial and market connections, such as parts of the South.⁸ Still, clear separations existed between men and women in their work and standards of behavior, and most women probably saw their part in the life of the community as the less important. A little-changing round of household tasks dominated women's lives and created a routine that they found stifling. Women had limited opportunities for social contact, and those they had were almost exclusively with other women. They turned work into social occasions, and they passed the milestones of their lives in the supportive company of female friends and relatives. But, however confining, separation provided a basis for a female culture—though not yet for female politics.⁹

Differences between men's and women's political behavior were muted in the colonial period, compared with what they later became. In many places, men who did not own land could not vote because governments placed property restrictions on suffrage. Both men and women petitioned legislatures to gain specific privileges or legal changes. Citizens held deferential attitudes toward authority; elections were often community rituals embodying codes of social deference. A community's "best" men stood for election and were returned to office year after year, and voters expected candidates to "treat" potential supporters by providing food and drink before and on election day. Deferential politics, however, weakened by the middle of the eighteenth century. Economic hardship caused some men to question the reality of a harmony of interests among classes, and the Great Awakening taught others to question traditional authorities. Facing a growing scarcity of land, fathers could no longer promise to provide for their sons, which weakened parental control. This new willingness to question authority of all sorts was a precondition for the Revolution and was, in turn, given expression by republican thought.¹⁰

Republicanism stressed the dangers posed to liberty by power and extolled the advantages of mixed and balanced constitutions. In a successful republic, an independent, virtuous, watchful, and dispassionate citizenry guarded against the weakness and corruption that threatened liberty. Although interpreted by Americans in different ways, republicanism provided a framework and a rationale for the Revolution. It furnished prescriptions for citizenship and for the relationship between citizens and the state. And it helped unify a collection of local communities racked by internal divisions and pressures.¹¹

⁸ Bender, *Community and Social Change*, 62–67; Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York* (New York, 1975), 290; Paul G. E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980); James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1972); Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), 149–79; Darrett B. Rutman, *Winthrop's Boston* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1965); and Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia, 1968), chap. 1.

⁹ Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, chap. 1; and Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, chaps. 1–3.

¹⁰ Among the many works on colonial political practices, see, for example, Charles S. Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1952); and Robert Zernsky, *Merchants, Farmers, and River Gods: An Essay on Eighteenth-Century Politics* (Boston, 1971). On changing attitudes toward authority, see Bushman, *Puritan to Yankee*, 138–63, 264–87; Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Philip J. Greven, Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970), chaps. 7, 8; Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York, 1976); and Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).

¹¹ Reviews of the literature on republicanism include Robert E. Shalhope, "Toward a Republican Synthesis: The Emergence of an Understanding of Republicanism in American Historiography," *William and Mary*

While the ideology and process of the Revolution forced a rethinking of fundamental political concepts, this re-evaluation did not extend to the role of women. As Linda K. Kerber persuasively argued, writers and thinkers in the republican tradition were concerned more with criticizing a particular political administration than with examining traditional assumptions about the political role of all inhabitants. Given their narrow intentions, they were not obliged to reconsider the position of women in the state. The language of republicanism also tended to make less likely the inclusion of women. Good republicans were, after all, self-reliant, given to simple needs and tastes, decisive, and committed first to the public interest. These were all “masculine” qualities; indeed, “feminine” attributes—attraction to luxury, self-indulgence, timidity, dependence, passion—were linked to corruption and posed a threat to republicanism. Moreover, women did not usually own land—the basis for an independent citizenry and republican government.¹²

Despite their formal prepolitical status, women participated in the Revolution. They were central to the success of boycotts of imported products and, later, to the production of household manufactures. Their work on farms and in businesses in their husbands’ absences was a vital and obvious contribution. Women’s participation also took less conventional forms. Edward Countryman recounted instances in which groups of women, angered at what they saw as wartime price-gouging, forced storekeepers to charge just prices. During and after the war, women also took part in urban crowd actions, organized petition campaigns, and formed groups to help soldiers and widows. Some even met with legislatures to press for individual demands.¹³ Whatever their purposes, all of these activities were congruent with women’s identification with the home, family, and community. In boycotts of foreign products and in domestic manufacture during the Revolution, women only expanded traditional activities. In operating farms and businesses, they stepped out of their sphere temporarily for the well-being of their families. Because separations between the home and community were ill defined in early America, women’s participation in crowd actions can also be seen as a defense of the home. As Countryman and others pointed out, a communalist philosophy motivated the crowd actions of both men and women. Crowds aimed to redress the grievances of the whole community. Women and men acted not as individuals but as members of a community—and with the community’s consent.¹⁴

Women’s political participation took place in the context of the home, but the important point is that the home was a basis for political action. As Kerber and

Quarterly, 3d ser., 29 (1972): 49–80, and “Republicanism and Early American Historiography,” *ibid.*, 39 (1982): 334–56. The articles in Young’s *The American Revolution* illustrate divisions in the republican consensus.

¹² Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, chap. 2.

¹³ Edward Countryman, *A People in Revolution: The American Revolution and Political Society in New York, 1760–1790* (Baltimore, 1981), 43–44; Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, chaps. 2–3; Nash, *The Urban Crucible*, chap. 7; Norton, *Liberty’s Daughters*, chaps. 6–7; and Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women’s Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1938; reprint edn., New York, 1972), 232–45.

¹⁴ Countryman, *A People in Revolution*; Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (New York, 1976), chaps. 2, 5; Pauline Maier, “Popular Uprisings and Civil Authority in Eighteenth-Century America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 27 (1970): 3–35; E. P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past & Present*, 50 (1971): 76–136; and Warner, *The Private City*, pt. 1.

Mary Beth Norton have shown, the political involvement of women through the private sphere took new forms by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Women combined political activity, domesticity, and republican thought through motherhood. Although outside of formal politics, mothering was crucial: by raising civic-minded, virtuous sons, they insured the survival of the republic. On the basis of this important task, women argued for wider access to education and justified interest and involvement in public affairs. As mothers women were republicans; they possessed civic virtue and a concern for the public good. Their exclusion from traditionally defined politics and economics guaranteed their lack of interest in personal gain. Through motherhood, women attempted to compensate for their exclusion from the formal political world by translating moral authority into political influence. Their political demands, couched in these terms, did not violate the canons of domesticity to which many men and women held.¹⁵

DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, women expanded their ascribed sphere into community service and care of dependents, areas not fully within men's or women's politics. These tasks combined public roles and administration with nurturance and compassion. They were not fully part of either male electoral politics and formal governmental institutions or the female world of the home and family. Women made their most visible public contributions as founders, workers, and volunteers in social service organizations.¹⁶ Together with the social separation of the sexes and women's informal methods of influencing politics, political domesticity provided the basis for a distinct nineteenth-century women's political culture.

Although the tradition, tactics, and ideology for the political involvement of women existed by the first decades of the nineteenth century, a separate political culture had not yet taken shape. Women's style of participation and their relationship to authority were not yet greatly different from those of many men. Until the 1820s—and in some states even later—property restrictions on suffrage disfranchised many men. Even for those granted the ballot, political interest and

¹⁵ Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, chaps. 7, 9; and Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, chap. 9. Some works suggest that republicanism was not a cause of more egalitarian family relationships, of new education for women to enhance their roles as better wives and mothers, or of women's use of the home to gain political influence. Jay Fliegelman, for example, persuasively argued that by the middle of the eighteenth century the older notion of the patriarchal family was under attack. It was being replaced by a new ideal—one drawn from Locke and the Scottish common-sense philosophers. Examining these writings and popular novels, he showed that the new model, which called for affectionate and egalitarian relationships with children and humane child rearing designed to prepare children for rational independence and self-sufficiency, was in place well before 1776. In fact, the rhetoric of the Revolution was replete with images portraying the importance of personal autonomy and of parental respect for the individuality of children who had come of age. Thus, a cultural revolution against patriarchal authority preceded the Revolution. (Fliegelman's analysis, however, chiefly concerns sons, not daughters, and it deals with questions not directly related to relationships between men and women.) Furthermore, the "republican mother" was not an ideal limited to America. Traian Stoianovich showed that an ideology of domesticity similar in content to republican motherhood had appeared in a systemized form in France by the late seventeenth century. See Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims*; and Stoianovich, "Gender and Family: Myths, Models, and Ideologies," *History Teacher*, 15 (1981): 70–84.

¹⁶ For the idea that women's political activity through organizations filled an undefined space in American government and politics, see Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860* (New York, 1984), chap. 7.

electoral turnout usually remained low.¹⁷ During the early years of the republic, deferential political behavior was again commonplace. Retreating from the demands of the Revolutionary period, most citizens once again seemed content to accept the political decisions made by the community's most distinguished men. This pattern persisted until new divisions split communities and competing elites vied for voters' support.¹⁸

Changes in the form of male political participation were part of a larger transformation of social, economic, and political relationships in the early nineteenth century. The rise of parties and the re-emergence of citizen interest in politics had a variety of specific sources. In some places, ethnic and religious tensions contributed to a new interest in politics and shaped partisan loyalties. Recently formed evangelical Protestant groups hoped to use government to impose their convictions about proper moral behavior on the community, a goal opposed by older Protestant groups and Catholics. Other kinds of issues—especially questions about the direction of the American political economy—led to political divisions. Citizens were deeply divided about the direction the economy ought to take and the roles government ought to play. They thought attempts to tie localities to new networks and markets in commerce and agriculture could lead to greater prosperity, but such endeavors also meant that economic decisions were no longer made locally and that both the social order and the values of republicanism could be in danger. Local party leaders linked these debates to national parties and leaders,¹⁹

¹⁷ On electoral participation in the early nineteenth century, see Ronald P. Formisano, "Deferential-Participant Politics: The Early Republic's Political Culture," *American Political Science Review* [hereafter, *APSR*], 68 (1974): 473–87; and Paul Kleppner, *Who Voted? The Dynamics of Electoral Turnout, 1870–1980* (New York, 1982), chap. 3: "The Era of Citizen Mobilization, 1840–1900." For a discussion of the increasing rates of participation, their timing, and their causes, see Richard P. McCormick, "New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics," *AHR*, 65 (1959–60): 288–301.

¹⁸ The rise and decline—indeed, the existence—of deference in male political behavior remains widely debated by political historians. Ronald P. Formisano has provided a good review of this literature in "Deferential-Participant Politics." A number of studies of individual communities illustrate the appearance of competing elites and new community divisions and citizens' demands. See Bender, *Community and Social Change*, 100–08; Michael Frisch, *Town into City: Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Meaning of Community, 1840–1880* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 32–53, 179–201; and Harry L. Watson, *Jacksonian Politics and Community Conflict: The Emergence of the Second Party System in Cumberland County, North Carolina* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981), 82–108.

¹⁹ I have drawn my discussion of the connections between economic issues and party formation from Watson's *Jacksonian Politics and Community Conflict*, which imaginatively blends many of the themes and approaches historians have most recently advanced to explain nineteenth-century political life. Watson combined a refurbished economic interpretation, the assumption that citizens cared deeply about economic issues, a concern for questions about political culture, attention to republican ideology and quantitative methods, and a social analysis of politics in his account of party formation. Although such assumptions, methods, and concerns will probably continue to influence political historians, a good deal of debate remains about the development of parties and the meaning of partisanship. Richard P. McCormick argued that the legal framework governing elections (as well as the revival of the contest for the presidency) best explains the rising pitch of partisan behavior and that parties were fundamentally electoral machines, unconcerned with issues. See McCormick, *The Second American Party System*. Others, however, have found that ethnic and religious tensions among citizens can account for partisan divisions. See Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, N.J., 1961); Ronald P. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827–1861* (Princeton, N.J., 1971); Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850–1900* (New York, 1970); and Michael F. Holt, *Forging a Majority: The Formation of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh, 1848–1860* (New Haven, Conn., 1969). For recent historiographic analyses of Jacksonian politics, see Ronald P. Formisano, "Toward a Reorientation of Jacksonian Politics: A Review of the Literature, 1959–1975," *Journal of American History* [hereafter, *JAH*], 63 (1976–77): 42–65; and Sean Wilentz, "On Class and Politics in Jacksonian America," *Reviews in American History*, 10 (1982): 45–63. Richard L. McCormick evaluated the work of those offering an ethnic and religious interpretation. See McCormick, "Ethno-Cultural Interpretations of Nineteenth-Century American Voting Behavior," *Political Science Quarterly*, 89 (1974): 351–77.

and the rise of working men's parties in urban areas seemed to spring from a similar set of questions and sense of unease about nineteenth-century capitalism.²⁰

Whatever their origin, parties also served other less explicitly "political" purposes. The strength of antebellum parties lay in their ability to fuse communal and national loyalties. The major parties were national organizations, but they were locally based: local people organized rallies, printed ballots, worked to gain the votes of their friends and neighbors. Through political activities in towns and cities, parties gained the support of men and translated their feelings into national allegiances.²¹ Political organization provided a set pattern of responses to divisive questions, which raised problems to the national level and served to defuse potential community divisions. Indeed, by linking local concerns to national institutions and leaders, parties took national political questions out of the local context.²² The local base of the Democrats and Whigs allowed them to take contradictory positions on issues in different places. Major party leaders searched for issues that enabled them to distinguish their own party from the opposition, while keeping their fragile constituencies intact. At the same time, local politics returned in most places to a search for consensual, nonpartisan solutions to community questions.²³

The rise of a national two-party system in the 1820s and 1830s inaugurated a period of party government and strong partisan loyalties among voters that lasted until after the turn of the twentieth century. Parties, through the national and state governments, distributed resources to individuals and corporations, and patronage to loyal partisans. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, roughly three-quarters of the eligible electorate cast their ballots in presidential elections. The organization and identity of the parties changed, but the pre-eminence of partisanship and government-by-party remained. Party identifications and the idea of partisanship passed from fathers to sons.²⁴

²⁰ Discussions of working men's parties include Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800–1850* (Philadelphia, 1980); and Edward Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Political Leaders of the Early Labor Movement* (Albany, N.Y., 1967), 11–33. The Antimasonic party, strongest in rural areas, offered a moral critique of American politics and society; see Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*, 14–38. Ronald P. Formisano provided an analysis of both parties; see *The Transformation of Political Culture: Massachusetts Parties, 1790s–1840s* (New York, 1983), 197–224.

²¹ See Jean H. Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), chaps. 1, 2; Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*; Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties*, chaps. 2, 7; and Watson, *Jacksonian Politics and Community Conflict*, 151–86, 269–77, 297–99, 312–13.

²² For a discussion of the removal of national issues from local politics, see Bender, *Community and Social Change*, 104.

²³ On the positions on issues taken by various parties, see McCormick, *Second American Party System*; and Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (New York, 1978). Richard P. McCormick's view that parties were primarily electoral machines conflicts with that of Holt, who argued that parties needed clear divisions between them to maintain the voters' interest. For consensual politics at the local level, especially in settled towns, see Hal S. Barron, "After the Great Transformation: The Social Processes of Settled Rural Life in the Nineteenth-Century North," in Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., *Rural Societies in Nineteenth-Century America: Essays in Social History* (Chapel Hill, N.C., forthcoming); Bender, *Community and Social Change*, 104–05; and Stuart Blumin, *The Urban Threshold: Growth and Change in a Nineteenth-Century Community* (Chicago, 1976), 144, 148.

²⁴ For discussions of nineteenth-century voting patterns, see Walter Dean Burnham, "The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe," *APSR*, 59 (1965): 7–28; Paul Kleppner, *Who Voted*, chap. 3; and Richard L. McCormick, "The Party Period and Public Policy: An Exploratory Hypothesis," *JAH*, 66 (1979–80): 279–98. Although they agree on a description of political behavior in the nineteenth century, these accounts differ on periodization, focus, and explanations for the demise of nineteenth-century patterns. I have adopted

Partisan politics characterized male political involvement, and its social elements help explain voters' enthusiastic participation. Parties and electoral politics united all white men, regardless of class or other differences, and provided entertainment, a definition of manhood, and the basis for a male ritual. Universal white manhood suffrage implied that, since all men shared the chance to participate in electoral politics, they possessed political equality. The right to vote was something important that men held in common. And, as class, geography, kinship, and community supplied less reliable sources of identification than they had at an earlier time, men could at least define themselves in reference to women. Parties were fraternal organizations that tied men together with others like themselves in their communities, and they brought men together as participants in the same partisan culture.²⁵

Election campaigns celebrated old symbols of the republic and, indeed, manhood. Beginning as early as William Henry Harrison's log cabin campaign in 1840, parties conducted entertaining extravaganzas. Employing symbols that recalled glorious old causes (first, the Jacksonian period and, later, the Civil War), men advertised their partisanship. They took part in rallies, joined local organizations, placed wagers on election results, read partisan newspapers, and wore campaign paraphernalia. In large and small cities military-style marching companies paraded in support of their party's candidates, while in rural areas picnics and pole raisings served to express and foster partisan enthusiasm.²⁶

Party leaders commonly used imagery drawn from the experience of war: parties were competing armies, elections were battles, and party workers were soldiers. They commented approvingly on candidates who waged manly campaigns, and they disparaged nonpartisan reformers as effeminate.²⁷ This language and the

McCormick's emphases on the continuities of partisan behavior throughout most of the nineteenth century and the links between distribution and partisanship. For the best account of the connections between partisanship and family, see Baker, *Affairs of Party*, chap. 1.

²⁵ Daniel Calhoun suggested that fears about gender replaced fears about tyranny in the political thought of the nineteenth century; Calhoun, *The Intelligence of a People* (Princeton, N.J., 1973), 188–205. For a discussion of partisan politics as a way of re-creating fraternal relations, see Wilson Carey McWilliams, *The Idea of Fraternity in America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), chap. 3, 243–53. For an account from the Progressive era, see Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, "Friendship and Politics," *Political Science Quarterly*, 17 (1902): 189–205.

²⁶ Descriptions and analyses of campaign rituals include Robert Gray Gunderson, *The Log Cabin Campaign* (Lexington, Ky., 1957), 1–11, 108–47, 210–18; Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888–1896* (Chicago, 1971), 1–33, and "Armies, Admen, and Crusaders: Types of Presidential Election Campaigns," *History Teacher*, 2 (1969): 33–50; Michael E. McGerr, "Political Spectacle and Partisanship in New Haven, 1860–1900," paper presented at the Seventy-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in Philadelphia, April 1982; and McCormick, *The Second American Party System*, 15–16, 30–31, 75–76, 88, 145, 157–58, 268–76. Lewis O. Saum, drawing on a vast number of diaries, documented citizens' participation in campaigns and their laconic reactions to antebellum politics; Saum, *The Popular Mood of Pre-Civil War America* (Westport, Conn., 1980), 149–57.

²⁷ Party politicians often spoke of reformers—those men outside of the party—in terms that questioned the reformers' masculinity. Most of all, reformers were seen as politically impotent. Men whose loyalty to a party was questionable were referred to, for example, as the "third sex" of American politics, "man-milliners," and "Miss-Nancys." This suggests that men, like women, were limited in the forms that their political participation could take. Works that note these charges of effeminacy include Lois W. Banner, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: A Radical for Woman's Rights* (Boston, 1980), 43; Geoffrey Blodgett, "Reform Thought and the Genteel Tradition," in H. Wayne Morgan, ed., *The Gilded Age* (2d edn., Syracuse, N.Y., 1970), 56–57; Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York, 1963), 179–91; and Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1982), 163–65. In addition to this language, phallic imagery and symbolism had an important place in nineteenth-century electoral politics. Psychohistorians might find a good deal of underlying meaning in the long ballot (reformers favored the short form) and pole raisings, for

campaigns themselves gathered new intensity in the decades following the Civil War. The men who marched in torchlight parades recalled memories of the war and demonstrated loyalty to the nation and to their party. Women participated, too, by illuminating their windows and cheering on the men; sometimes the women marched alongside the men, dressed as patriotic figures like Miss Liberty.²⁸ The masculine character of electoral politics was reinforced on election day. Campaigns culminated in elections held in saloons, barber shops, and other places largely associated with men. Parties and electoral politics, in short, served private, sociable purposes.

Just as the practice and meaning of electoral politics changed in the early nineteenth century, so did the function of government. State and local governments gradually relinquished to the marketplace the tasks of regulating economic activity, setting fair prices, and determining product standards. State governments limited the practice of granting corporate charters on an individual basis and, instead, wrote uniform procedures that applied to all applicants. These governments also reduced, and finally halted, public control of businesses and private ventures in which state money had been invested. A spate of state constitutional revisions undertaken from the 1820s through the 1840s codified these changes in the role of government in economic life. In state after state, new constitutions limited the power of the legislatures. Some of this power was granted to the courts, but most authority passed to the entrepreneurs. This transformation in governance is just beginning to be re-evaluated by political historians.²⁹ For our purposes, the important point is that governments largely gave up the tasks of regulating the economic and social behavior of the citizenry.

The rise of mass parties and characteristic forms of male political participation separated male and female politics. When states eliminated property qualifications for suffrage, women saw that their disfranchisement was based solely on sex. The idea of separate spheres had a venerable past, but it emerged in the early nineteenth century with a vengeance. Etiquette manuals written by both men and women prescribed more insistently the proper behavior for middle-class ladies. Woman's attributes—physical weakness, sentimentality, purity, meekness, piousness—were said to disqualify her for traditional public life. Motherhood was now described as woman's special calling—a “vocation,” in Nancy Cott's term—that, if performed knowledgeably and faithfully, represented the culmination of a wom-

example, as well as in partisans' charges of sexual impotence. Political historians, however, have as yet failed to examine the rituals and symbols of partisan contests in regard to their sexual connotations.

²⁸ Formisano, *Transformation of Political Culture*, 266; McGerr, “Political Spectacle and Partisanship,”; and Saum, *The Popular Mood of Pre-Civil War America*, 153.

²⁹ On economic policy and constitutional revision, see Wallace D. Farnham, “The Weakened Spring of Government: A Study in Nineteenth-Century American History,” *AHR*, 68 (1962–63): 662–80; L. Ray Gunn, “Political Implications of General Incorporation Laws in New York to 1860,” *Mid-America*, 59 (1977): 171–91; Oscar Handlin and Mary Flug Handlin, *Commonwealth: A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy—Massachusetts, 1774–1861* (New York, 1947); Louis Hartz, *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776–1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948); James Willard Hurst, *Law and the Conditions of Freedom in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (Madison, Wisc., 1956), chaps. 1, 2; and Morton Keller, *Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 71–81. On changes in social policy, see Jeremy P. Felt, *Hostages of Fortune: Child Labor Reform in New York State* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1956), 17–37; and Walter I. Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America* (New York, 1974), chaps. 2–4.

an's life.³⁰ While a handicap for traditional politics, her emotional and guileless nature provided strengths in pursuing the important tasks of binding community divisions and upholding moral norms.

At the same time, political activity expanded in scope and form. New organizations for women proliferated in small and large cities and became forums for political action.³¹ These organizations took on some of the tasks—the care of dependents and the enforcement of moral norms—that governments had abandoned. If not maintained by church, government, and community, the social order would be preserved by woman and the home. Women's positions outside traditionally defined politics and their elevated moral authority took on new importance and may have allowed men to pursue individual economic and social ends with less conflict. Through selfless activities in the home and community, women could provide stability.³²

As historians of women have pointed out, one of the ironies of Jacksonian democracy was the simultaneous development of the "cult of true womanhood" and rhetoric celebrating the equality of men.³³ These developments were related and carried ramifications for both male politics and woman's political role. The notion of womanhood served as a sort of negative referent that united all white men. It might, indeed, have allowed partisan politics to function as a ritual, for it made gender, rather than other social or economic distinctions, the most salient political division. Men could see past other differences and find common ground with other men.

"Womanhood" was more than just a negative referent, for it assigned the continued safety of the republic to the hands of disinterested, selfless, moral women. In the vision of the framers of the Constitution, government was a self-regulating mechanism that required good institutions to run properly—not, as in classical republicanism, virtuous citizens. Men's baser instincts were more depend-

³⁰ Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, chap. 2; Berg, *The Remembered Gate*, chaps. 2–4; Degler, *At Odds*, chaps. 3–5; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977), 65–90, 107–11; Sklar, *Catherine Beecher*, 87, 151–67, 212–13; Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present* (1975; 2d edn., New York, 1979), 142–74; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America," *American Quarterly*, 4 (1971): 562–84; Ryan, *Womanhood in America*, 85–92; and Welter, "Cult of True Womanhood."

³¹ Mary P. Ryan argued that these new organizations prepared women for a domesticity confined to the conjugal family; *Cradle of the Middle Class*, esp. 9–18. Perhaps Berg made the strongest case for the political importance of early nineteenth-century women's organizations, for she contended that these early reform groups provided the groundwork for American feminism; *The Remembered Gate*, esp. 6–7, 174–75, 240–42.

³² Welter, "Cult of True Womanhood"; and Sklar, *Catherine Beecher*, 126–29, 151–67, 172, 212–13.

³³ The phrase is Welter's; see "The Cult of True Womanhood." Since the appearance of her work, historians of women have concentrated on questions different from those Welter asked about the concurrent rise of the woman's sphere and male egalitarianism. Welter explored the relationship between the two and found that the new insistence on woman's place compensated for the lack of restraint on male political and economic ambitions. Scholars have since focused on the impact of domesticity on feminism. Some historians, taking a "cultural" approach, have seen the roots of feminism in women's organizations and domesticity. Others, notably Ellen DuBois, have found this inadequate. They have argued that, in order to understand the origins of feminism, historians should pay closest attention to explicitly "political" concerns in the nineteenth century. For an introduction to this debate, see "Politics and Culture in Women's History: A Symposium," *Feminist Studies*, 6 (1980): 26–54. Studies of the woman's sphere in the Jacksonian period include Berg, *The Remembered Gate*; Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; Lerner, "The Lady and the Mill Girl"; Glenda Riley, "The Subtle Subversion: Changes in the Traditionalist Image of the American Woman," *Historian*, 32 (1970): 210–27; Sklar, *Catherine Beecher*, esp. 134–36, 155–67; Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman"; and Ryan, *Womanhood in America*, 85–92.

able than their better ones; hence, the framers made self-interest the basis for government. While politics and public life expressed selfish motives, private life—the home—maintained virtue. The republican vocabulary lingered into the nineteenth century, but key words gained new meanings that were related to private behavior. “Liberty,” “independence,” and “freedom” had economic as much as political connotations, while “virtue” and “selflessness” became attributes of women and the home. Because order was thought to be maintained by virtuous women, men could be partisans and could admit that community divisions existed.³⁴ At the same time, male electoral participation defined politics. As the idea of parties gained citizens’ acceptance and other modes of participation were closed off or discouraged, electoral participation stood as the condoned means of political expression.

Women’s political demands and actions that too closely approached male prerogatives met with resistance. Women fought hard—and sometimes successfully—in state legislatures to end legal discrimination. But even their victories had as much to do with male self-interest as with women’s calls for justice.³⁵ Still, they slowly gained legal rights in many states. And since male politics determined what was public and political, most of those demands by women that fell short of suffrage were seen as private and apolitical. The political activities of women in clubs and in public institutions achieved a considerable degree of male support. Women reformers not only drew little visible opposition from men but often received male financial support. Women’s moral nature gave them a reason for public action, and, since they did not have the vote, such action was considered “above” politics.

Ideas about womanhood and separate spheres, as well as forces as diverse as urbanization and the resurgence of revival religion, gave women’s political activity a new prominence. But that female sphere had now grown. Men and women would probably have agreed that the “home” in a balanced social order was the place for women and children. But this definition became an expansive doctrine: home was anywhere women and children were. Influential women writers such as Catherine Beecher described a “domestic economy” in which women combined nurturance and some of the organizational methods of the new factory system to run loving, yet efficient, homes. Others expanded the profession of motherhood to include all of society, an argument that stressed the beneficial results that an application of feminine qualities had on society as a whole.³⁶ This perspective on motherhood and

³⁴ Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1969). For an economic understanding of the republican vocabulary, see Rowland Berthoff, “Independence and Attachment, Virtue and Interest: From Republican Citizen to Free Enterpriser, 1787–1837,” in Bushman *et al.*, eds., *Uprooted Americans: Essays to Honor Oscar Handlin* (Boston, 1979), 97–124. In a related vein, Merle Curti discussed economic arguments for national loyalty; see Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York, 1946), chap. 4. On connections between domesticity and Jacksonian democracy, see Lawrence J. Friedman, *Inventors of the Promised Land* (New York, 1975), chap. 4; and Sklar, *Catherine Beecher*, 80–89, 155–63.

³⁵ Degler, *At Odds*, 332–33; and Suzanne D. Lebsock, “Radical Reconstruction and the Property Rights of Southern Women,” *Journal of Southern History*, 43 (1977): 195–216. Lebsock noted that opposition to women speakers, along with new forms of ritual deference, appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century, and she suggested that men may have reacted to women’s increasing power in the private sphere by encroaching on their public roles; *Free Women of Petersburg*, chap. 7.

³⁶ Mary P. Ryan referred to women who wished to apply motherhood to the public sphere as “social housekeepers”; *Womanhood in America*, 142–47, 226–35. For other studies that consider the expansion and articulation of domesticity, see Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; Linda Gordon, *Woman’s Body, Woman’s Right: A*

the home included not only individual households but all women and children and the forces that affected their lives. And it had a lasting appeal. As late as 1910, feminist and journalist Retha Childe Dorr asserted: "Woman's place is Home. . . . But Home is not contained within the four walls of an individual house. Home is the community. The city full of people is the Family. The public school is the real Nursery. And badly do the Home and Family need their mother."³⁷ Many nineteenth-century women found this vision of the home congenial: it encouraged a sense of community and responsibility toward all women, and it furnished a basis for political action.

THROUGHOUT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY women participated in politics through organizations that worked to correct what they defined as injustices toward women and children. The ideas and institutions through which women acted, however, changed significantly over time. Early organizations, including moral reform societies and local benevolent organizations, based their political action on the notions of the moral superiority of women and an expansive woman's sphere. By the mid-nineteenth century, new groups rejected that vision. Early suffrage organizations insisted on rights for women and the independence to move outside of the woman's sphere. Although they by no means fully dismissed the notion of women's moral superiority, their tactics and ideology flowed from different sources, such as the abolition movement. Still later, a new generation of clubwomen returned to the idea of a woman's sphere but rejected sentimentality in favor of the scientific and historical vision of the Gilded Age. They stressed how scientific motherhood, if translated into efficient, nonpartisan, and tough-minded public action, could bring social progress. Temperance activists and suffragists in the late nineteenth century wanted political equality so that the special qualities of womanhood could be better expressed and exercised: femininity provided a sort of expertise needed in formal politics. Drawing on the growing body of works that recount the public activities of women, we can illustrate how the nineteenth-century female political culture operated.

Some of the earliest examples of women's organizations were benevolent and moral reform societies. These groups, usually located in cities, were staffed and managed by middle-class women.³⁸ Unable to believe that women voluntarily acted in ways that were in conflict with the strictures of the woman's sphere, they blamed their charges' misfortunes on male immorality. For example, the Female Benevolent Society and the Female Moral Reform Society, both in New York City and both most active in the 1830s, concentrated their efforts on eradicating moral lapses such as prostitution. Since no woman would choose such an unwomanly vocation, they

Social History of Birth Control (New York, 1976), 95–115, 126–36; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*; and Sklar, *Catherine Beecher*, 80–89, 96, 135–37, 151–67, 193–94, 203, 221–22, 264–65.

³⁷ Dorr, *What Eighty Million Women Want* (Boston, 1919; reprint edn., New York, 1971), 327.

³⁸ Berg, *The Remembered Gate*, esp. chap. 7; Degler, *At Odds*, 279–86, 298–316; Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, 149–59; Melder, *Beginnings of Sisterhood*, 40–43, 50–60, 64–76; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, chap. 3; and Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman."

reasoned, they blamed the moral inferiority of men and the scarcity of economic opportunities for women for this degradation of womanhood.

Such an analysis of the causes of unwomanly behavior encouraged women in benevolent groups to broaden their efforts and concerns. Organized women inaugurated employment services, trained women for work as seamstresses and housekeepers, and gathered funds to aid poor women. These reformers were also alarmed at the treatment of women in prisons; they feared these women were brutalized and immodestly mixed with male inmates. Hence they worked for prison reform and persuaded state and municipal governments to appoint female guards and police matrons, as well as to set up halfway houses and prisons for women. Other groups dedicated themselves to helping elderly women, poor women, children, and orphans. They were joined by clubwomen in working for dress reform, health and sex education, and education for women.³⁹ As their concerns widened, so did the variety of their tactics. One group published the names of prostitutes' clients that were gathered by members who held vigils outside of brothels. When moral suasion and shame seemed ineffective, they turned to law. Reformers lobbied legislators to pass measures that would protect women, children, and the home. They also launched successful petition drives. A New York State group persuaded legislators to introduce a bill that would make adultery and seduction punishable crimes. During the next three years, they put pressure on assemblymen by publishing the names of representatives who voted against the measure. It passed. Members of charitable organizations also worked to see legislation enacted that protected married women's property.⁴⁰

These demands, like all of the political actions of the antebellum groups, were fully congruent with a broad vision of the woman's sphere. We should recognize, too, that the vision of the home as embracing all women and children had an important corollary: "woman" was a universal category in the minds of organized women, as it was for others who held the doctrine of separate spheres. Because all women shared certain qualities, and many the experience of motherhood, what helped one group of women benefited all. "Motherhood" and "womanhood" were powerful integrating forces that allowed women to cross class, and perhaps even racial, lines.⁴¹ They also carried moral and political clout. Hence, women's groups celebrated the special moral nature of women, usually in contrast to men's capacity for immoral behavior. The nature of woman simply suited her to ensure the moral and social order, which sometimes necessitated the assistance of the state.

The culmination of this strain of female political culture was the Woman's

³⁹ Both Berg and Melder stressed the anti-male rhetoric of these early organizations; Melder, *Beginnings of Sisterhood*, chap. 4, esp. 55. Also see Riley, "Subtle Subversion"; Mary P. Ryan, "The Power of Women's Networks: A Case Study of Female Moral Reform in Antebellum America," *Feminist Studies*, 5 (1979): 66–85; Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman"; Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist*; Estelle B. Freedman, *Their Sisters' Keepers: Women's Prison Reform in America, 1830–1930* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981), 22–35; and Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union*, chaps. 6–7.

⁴⁰ Berg, *The Remembered Gate*, 183–85. For comparable examples, see Melder, *Beginnings of Sisterhood*, chap. 4; and Ryan, "The Power of Women's Networks."

⁴¹ On the possibility of racial cooperation, see Blanche Glassman Hersh, *The Slavery of Sex: Feminist Abolitionists in America* (Urbana, Ill., 1978). Gerda Lerner has explicated the difficulty of such cooperation; see "Black and White Women in Interaction and Confrontation."

Parliament, convened by Sorosis, a professional women's club in New York City, in 1869. Supporters envisioned creating a parallel government with responsibilities complementing woman's nature: education, prisons, reform schools, parks, recreation, political corruption, and social policy in general—tasks that male partisan politics handled poorly, if at all. Participants intended the parliament to be elected by all women at large, and, although it met only once, the Woman's Parliament was the fullest expression of the transfer of woman's sphere to politics.⁴² Nonetheless, the members of the Woman's Parliament rejected woman suffrage, even though they were prepared to operate a separate government. Suffrage represented the antithesis of the glorification of separate spheres that lay behind the political activities of the early organizations. For these women and many men, suffrage was indeed a radical demand.⁴³ By involving women in the male political arena, women's right to vote threatened to end political separation. It implied—and suffragists argued—that men and women should be treated as individuals, equal in abilities and talents, and that neither men nor women were blessed with a special nature. Women's suffrage threatened the fraternal, ritualistic character of male politics, just as it promised to undercut female political culture.

The early suffrage movement developed from women's participation in the abolition movement, particularly the Garrisonian wing, but there was no simple connection between the two. Women, as Ellen DuBois pointed out, did not need involvement in abolitionism to recognize their oppression. Rather, from their experience women gained political skills, an ideology distinct from the doctrine of separate spheres, and a set of tactics. They learned about political organization and public speaking, found humanism an attractive alternative to evangelical Protestantism and woman's special nature, and discovered Garrisonian moral suasion to be a useful way of making political demands. Abolitionism taught women how to turn women's rights into a political movement. Moreover, the rejection of their demands by the Radical Republicans showed them the unreliability of the established political parties and the necessity for an independent movement.⁴⁴ Yet the early suffrage movement was notably unsuccessful. The organization itself split over questions of tactics and purpose. A few Western states passed woman suffrage amendments, but apparently for reasons other than women's demands. By the 1880s, many states allowed women to vote in school elections, and even to serve on school boards. But, on the whole, the movement made little headway until the turn of the century.⁴⁵

Neither the equality nor the liberal individualism promised by the early suffragists found a receptive audience in the nineteenth century. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women's political activities were

⁴² On the Woman's Parliament, see Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist*, 39–45, 73.

⁴³ DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*. Also see Degler, *At Odds*, chap. 7; and Scott and Scott, *One-Half the People*.

⁴⁴ DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*.

⁴⁵ Fourteen states admitted women to the electorate at least for school elections. Four states—Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah—passed full woman suffrage amendments. On the conservative, nonfeminist motives behind the passage of woman suffrage in the Western states, see Grimes, *Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage*. For Sarah Churske Stevens's account of her successful race for school superintendent in Markate County, Minnesota, in 1890, see Lerner, *Female Experience*, 361–73.

characterized by voluntary, locally based moral and social reform efforts. Many women had a stake in maintaining the idea of separate spheres. It carried the force of tradition and was part of a feminine identity, both of which were devalued by the individualism that suffrage implied. Separate spheres allowed women to wield power of a sort. They could feel that their efforts showed some positive result and that public motherhood contributed to the common good. Moreover, men were unwilling to vote for suffrage amendments. The late nineteenth century was the golden age of partisan politics: at no time before or since did parties command the allegiance of a higher percentage of voters or have a greater hand in the operation of government. Indeed, in the extremes of political action of both men and women during the late nineteenth century—torchlight parades and the Woman's Parliament—there were hints of earnest efforts to hold together a social and political system that was slipping from control. At any rate, separate political cultures had nearly reached the end of existence.

THROUGHOUT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, the charitable work of women aimed to remedy problems like poverty, disease, and helplessness. But after the Civil War the ideas that informed women's efforts, as well as the scope of their work, markedly changed. New perceptions about the function of the state and a transformed vision of society came out of the experience of the war. It had illustrated the importance of loyalty, duty, centralization, and organization and encouraged a new sense of American nationality. Even as the federal government drew back from its wartime initiatives, many Americans were recognizing the shortcomings of limited government. Amid rapid urbanization and industrialization, the economic system nationalized and reached tighter forms of organization. Social thinkers and political activists discovered limits in the ability of traditional Protestantism, liberalism, or republicanism to explain their world. Some even questioned the idea of moral authority itself and turned to a positivistic interpretation of Spencerian sociology, which stressed the inevitability of historical progress and touted science as the height of human achievement. While the system had its critics, it more commonly was justified by a faith in historical progress.⁴⁶

Women's political culture reflected these changes. The work of Northern women in the Sanitary Commission illustrates some of the directions that their politics took. The commission, a voluntary but quasi-governmental organization founded by male philanthropists, set out to supply Northern troops with supplies and medical care. Volunteers, they argued, were too often distracted by the suffering of individuals, and community-based relief got in the way. Unsentimental and scientific, the members of the commission felt they best understood the larger

⁴⁶ George M. Fredrickson, *The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union* (New York, 1965); James Gilbert, *Designing the Industrial State: The Intellectual Pursuit of Collectivism in America, 1880–1940* (Chicago, 1972); Peter Dobkin Hall, *The Organization of American Culture, 1700–1900: Private Institutions, Elites, and the Origins of American Nationality* (New York, 1982), 218–70; Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana, Ill., 1977); Keller, *Affairs of State*; Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union*; and Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*.

purpose and the proper way to deal with the magnitude of the casualties. Women served as nurses in the commission, as they did in army hospitals and voluntary community relief operations. They moved women's traditional roles of support, healing, and nurturance into the public sphere. At the same time, their experiences taught them the limits of sentiment and the need for discipline. Women such as Clara Barton, Dorothea Dix, Mary Livermore, and Mother Bickerdyke gained public acclaim for their services. Well-to-do Northern women raised a substantial amount of money for the commission by running "Sanitary Fairs." They collected contributions, sold items donated by men and women, and publicly celebrated the Union's cause.⁴⁷

The commission is an important example of women's participation in politics. The acceptance and expansion of the woman's sphere, professionalization, and the advancement of science over sentiment were repeated in other Gilded Age female organizations. Some middle-class groups saw socialism as the solution to heightened class tensions, and, for a time, such groups formed alliances with working-class and socialist organizations. In Chicago, the Illinois Woman's Alliance cooperated with the Trade and Labor Assembly on efforts to secure legislation of interest to both groups. Yet such alliances grew increasingly rare as socialists were discredited.⁴⁸

Organized women found a more permanent method in social science. Especially in its early reformist stage, social science tied science to traditional concerns of women.⁴⁹ The methods and language of social science—data collection, detached observation, and an emphasis on prevention—influenced the political work of women. In the South, women in church and reform groups adopted these methods to address what they perceived as the important social dislocations created by the Civil War. Gilded Age "friendly visitors" spent time with the poor, gathering information and providing a presumably uplifting example. They did little more, since alms giving was bad for the poor because it discouraged work, and, by standing in the way of progress, it was also a detriment to the race. Even more "scientific," Progressive-era settlement workers later mocked the friendly visitors' pretensions. They saw the Gilded Age ladies as lacking in compassion and blind to the broader sources of poverty and, hence, the keys to its prevention. Later still, professional social workers, further removed from sentimentality, replaced the settlement workers and their approaches.⁵⁰ Yet in the Gilded Age, social science

⁴⁷ L. P. Brockett and Mary C. Vaughn, *Women's Work in the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1967); Ann Douglas, "The War Within: Women Nurses in the Union Army," *Civil War History*, 18 (1972): 197–212; Fredrickson, *The Inner Civil War*, 98–112, 212–16; Livermore, *My Story of the War*; Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place*, 71–74; and Ryan, *Womanhood in America*, 226–28.

⁴⁸ Buhle, *Women and American Socialism*; Ann D. Gordon and Mari Jo Buhle, "Gender Politics and Class Conflict: Chicago in the Gilded Age," paper presented at the Upstate Women's History Conference, held in Binghamton, New York, October 1981.

⁴⁹ Social science was for Franklin Sanborn, a leader of the American Social Science Association, "the feminine gender of Political Economy, . . . very receptive of particulars but little capacity of general and aggregate matters." Sanborn, as quoted in Haskell, *Emergence of Professional Social Science*, 137.

⁵⁰ On women and social science, see Gordon and Buhle, "Gender Politics and Class Conflict"; Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union*, 316–22, 324–46; and Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place*, 108–12. Transitions in reform thought and tactics are traced in Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order, 1820–1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); Robert H. Bremner, *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States* (New York, 1956); Fredrickson, *The Inner Civil War*, 98–112, 119–216; Roy Lubove, *The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880–1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 2–20, 81–82, 84; and David P. Thelen, *The New*

provided women with quasi-professional positions and an evolutionary argument for women's rights. It also contributed a logic for joining forces with formal governmental institutions, because social science taught the importance of cooperation, prevention, and expertise. This faith in the scientific method and in professionalism eventually led to a devaluation of voluntary work and to the relinquishment of social policy to experts in governmental bureaucracies.⁵¹

The temperance movement illustrates another way that women fused domesticity and politics. It engaged more women than any other nineteenth-century cause and shows how women could translate a narrow demand into a political movement with wide concerns. Temperance appealed to women because it addressed a real problem—one that victimized women—and because, as a social problem, it fell within the woman's sphere. The temperance movement developed through a number of stages and gained momentum especially during the Second Great Awakening. Its history as a women's movement, however, began with the temperance crusade during the years following the Civil War. In small cities and towns in the East and Midwest, groups of women staged marches and held vigils outside or conducted prayer meetings inside saloons, which sometimes coerced their owners to close. In some places, they successfully enlisted the aid of local governments. In most towns, however, the saloons reopened after a short period of "dry" enthusiasm.⁵²

The Women's Christian Temperance Union was a descendant of the temperance crusade. It, too, relied on Protestant teachings, women's sense of moral outrage, and the belief in women's moral superiority. Throughout its history, the WCTU was involved in working for legislation such as high license fees and local option. But under the leadership of Frances Willard, the organization, while still defining temperance as its major goal, moved far beyond its initial concerns and closer to the Knights of Labor, the Populist party, and the Christian Socialists and away from the tactics and ideology of the temperance crusade. Like these Gilded Age protest movements, the WCTU turned a seemingly narrow demand of group interest into a critique of American society.⁵³ Indeed, the ability of the WCTU to cast the

Citizenship: The Origins of Progressivism in Wisconsin, 1885–1900 (Columbia, Mo., 1972). On the South, see James L. Leloudis II, "School Reform in the New South: The Women's Association for the Betterment of Public School Houses in North Carolina, 1902–1919," *JAH*, 69 (1982–83): 886–909; and Scott, *Southern Lady*, chap. 6.

⁵¹ For an examination of changing attitudes about voluntarism, see Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849–1929* (Chicago, 1982), esp. 27–50.

⁵² On women's activity in early temperance organizations, see Jed Dannenbaum, "The Origins of Temperance Activism and Militancy among American Women," *Journal of Social History*, 15 (1981–82): 235–52; Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity*, 93–114; and Eliza Daniel ("Mother") Stewart, *Memories of the Crusade: A Thrilling Account of the Great Uprising of the Women of Ohio in 1873 against the Liquor Crime* (Columbus, Ohio, 1889; reprint edn., 1972).

⁵³ Willard attempted to ally the WCTU with the Prohibitionists and later the Populists. For a time, she also considered supporting the Republican party but found it an unreliable partner. On Willard's relationship and that of the WCTU to the parties and reform movements of the Gilded Age, see Jack S. Blocker, Jr., "The Politics of Reform: Populists, Prohibitionists, and Woman Suffrage, 1891–1892," *Historian*, 34 (1975): 614–32; Ruth Bordin, "Frances Willard and the Practice of Political Influence," paper presented at the Seventy-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 1983; Buhle, *Women and American Socialism*, 60–69, 80–89; Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity*, 137–47; and Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana, Ill., 1963), 88–96.

traditional concerns of women in terms of a broad vision and of the public good helps explain its success. But that success was in part the result of its flexible organization. Although centrally directed, the WCTU was locally organized, which allowed the branches to determine their own concerns and projects within the general directives of the leadership. Willard's WCTU inaugurated the "Do Everything" policy, which allowed local organizations to choose projects as they saw fit. The WCTU made temperance the basis of demands for a wide range of reforms. Alcohol abuse, they argued, was a symptom, not a cause, of poverty, crime, and injustices done to women. Therefore, the WCTU organized departments in areas such as labor, health, social purity, peace, education, and, eventually, suffrage. The locals were directly involved in electoral politics: small-town women worked for "dry" candidates, while the Chicago Union supported the Socialist party.⁵⁴

The WCTU's call for the vote for women nearly split the organization. It supported suffrage not for the sake of individual rights but because the ballot could allow women to serve better the causes of temperance, the home, and the public good. American politics and economics in the late nineteenth century contained enough examples of the baneful results of unrestrained self-interest, from political corruption to avaricious corporations. The efforts of women to deal locally with social problems were no longer sufficient in a nation where the sources were extralocal, and created by male, self-interested political and economic behavior. Woman's vote, they argued, would express her higher, selfless nature. The WCTU combined the woman's sphere with suffrage under the rubric of "Home Protection," an argument that implied feminine values belonged within traditionally defined politics. While taking traditional domestic concerns seriously, the WCTU taught women how to expand them into wider social concern and political action. With greater success than any other nineteenth-century women's group, it managed to forge the woman's sphere into a broadly based political movement.

Other groups—notably the second generation of woman suffragists and clubwomen—also attempted to combine the woman's sphere and women's rights. In this effort, woman suffrage remained divisive. As DuBois and Carl Degler have shown, the threat woman suffrage posed to the doctrine of separate spheres helps explain why the struggle was so long and bitterly fought. But an examination of the political context can provide further insights. The antisuffragists' most powerful argument was that suffrage was dangerous because it threatened the existence of separate spheres. If women voted, they would abandon the home and womanly virtues. The differences between the sexes would be obscured: men would lose their manhood and women would begin to act like men. Throughout the nineteenth century, those arguments struck a chord. Participation in electoral politics did define manhood. Women also had a stake in maintaining their sphere and the power it conferred. But by the end of the century profound social, economic, and political changes made that antisuffrage argument—and the separate male and female political cultures—less persuasive to many women—and many men.

⁵⁴ Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*; Buhle, *Women and American Socialism*, 54–60, 70–89; Degler, *At Odds*, 338–39; Gordon and Buhle, "Gender Politics and Class Conflict"; and Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity*, chap. 5.

THE NATURE OF ELECTORAL POLITICS changed significantly during the early twentieth century. Gone were not only the torchlight parades but also most of the manifestations of the male political culture that those parades symbolized. Voter turnout began to decline, and men's allegiance to political parties waned. In the broadest sense, these changes can be traced to the effects of rapid urbanization and industrialization.⁵⁵ In the nineteenth century, partisan politics was a local experience, resting on certain sorts of community relationships. In the partisan press and campaigns, politics meant economic policy. Locally, such issues were handled in an individualistic, partisan manner; on the national level, abstract discussions of distant economic questions supplied the basis for a partisan faith.

But by the early twentieth century the communities in which voters' loyalties were formed had changed. Men's most important relationships were no longer contained solely within geographically defined localities but were instead scattered over distances. Their political ties were no longer exclusively with neighbors but also with people having similar economic or other interests. Male political participation began to reflect this shift. Men increasingly replaced or supplemented electoral participation with the sorts of single-issue, interest-group tactics that women had long employed. Moreover, political parties that dealt with problems on an individualistic basis now seemed less useful because economic and political problems demanded more than individualistic solutions.⁵⁶ The sum of these changes in nineteenth-century patterns of electoral participation was to lessen the importance of partisan politics for men. In hindsight, at least, woman suffrage presented less of a threat to a male political culture and to manhood.

Even more important, the antisuffragists could no longer argue so forcefully that the vote would take women out of the home. Government had assumed some of the substantive functions of the home by the early twentieth century. Politics and government in the nineteenth century had revolved almost entirely around questions of sectional, racial, and economic policies. To be sure, governments, especially at the state level, spent the largest portion of their budgets on supporting

⁵⁵ Historians and political scientists have devoted a good deal of attention to changing patterns of electoral politics in the early twentieth century. Still, much controversy remains. For different points of view, see Burnham, "The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe"; Philip E. Converse, "Change in the American Electorate," in Angus Campbell and Converse, eds., *The Human Meaning of Social Change* (New York, 1972), 263–337; J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restrictions and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880–1910* (New Haven, Conn., 1974); and Jerrold G. Rusk, "The Effect of the Australian Ballot on Split-Ticket Voting," *APSR*, 64 (1970): 1220–38. Other important works tie changes in electoral politics to the transformation of governance in the twentieth century. See Hays, *Response to Industrialism*; Paul Kleppner, *The Third Electoral System, 1853–1892: Parties, Voters, and Political Cultures* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), and *Who Voted*, chap. 4; Richard L. McCormick, "The Discovery That Business Corrupts Politics: A Reappraisal of the Origins of Progressivism," *AHR*, 86 (1981): 247–74; and Wiebe, *The Search for Order*. The interpretation offered here blends elements of these approaches along with the findings of studies of late nineteenth-century community life. It owes the most to Samuel P. Hays, "Political Parties and the Community-Society Continuum," in William Nisbet Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham, eds., *The American Party Systems: Stages of Political Development* (2d edn., New York, 1975), 152–81.

⁵⁶ On the connection between community change and partisan behavior, see Hays, "Political Parties and the Community-Society Continuum"; Kleppner, *Who Voted*; and Paula Baker, "The Culture of Politics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Community and Political Behavior in Rural New York," *Journal of Social History* (forthcoming). The relationship between partisanship and forms of policy making is analyzed in McCormick, "The Party Period and Public Policy."

institutions like schools, asylums, and prisons.⁵⁷ But election campaigns and partisan political discussions largely excluded mention of these institutions. In the Progressive era, social policy—formerly the province of women's voluntary work—became public policy. Women themselves had much to do with this important transition—a transition that in turn changed their political behavior.

Women continued to exercise their older methods of political influence, but now they directed their efforts through new institutions. Women's clubs—united in 1890 as the General Federation of Women's Clubs—were one important means. Beginning as self-improvement organizations, many clubs soon focused on social and cultural change. These women sought to bring the benefits of motherhood to the public sphere. They set up libraries, trade schools for girls, and university extension courses, and they worked to introduce home economics courses, to improve the physical environment of schools, and to elect women to school boards. They also sponsored legislation to eliminate sweatshops and provide tenement-house fire inspection. Clubwomen interested in sanitary reforms helped enact programs for clean water and better sewage disposal. In many cities, they raised money for parks and playgrounds. Clubs were also important in pressing for a juvenile court system and for federal public health legislation, such as the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act.⁵⁸

But by the Progressive period, these women recognized that their efforts—and even public motherhood—were not enough. The scope of these problems meant that reform had to be concerned with more than the care of women and children. Charity had real limits. Problems were not solvable, or even treatable, at the local level. Despite attempts to uplift them, the poor remained poor, and women began to identify the problem as having broader sources. The municipal housekeepers needed the help of the state: alone, they were powerless to remove the source of the problem, only to face the growing number of its victims. As Mary Beard explained in 1915,

It is the same development which has characterized all other public works—the growth from remedy to prevention, and the growth is stable for the reason that it represents economy in the former waste of money and effort and because popular education is leading to the demand for prevention and justice rather than charity. In this expansion of municipal

⁵⁷ Gerald N. Grob, "The Political System and Social Policy in the Nineteenth Century: Legacy of the Revolution," *Mid-America*, 58 (1976): 5–19.

⁵⁸ Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist*; Marlene Stein Wortman, "Domesticating the Nineteenth-Century American City," *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies*, 3 (1977): 531–72; Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place*, 102–26, 112–27; and Margaret Gibbons Wilson, *The American Woman in Transition: The Urban Influence, 1870–1920* (Westport, Conn., 1979), 91–99. Women in the South engaged in similar work through women's clubs and church organizations; see Leloudis, "School Reform in the New South"; John Patrick McDowell, *The Social Gospel in the South: The Women's Home Mission Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1886–1939* (Baton Rouge, La., 1982); and Scott, *Southern Lady*, chap. 6. Middle-class black women worked through separate organizations in the nineteenth century. See Lynda F. Dickson, "The Early Club Movement among Black Women in Denver, 1890–1925" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1982); Tullia Hamilton, "The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1978); and Gerda Lerner, "Community Work of Black Women's Clubs," and "Black and White Women in Interaction and Confrontation." For clubwomen's descriptions of their work, see Croly, *History of the Women's Club Movement*; Gerda Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York, 1972), chap. 8; and Mary I. Wood, *The History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs for the First Twenty-Two Years of Its Organization* (New York, 1912).

functions there can be little dispute as to the importance of women. Their hearts touched in the beginning by human misery and their sentiments aroused, they have been led into manifold activities in attempts at amelioration, which have taught them the breeding places of disease, as well as of vice, crime, poverty, and misery. Having learned that effectively to "swat the fly" they must swat its nest, women have also learned that to swat disease they must swat poor housing, evil labor conditions, ignorance, and vicious interests.⁵⁹

What Beard described was the process by which politics became domesticated. Women's charitable work had hardly made a dent in the social dislocations of industrial society. The problems were unsolvable at the local level because they were not local problems. And, since the goal of these women was to prevent abstract, general problems—to prevent poverty rather than to aid poor people—the methods of antebellum organizations would not suffice. Hence, the state—the only institution of sufficient scope—had to intervene. Women therefore turned their efforts toward securing legislation that addressed what they perceived to be the sources of social problems—laws to compensate victims of industrial accidents, to require better education, to provide adequate nutrition, and to establish factory and tenement inspection, for example.⁶⁰ Clubwomen pointed proudly to playgrounds that they had founded and later donated to local governments.⁶¹ Thus women passed on to the state the work of social policy that they found increasingly unmanageable.

Historians have not yet explicitly addressed the questions of how and why governments took on these specific tasks. In the broadest sense, the willingness of government to accept these new responsibilities has to do with the transformation of liberalism in the early twentieth century. Liberalism came to be understood not as individualism and laissez faire but as a sense of social responsibility coupled with a more activist, bureaucratic, and "efficient" government. This understanding of government and politics meshed nicely with that of women's groups. Both emphasized social science ideas and methods, organization, and collective responsibility for social conditions. Thus there were grounds for cooperation, and the institutions that women created could easily be given over to government. Yet the character of collective action varied. The business corporation created the model for the new liberalism, while politically active women and some social thinkers took the family and small community as an ideal.⁶² But whatever the mechanism, as

⁵⁹ Beard, *Women's Work*, 221.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 6–7; Wilson, *American Woman in Transition*; Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place*, 119–27; and Wortman, "Domesticating the Nineteenth-Century American City."

⁶¹ Wortman, "Domesticating the Nineteenth-Century American City"; and Leloudis, "School Reform in the New South." For contemporary accounts, see Beard, *Women's Work*, chaps. 9–11; Wood, *History of the General Federation*, 120–209; and Dorr, *What Eighty Million Women Want*.

⁶² Among the many works that trace the transition in liberal thought, see Theodore J. Lowi, *The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic of the United States* (2d edn., New York, 1979), chaps. 1–3; R. Jeffrey Lustig, *Corporate Liberalism: The Origins of Modern American Political Theory, 1890–1920* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1982); William E. Nelson, *The Roots of American Bureaucracy, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); and James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900–1918* (Boston, 1968). Discussions of the family and the small community as a model are provided in Jean B. Quandt, *From the Small Town to the Great Community: The Social Thought of Progressive Intellectuals* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970); and Wortman, "Domesticating the Nineteenth-Century American City." Although historians have not yet fully described the mechanism by which government took on work that had been the responsibility of voluntary organizations, a few hypotheses seem safe. Municipal governments were undoubtedly responding to demands for better social services—ones in part

governments took up social policy—in part because of women's lobbying—they became part of the private domain.

The domestication of politics, then, was in large part women's own handiwork. In turn, it contributed to the end of separate political cultures. First, it helped women gain the vote. Suffrage was no longer either a radical demand or a challenge to separate spheres, because the concerns of politics and of the home were inextricable. At the same time, it did not threaten the existence of a male political culture because that culture's hold had already attenuated. The domestication of politics was connected, too, with the changed ideas of citizens about what government and politics were for. Each of these developments, illustrating ties between transformations in politics and the role of women, merits further attention.

Recovering from a period of apathy and discouragement, the women's suffrage campaign enjoyed renewed energy in the early twentieth century. The second generation of suffragists included home protection in their arguments in favor of votes for women. They noted that the vote would not remove women from the home and that electoral politics involved the home and would benefit from women's talents. Suffragists argued that women's work in World War I proved their claims to good citizenship. They also took pains to point out what the vote would not do. Indeed, the suffragists made every conceivable argument, from equal rights to home protection to the need for an intelligent electorate. Such a wide array of practical claims did not necessarily represent a retreat from the radicalism of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's generation. Suffragists often presented arguments in response to accusations by the opposition. If opponents claimed that woman suffrage would destroy the home, suffragists replied that it would actually enhance family life. The suffragists' arguments, moreover, reflected a transition in political thought generally. Just as Stanton's contemporaries spoke in the language of Garrisonian abolitionism, the later suffragists framed their ideas in the language of science, racism, efficiency, and cooperation. This does not make their nativist or racist rhetoric any less objectionable, but it does mean that second-generation suffragists were working within a different cultural and intellectual environment.⁶³

But organization, not argumentation, was the key to winning the vote for the second generation. They discarded a state-by-state strategy and concentrated on winning a national amendment. Under the leadership of Carrie Chapman Catt and others, suffragists patterned their organization after a political machine, mimicking male politics. The suffrage campaign featured a hierarchical organization, with workers on the district level who received guidance, funds, and speakers from the state organizations, which in turn were supported by the national organization.

created by women's attempts to form public opinion. Turning to existing institutions would have been a logical choice for municipal governments. Office holders may also have seen new opportunities for patronage—opportunities that gained importance as older sources (service contracts arranged with private businesses, for example) fell under attack.

⁶³ The second generation has been presented as conservative even by those historians who have regarded suffrage as a radical demand. See Degler, *At Odds*, 357–61; and Ellen DuBois, ed., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches* (New York, 1981), 192–93. The most detailed analyses of the suffrage movement's conservative turn are Kraditor, *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement*; and O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave*.

They conducted petition campaigns to illustrate the support that suffrage had from women and men. They held parades and pageants to demonstrate that support and gather publicity. To be sure, suffragists pointed to the positive results votes for women could bring. But most of all, they aimed to show that woman suffrage—whatever it meant—was inevitable.⁶⁴

Suffragists considered the suffrage referenda in New York to be pivotal tests. Victory there would provide crucial publicity for the cause and lend credence to the notion of inevitability. In 1915 the referendum lost by a fairly wide margin in a fiercely fought campaign; only five scattered upstate counties supported the referendum. Two years later, woman suffrage was back on the ballot. This time, the suffragists concentrated their efforts on district work in major cities. Curiously, the election approached with much less fanfare than that of 1915. The suffragists apparently had won their battle of attrition. The amount and tone of the newspaper coverage suggests that woman suffrage was indeed considered inevitable, and the referendum passed, almost entirely because of the support it received in the cities. The election results point to important patterns. The woman suffrage referendum ran poorly in areas where the prohibition vote was high or where high voter turnout and other manifestations of the nineteenth-century culture of politics were still visible. Here, women's suffrage was still a threat. Conversely, it ran well in cities, especially in certain immigrant wards and places where the Socialist vote was high—where nineteenth-century political patterns had never taken hold or had already disappeared. Men who had no stake in maintaining the old culture of politics seemed more likely to support woman suffrage. In the South, where the right to vote was tied to both manhood and white supremacy, woman suffrage also met stiff resistance.⁶⁵

That woman suffrage had little impact on women or politics has been considered almost axiomatic by historians. It failed to help women achieve equality. It did not

⁶⁴ DuBois pointed out that the second-generation suffragists' insistence on nonpartisanship is an indication that the vote—rather than what women might do with it—was their major goal; *Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, 182–83. The suffragists' new campaign tactics owed a large debt to the publicity-gathering techniques of the Congressional Union. For a good account of the course of the suffrage campaign, see Carrie Chapman Catt, *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (1923; 2d edn., New York, 1926), 189–91, 212, 284–99, 302–15. Also see Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 262–65, 271, 285; and Sharon Hartman Strom, "Leadership and Tactics in the American Woman Suffrage Movement: A New Perspective from Massachusetts," *JAH*, 62 (1975–76): 296–315.

⁶⁵ The counties that supported suffrage in 1915 were Chautauqua, Schenectady, Chemung, Broome, and Tompkins. The lowest support for the referenda in both 1915 and 1917—as low as 30 percent—occurred in the counties of Livingston, Yates, Ulster, Lewis, Albany, and Columbia. Preliminary calculations suggest that in places where women's groups had a long history of public action, where men's organizations (such as agricultural societies) had increasing involvement in interest-group politics, and where the Socialist vote was high voters were more likely to support suffrage. The southern-tier counties, for example, illustrate the first two hypotheses. Schenectady County, like certain wards in New York City, supported Socialist candidates. Rough calculations also suggest that comparatively high levels of turnout and low incidence of split-ticket voting occurred in places where suffrage was unpopular. Nearly half of New York's sixty-two counties supported suffrage in 1917, but the greatest gains were made in New York, Bronx, Kings, Richmond, and Westchester counties. For studies of the New York City campaign, see Doris Daniels, "Building a Winning Coalition: The Suffrage Fight in New York State," *New York History*, 60 (1979): 59–88; and Elinor Lerner, "Immigrant and Working-Class Involvement in the New York City Suffrage Movement, 1905–1917: A Study in Progressive Era Politics" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1981). Both Daniels and Lerner emphasized the support suffrage received from immigrant groups—especially Jewish voters—and Socialist voters. Lerner noted that men who voted for suffrage probably knew many women who were financially independent. Neither, however, put the race in the context of long-term political patterns.

result in the disaster antisuffragists imagined. Women did not vote as a reform bloc or, indeed, in any pattern different from men. Woman suffrage simply doubled the electorate. Historians have traced the reasons for the negligible impact of woman suffrage to the conservative turn of the second-generation suffragists, including their single-minded pursuit of the vote and home protection arguments. But to dismiss woman suffrage as having no impact is to miss an important point. It represented the endpoint of nineteenth-century womanhood and woman's political culture. In a sense, the antisuffragists were right. Women left the home, in a symbolic sense; they lost their place above politics and their position as the force of moral order. No longer treated as a political class, women ceased to act as one. At the same time, politics was unsexed. Differences between the political involvement of men and women decreased, and government increasingly took on the burden of social and moral responsibility formerly assigned to the woman's sphere.

THE VICTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE reflected women's gradual movement away from a separate political culture. By the early twentieth century, the growing number of women who worked for wages provided palpable examples of the limits of notions about a woman's place. Certainly by the 1920s, the attachment of women to the home could not be taken for granted in the same way it had in the nineteenth century, in part because by the 1920s the home was something of an embarrassment. Many men and women rejected domesticity as an ideal. The "new woman" of the 1920s discarded nineteenth-century womanhood by adopting formerly male values and behavior.⁶⁶ To be sure, most women probably did not meet the standard of the "new woman," but that ideal was the cultural norm against which women now measured their behavior. Women thus abandoned the home as a basis for a separate political culture and as a set of values and way of life that all women shared.

Women rejected the form and substance of nineteenth-century womanhood. Municipal housekeepers and charity workers saw that the responsibility for social policy was not properly theirs: only government had the scope and potentially the power to deal with national problems. Society seemed too threatening and dangerous to leave important responsibilities to chance, and women to whom municipal housekeeping was unknown seemed to sense this. They also surrendered to government functions that had belonged to the woman's sphere. Given the seemingly overwhelming complexities and possibilities for grievous errors, women were willing to take the advice of experts and government aid in feeding their families and rearing and educating their children. Tradition offered little guidance; the advice of their mothers, who grew up during the mid- and late nineteenth century, could well have seemed anachronistic in an urban and industrial society.

⁶⁶ Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York, 1977). Ironically, motherhood was ritualized and glorified just as the domestic ideal declined. See Kathleen W. Jones, "Mother's Day: The Creation, Promotion, and Meaning of a New Holiday in the Progressive Era," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 22 (1980): 176–96. For a review of the work on women in the 1920s, see Estelle B. Freedman, "The New Woman: Changing Views of Women in the 1920s," *JAH*, 61 (1974–75): 373–93. Also useful is Freda Kirchwey, *Our Changing Morality: A Symposium* (New York, 1924).

Their own experiences could lead to wrong decisions in a rapidly changing society. Moreover, abandoning the functions of the old-fashioned woman's sphere allowed a new independence. Women made some gains, but they also lost the basis for a separate political culture.⁶⁷

Lacking a sense of common ground, women fragmented politically. Their rejection of the woman's sphere as an organizing principle discouraged women from acting as a separate political bloc. Without political segregation to unite them, differences among groups of women magnified. What benefited professional women might be superfluous, even damaging, to the interests of working-class women. Women did not vote as a bloc on "women's" issues because there were no such issues, just as there were no issues that reflected the common interests of all men. The commonality that women had derived from the home in the nineteenth century disappeared, leaving women to splinter into interest groups and political parties. Organizing a separate women's party held little appeal for women because they could not find issues on which to unite.⁶⁸ Women were also no longer "above" politics. Their political behavior benefited from neither the veneration of the home and the moral power it bestowed nor the aura of public concern that their older informal methods of participation communicated.

It almost goes without saying that women gained little real political power upon winning the vote. Men granted women the vote when the importance of the male culture of politics and the meaning of the vote changed. Electoral politics was no longer a male right or a ritual that dealt with questions that only men understood. Instead, it was a privilege exercised by intelligent citizens. Important positions in government and in the parties still went to men. Woman suffrage was adopted just at the time when the influence of parties and electoral politics on public policy was declining. By the early twentieth century, interest groups and the formation of public opinion were more effective ways to influence government, especially the new bureaucracies that were removed from direct voter accountability.⁶⁹

As differences between political participation of men and women lessened in the early twentieth century, the role of government changed. Government now carried moral authority and the obligations it implied. That governments often chose not to

⁶⁷ On the changed relationship between doctors and mothers, see Kathleen W. Jones, "Sentiment and Science: The Late Nineteenth-Century Pediatrician as Mother's Advisor," *Journal of Social History*, 17 (1983–84): 79–96. Jones stressed the reciprocal relationship between women and professionals, noting that women initially sought experts' advice and helped shape the profession of pediatrics. For accounts of women as more passive recipients of expert intrusion, see Barbara Ehrenreich and Deidre English, *For Her Own Good: One Hundred Fifty Years of the Expert's Advice to Women* (Garden City, N.J., 1979); Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged* (New York, 1977); and Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place*.

⁶⁸ Felice Dosik Gordon, "After Winning: The New Jersey Suffragists, 1910–1947" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1982). In an important recent article, Estelle B. Freedman has argued that women's separate institutions provided a degree of influence lost when women joined organizations that included both sexes; see "Separatism as Strategy."

⁶⁹ On the rise of interest groups in politics, see Richard L. McCormick, *From Realignment to Reform: Political Change in New York State, 1893–1910* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981), 151–55, 173–77, 264–71; Herbert F. Margulies, *The Decline of the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin, 1890–1920* (Madison, Wisc., 1968); and Mansel G. Blackford, *The Politics of Business in California, 1890–1920* (Columbus, Ohio, 1977). The image of the intelligent client—in this case, the voter—was common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It applied even to motherhood. See Jones, "Sentiment and Science"; and Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place*, 97–99. A classic study that illustrates men's adoption of women's political tactics is Peter H. Odegard, *Pressure Politics: The Story of the Anti-Saloon League* (New York, 1928).

use that authority is not the point. What matters is that citizens wanted more from government, in the way of ethical political behavior and of policies that ensured economic and social stability. To exercise moral authority, government needed to behave in moral ways. Citizens expected office holders to separate their public actions from their private interests and wanted a civil service system to limit the distribution of public rewards for party work. Even in the 1920s, citizens held government responsible for encouraging a growing economy and social order. When the methods employed in the 1920s for accomplishing these goals—government orchestration of self-regulating functional groups—proved lacking, government took a larger hand in directing social and economic policy.⁷⁰

Even more fundamentally, Americans' perceptions of the distinctions between the public and private spheres were transformed by the 1920s. Although it has not received sufficient scholarly attention, some of the outlines of this change are discernable. In the nineteenth century, social and cultural separations between what was public and what was private were well-defined, at least in theory. The public world included politics, economics, and work outside of the home, while the private sphere meant the home and family. These sharp delineations provided a sense of stability. The lines were often crossed: women, for example, worked outside of the home. And, while women brought their "private" concerns to the "public" sphere, men's political involvement served private ends. This paradox suggests a rethinking of the meanings of public and private in the nineteenth century, one that has implications for understanding public life in the twentieth. Social definitions of public and private blurred in the twentieth century, re-creating an obfuscation similar to that of colonial America. In a sense, the existence of spheres was denied. The personal was political and the political was evaluated in regard to personal fulfillment. Citizens judged office holders on the basis of personality. Men and women shunned the traditional public world of voting and holding office to concentrate their attention on private life. Although not a descent into confusion (the separations between public and private had also been murky in the nineteenth century), these changes pointed to a complex and vastly different understanding of the meaning of public and private from the one held by people in the nineteenth century.⁷¹

WOMEN PLAYED IMPORTANT, BUT DIFFERENT, PARTS in two major turning points in American political history, transformations that coincided with changes in the roles of women. In the Jacksonian period, the cultural assignment of republican virtues and moral authority to womanhood helped men embrace partisanship and

⁷⁰ Ellis Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917–1933* (New York, 1979), 80–109; and Louis Galambos, *Competition and Cooperation: The Emergence of a National Trade Association* (Baltimore, 1966).

⁷¹ Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (New York, 1979); and Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man: On the Social Psychology of Capitalism* (1974; 2d edn., New York, 1976). On the transition from "character" to "personality" in twentieth-century culture, a transition that has important implications for the study of politics, see Warren I. Susman, "'Personality' and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture," in John Higham and Paul K. Conkin, eds., *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore, 1979), 212–26.

understand electoral politics as social drama. The social service work of female organizations filled some of the gaps created as governments reduced the scope of their efforts. Two political cultures operated throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. The female culture was based on the ideology of domesticity and involved continual expansion of the environs of the "home." Women carried out social policy through voluntary action. They practiced a kind of interest-group politics, by directing their attention to specific issues and exercising influence through informal channels. Male politics consisted of formal structures: the franchise, parties, and holding office. For many men, this participation was as much social as it was political, and it contributed to a definition of manhood.

Women had a more active part in the political changes of the Progressive period. They passed on their voluntary work—social policy—to governments. Men now sought to influence government through nonelectoral means, as women had long done. Electoral politics lost its masculine connotations, although it did not cease to be male dominated. Voting, ideally, had less to do with personal loyalties than with self-interested choices. Women voted. They did so in somewhat smaller numbers than men, and they held few important party or governmental positions. But sharp separations between men's and women's participation abated. In this process, individual women gained opportunities. "Woman," however, lost her ability to serve as a positive moral influence and to implement social policy.

Much work on women's political involvement is necessary before we can fully understand the connections between women's activities and American politics. But if either is to be understood, the two must be considered together. Gaining a broader understanding of "politics" is one way to begin doing so. This interpretation should consider the political system as a whole, and include both formal and informal means of influence. It could thus embrace voluntary activities, protest movements, lobbying, and other kinds of ways in which people attempt to direct governmental decisions, together with electoral politics and policy making. In determining what activities might be termed "political" we might adapt John Dewey's definition of the "public." For Dewey, the "public as a state" included "all modes of associated behavior . . . [that] have exclusive and enduring consequences which involve others beyond those directly engaged in them."⁷² This understanding suggests that the voluntary work of nineteenth-century women was part of the political system. Although directed at domestic concerns, the activities of women's organizations were meant to affect the behavior of others, as much as—or more than—were ballots cast for Grover Cleveland. Given such a definition of politics, political historians could come to different understandings of the changes in and connections between political participation and policy making. Historians of women could find new contexts in which to place their work. Students of both subjects need to go beyond the definition of "political" offered by nineteenth-century men.

⁷² John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (New York, 1927), 27. As a refinement, "consequences" might be considered political only if they represent attempts to change prescriptions for behaviors and attitudes that are enshrined in law or custom, whether done through legal or informal means.

Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism in Fin-de-Siècle France

KAREN OFFEN

IN 1896, JACQUES BERTILLON, physician, chief demographer for the department of the Seine, and founder of the Alliance Nationale pour l'Accroissement de la Population Française, insisted that France's declining birth rate, or "depopulation," was a man's issue. He dismissed as "fantasies" claims that the distress of French women over their inferior legal status was affecting reproduction and that feminism itself was to blame for the decline, which had grave implications for France's role as a world power. Bertillon argued that the trend could be reversed simply by amending tax laws that affected men's property and patrimony and thereby bolstered patriarchal pride. Nor did Bertillon or his associates welcome women's participation in discussions of the population problem—an attitude that vexed Maria Martin, journalist and one of France's most outspoken advocates of women's rights. "It appears," she remarked in an 1897 editorial, "that some think it possible to have *too many* women to discuss the matter of population growth. But no one has yet discovered a means of achieving it without them."¹

In the historiography of the French Third Republic, studies of depopulation, nationalism, and feminism have developed as distinct endeavors. Works on depopulation and nationalism have virtually ignored the "woman question," as the debate over the social relations of the sexes was popularly known, and the history of French feminism is only now being examined in depth.² Yet even a cursory

A fellowship for independent study and research from the National Endowment for the Humanities, 1980–81, enabled me to complete the research for this study. I read a preliminary version as a paper at the meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies, held in Bloomington, Indiana, May 1981. Since then many colleagues and friends have offered counsel and criticism. I am particularly grateful for the advice of Susanna Barrows, Susan Groag Bell, William W. Carver, Linda L. Clark, Steven C. Hause, Thomas Moodie, Claire Goldberg Moses, Hilda Smith, and the anonymous referees of the *American Historical Review*.

¹ "Attribuer la décroissance de la natalité à l'insuffisance des droits reconnus à la femme, ou l'attribuer au contraire au mouvement féministe, sont donc deux fantaisies qui, jusqu'à présent, sont également dénuées de preuves"; Bertillon, as quoted in Désiré Descamps, "Le Problème de la population," *Revue socialiste*, 24 (1896): 274. Bertillon repeated this statement the following year in his article, "Le Problème de la dépopulation: Le Programme de l'alliance nationale pour l'accroissement de la population française," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, 12 (1897): 531–74. Also see Bertillon's later book, *La Dépopulation de la France, ses conséquences, ses causes, mesures à prendre pour la combattre* (Paris, 1911). Martin's remarks appeared in her editorial, "Savants et philanthropes," *Journal des femmes*, January 1897.

² "The woman question" ("la question des femmes," "Frauenfrage") was a convenient expression used by many nineteenth-century European writers to describe the complex totality of issues raised for women by their

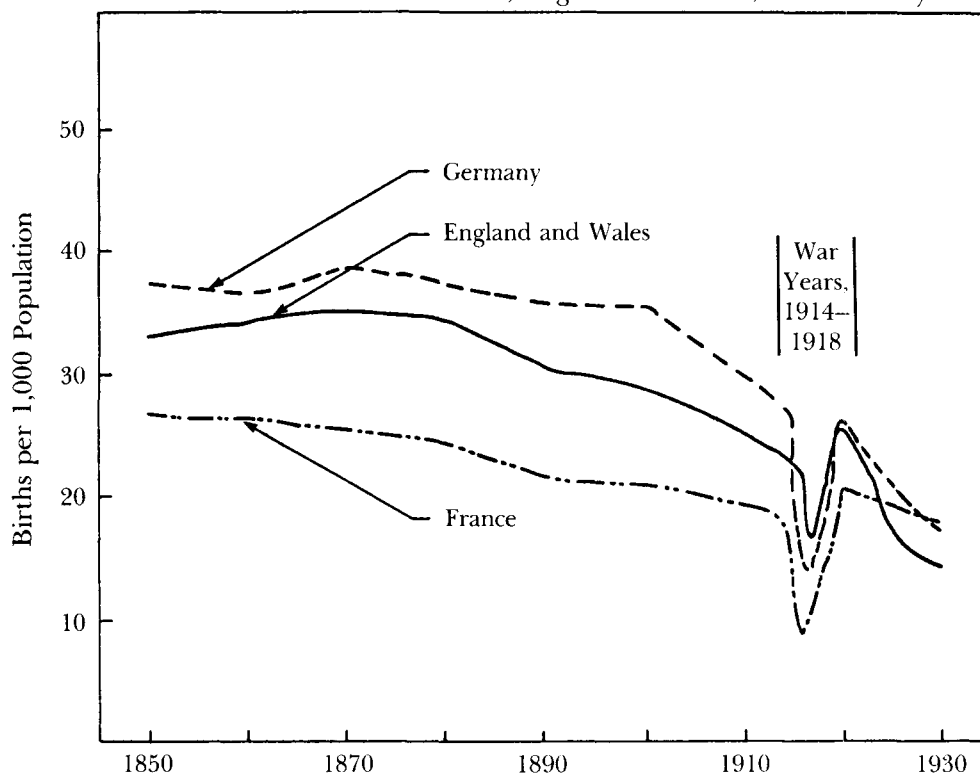
examination of the public record of the fin de siècle, epitomized by the exchange between Bertillon and Martin, testifies to the interrelatedness of these subjects and to their importance for the reformulation of the political and intellectual history of the Third Republic.³ Indeed, closer investigation reveals that the woman question had risen, by the late nineteenth century, to the forefront of French political discourse. The issues raised ultimately compel a rethinking of French—and, for that matter, European—history as it has traditionally been written and taught.

FRANCE WAS NOT THE ONLY NATION that experienced a falling birth rate in the late nineteenth century; indeed, all the major industrializing nations—in particular, Great Britain and Germany—recorded similar drops (see Graph 1). But France,

subordinate status and to suggest the magnitude of the challenge posed to existing social and political institutions by demands for change. Unlike the term “feminism,” the “woman question” encompasses the arguments both for and against change in women’s position relative to men. I am employing it here in that sense. The term was introduced into English usage by Theodore Stanton with his book, *The Woman Question in Europe* (New York, 1884). The term “social relations of the sexes” was introduced by John Stuart Mill on page 1 of his *The Subjection of Women* (London, 1869). By this Mill meant the institutional and sociocultural dimensions of male-female relationships (what we now refer to as gender systems), as distinct from whatever sexual differences might mean in the presocial state. His term has been reintroduced into contemporary discussion of historical issues by Joan Kelly; see “The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women’s History,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 1 (1976): 809–23.

³ The literature in French historical demography is extensive, yet few works by demographers, or by demographic historians, acknowledge the fact—startlingly obvious to historians of women and the family—that fertility is not an abstraction. Rather, children are borne by women; aggregate statistics on nuptiality and fertility (whether legitimate or illegitimate) depend to a great extent on discrete acts of consent by individual women as well as on the desires of men. Both sexes act within a concrete legal, socioeconomic, and cultural context that affects their social relationship. It is impossible, for instance, to comprehend French alarm over population in the late nineteenth century by looking only, as Etienne Van de Walle did, at long-term demographic trends. Moreover, riddling of the sources with heated partisanship, the opposite problem, characterizes many of the studies written at the height of the population panic of the *belle époque* by engaged reformers like Bertillon, who was by no means alone in his dismissal of women’s centrality to population growth or stagnation. Indeed, the choice of statistics presented by a writer could be affected by that writer’s views on women’s issues. The most valuable scholarly studies in English include Etienne Van de Walle, *The Female Population of France in the Nineteenth Century: A Reconstruction of 82 Departments* (Princeton, 1974); Joseph John Spengler, *France Faces Depopulation* (Durham, N.C., 1938; reprint edn., Westport, Conn., 1979); and Wesley Douglass Camp, *Marriage and the Family in France since the Revolution: An Essay in the History of Population* (New York, 1961). Colin Dyer’s recent monograph, *Population and Society in Twentieth-Century France* (London, 1978), begins with the 1911 census figures and thus was not useful for this study. The body of published information—and polemic—in French on the population crisis is, of course, very extensive. In *Contribution à l’étude de la population et de la dépopulation* (Paris, 1902), Victor Turquan listed 216 published works on the population question, the majority of which, as Spengler noted, are concerned with depopulation. See Spengler, *France Faces Depopulation*, 22. Robert Talmey’s two-volume study, *Histoire du mouvement familial* (Paris, 1962), is exceedingly useful despite its partisan approach to the politics of pronatalism. Within the framework of political history, depopulation has been treated by scholars (to the extent it has been explicitly mentioned at all) as a subcategory of foreign policy; that is, it has been viewed exclusively in terms of *manpower*—of providing France with enough soldiers to confront the German menace or enough colonists to populate France’s colonial empire. A classic example is John C. Hunter’s article, “The Problem of the French Birthrate on the Eve of World War I,” *French Historical Studies*, 2 (1962): 490–503. Hunter only hinted that one serious reservation French republicans expressed about a proposal for three-year military service was that it would impede young men’s access to women for reproductive purposes in a time of population crisis. Yet, even at this time, some women activists, notably Nelly Roussel, challenged the politicians’ assumption that women’s sole function was to provide future soldiers for the French state. Roussel threatened to call on French women for a reproductive strike (“la grève des ventres,” in the terminology of an earlier neo-Malthusian activist, Marie Huot) in a speech protesting the centennial of the Civil Code, October 29, 1904. See *La Fronde*, November 1, 1904; and Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen, eds., *Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents, 1750–1950*, volume 2: 1880–1950 (Stanford, 1983): 134–36. Historical scholarship on French nationalism has not included

GRAPH 1
Crude Birth Rates for France, England and Wales, and Germany



SOURCE: B. R. Mitchell, *European Historical Statistics, 1750-1790* (New York, 1978), chart A-3: "Vital Statistics: Rates per 1000 Population."

either the population question or the role of women in the population crisis. Historians have focused primarily on foreign and domestic policy development at the governmental level following the Franco-Prussian War—on *revanche* and its roots, on the transformation of the army, on the realignment of French foreign policy after Agadir, or on cabinet-level responses to the challenges to radical and radical-socialist rule from militant groups on the Right and from the Second International on the Left following the Dreyfus affair. Some have traced the intellectual roots of French nationalism, both in studies of movements such as the Action Française and the Ligue des Patriotes and in studies of notable nationalists like Maurice Barrès. Others have examined the literary and cultural aspects of nationalistic sentiment. Nowhere in this literature have the political implications of gender been explored in any depth. The following interpretations published since the Second World War all share this characteristic: Eugen Weber, *The Nationalist Revival in France, 1905-1914* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959); René Rémond, *La Droite en France: De la première restauration à la V^e République* (2d edn., Paris, 1963); Herbert Tint, *The Decline of French Patriotism, 1870-1940* (London, 1964); Raoul Girardet, *Le Nationalisme français, 1871-1914* (Paris, 1966); Zeev Sternhell, *La Droite révolutionnaire, 1885-1914* (Paris, 1978); and Steven Englund, "The Politics of the Nation Ideology in France" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1982). On Alsace-Lorraine, the German nemesis, the reorganization of the French army, and *revanche*, see Raoul Girardet, *La Société militaire dans la France contemporaine, 1815-1939* (Paris, 1953); Richard D. Challener, *The French Theory of the Nation in Arms, 1866-1939* (New York, 1955); Henry Contamine, *La Revanche, 1871-1914* (Paris, 1957); Pierre de la Gorce, *The French Army: A Military-Political History* (New York, 1963); D. B. Ralston, *The Army of the Republic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); Frederic H. Seager, "The Alsace-Lorraine Question in France, 1871-1914," in Charles K. Warner et al., eds., *From the Ancien Régime to the Popular Front* (New York, 1969); George S. Craft, Jr., "The Emergence of National Sentiment in French Lorraine, 1871-1889" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1970); Allan Mitchell, *Bismarck and the French Nation, 1848-1890* (New York, 1971), and *The German Influence in France after 1870: The Formation of the Third Republic* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979). On intellectual and cultural currents, see Alfred Edward Carter, *The Idea of Decadence in French Literature, 1830-1900* (Toronto, 1958); Marceline Tison-Braun, *La Crise de l'humanisme: Le Conflict de l'individu et de la société dans la littérature*

which under the *ancien régime* had been the most populous and powerful nation in Europe, was the first to experience the decline, and in absolute numbers its population was swiftly being overtaken by those of the surrounding monarchies. Between 1850 and 1910, the French population increased by 3.4 million, from 35.7 to 39.1 million, taking into account the 1.6 million inhabitants France lost by the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. In the same period, the population of Germany grew from 33.4 million, a figure roughly comparable with that of France, to 58.4 million, an increase of some 25 million (to which Alsace-Lorraine only contributed a small fraction). The population of Great Britain (England and Wales) more than doubled, from 17.9 million to 36.0 million, a figure also comparable with that of France by the early twentieth century (see Table 1). In the wake of France's defeat by Germany and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, leaders of the Third Republic were painfully aware of the international implications of the decline; the German victory underscored the relationship between population and national might, at

française moderne, volume 1: 1890–1914 (Paris, 1958); Claude Digéon, *La Crise allemande de la pensée française* (Paris, 1959); Koenraad Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France* (The Hague, 1964); and Richard M. Griffiths, *The Reactionary Revolution: The Catholic Revival in French Literature, 1890–1914*. On Barrès, Drumont, Maurras, and Déroulède, in particular, see Robert F. Byrnes, *Antisemitism in Modern France* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1950); Michael Curtis, *Three Against the Third Republic: Sorel, Barrès, and Maurras* (Princeton, 1959); Robert Soucy, *Fascism in France: The Case of Maurice Barrès* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972); Zeev Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme française* (Paris, 1972); C. Stewart Doty, *From Cultural Rebellion to Counterrevolution: The Politics of Maurice Barrès* (Athens, Ohio, 1976); Emmanuel Beau de Loménie, *Edouard Drumont et l'anticapitalisme nationale* (Paris, 1968); Eugen Weber, *Action Française* (Stanford, 1962); Edward R. Tannenbaum, *The Action Française* (New York, 1962); V. Cleve Alexander, "Jules Lemaitre and the *Ligue de la Patrie Française* (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1975); and Peter M. Rutkoff, *Revanche and Revision: The Ligue des Patriotes and the Origins of the Radical Right in France, 1882–1900* (Athens, Ohio, 1981). In contrast to the abundant scholarship on depopulation and nationalism, scholarly investigation of French feminism, the organized women's movement, and women's issues in general during the Third Republic is quite new. Resulting works are so far unmined by political, intellectual, and social historians, even by those who profess interest in *mentalités* and demography. New historical writing to date has focused on four areas: reconstructing and analyzing the inner organization and ideological arguments of several arms of the movements for women's rights, both bourgeois and socialist; analyzing the attitudinal framework within which the woman question was discussed (the Catholic church, the socialist factions, the legal and medical professions, the *oeuvre* of literary figures, and the contents of periodicals); probing the experience of the family economy and women's participation in the labor force within the framework of urban and industrial development; and reconstructing women's lives. Yet much remains to be done in each area to bring women into the mainstream of French history. For a guide to the literature through 1977, see Karen M. Offen, "The Woman Question as a Social Issue in Nineteenth-Century France: A Bibliographical Essay," *Third Republic/Troisième République* [hereafter, *TR/TR*], no. 3–4 (1977): 238–99, and "First Wave' Feminism in France: New Work and Resources," *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, 5 (1982): 685–89. Also see the articles in the 1977 special issue of *Third Republic/Troisième République* by Patrick Kay Bidelman, Linda L. Clark, Charles Sowerwine, Marilyn J. Boxer, Persis Charles Hunt, and Steven C. Hause. For the organization and ideology of the movement for women's rights see, especially, Patrick Kay Bidelman, *Pariahs Stand Up! The Founding of the Liberal Feminist Movement in France, 1858–1889* (Westport, Conn., 1982); Charles Sowerwine, *Sisters or Citizens?* (Cambridge, 1982), and *Les Femmes et le socialisme* (Paris, 1978). The two-volume synthesis by Maité Albistur and Daniel Armogathe, *Histoire du féminisme français* (1977), is useful, though flawed. On the social context of the debate on the woman question, work of particular significance on medical attitudes toward women has been published by Yvonne Knibiehler, Angus McLaren, and Erna Olafson Hellerstein. On the family economy and working women, the work of Joan W. Scott, Louise Tilly, and their students is singularly enlightening. Also see Marilyn J. Boxer, "Women in Industrial Homework: The Flowermakers of Paris in the *Belle Époque*," *French Historical Studies*, 12 (1982): 401–23. Mary Lynn McDougall is preparing studies of legislation protecting women's industrial work. For documents and analyses, see Erna Olafson Hellerstein, Leslie Parker Hume, and Karen M. Offen, eds., *Victorian Women: A Documentary Account of Women's Lives in Nineteenth-Century England, France, and the United States* (Stanford, 1981); Bell and Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom*; Karen M. Offen, "Attitudes toward Women," "Women in the Labor Force," "Women's Movement for Political Rights," and "Women's Movement for Civil Rights," in Patrick H. Hutton, ed., *Historical Dictionary of the Third French Republic* (Westport, Conn., 1984); and Karen M. Offen, *The Woman Question during the French Third Republic, 1870–1940* (forthcoming).

TABLE 1
Population of France, Great Britain, and Germany, 1851–1911

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
FRANCE	35.7	37.4	36.1	37.4	38.1	38.4	39.1
GREAT BRITAIN	17.9	20.1	22.7	25.9	29.0	32.5	36.0
GERMANY	33.4	35.5	41.1	45.2	49.4	56.3	58.4

NOTE: The population figures are expressed in millions, rounded to the nearest hundred thousand. Census years for Great Britain and France are generally the year following those for Germany (for example, 1891 instead of 1890), but the discrepancy is not deemed sufficiently important to affect the rough comparison being made here. The French population figures for the 1870s derive from 1872, which reflect the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.

SOURCE: B. R. Mitchell, *European Historical Statistics, 1750–1970* (abridged edn., New York, 1978), chart A-1: "Population of Countries at Census."

least as measured by military strength. Most republicans were committed to a defense of the libertarian and egalitarian principles of the revolution and felt certain that the realization of the new republican regime would return France to the greatness of former times. But some among them, especially those in the medical profession, expressed grave concern about the relative decrease in population, its causes, and its possible political implications.

In a recent book, Patrick Kay Bidelman explored the political development of the French movement for women's rights during its first two decades, spanning roughly the years from 1869 to 1889.⁴ The merit of his study is to show how the movement was embedded in the politics of an anticlerical republic and why improvements in women's legal position were repeatedly subordinated to the establishment of the republic. Not apparent in his study, however, is the extent to which the debate on women's rights was conducted in sociobiological, medical, and demographic terms.

From mid-century on, in fact, the population debate was ever present in the elaboration of French thought on the woman question. Advocates of women's rights, women and men alike, understood the central role of the population question in the success of their cause. In the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, however, they became concerned when some physicians denounced French women as socially, and even patriotically, irresponsible for neglecting their infants and for avoiding pregnancy. André-Théodore Brochard, for one, had long been appalled by the rise in infant mortality among babies consigned to rural wet nurses and by the increasing numbers of infanticides committed by unwed mothers. In 1873 he blamed France's population problems on the indifference of mothers and the incompetence of administrators.⁵ Nine years later Charles Richet, a young professor at the Paris Faculty of Medicine, attributed the decline in the birth rate to "voluntary sterility," his euphemism for birth control.⁶

⁴ Bidelman, *Pariahs Stand Up*, esp. chaps. 3–5.

⁵ André-Théodore Brochard, *Des Causes de la dépopulation en France et les moyens d'y remédier* (Lyon, 1873). Also see Brochard, *La Vérité sur les enfants trouvés* (Paris, 1876). Brochard was a staunch advocate of governmental control of the wet-nursing industry, which the Roussel law of 1874 enacted. Also see George D. Sussman, "The Wet-Nursing Business in Nineteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies*, 9 (1975): 304–28, "The End of the Wet-Nursing Business in France, 1874–1914," *Journal of Family History*, 2 (1977): 237–58, and *Selling Mothers' Milk: The Wet-Nursing Business in France, 1715–1914* (Urbana, Ill., 1982).

⁶ Charles Richet, "L'Accroissement de la population française," *Revue des deux mondes*, April 15, 1882, pp. 900–32, and June 1, 1882, pp. 587–616.

Henri Thulié, director of the École Anthropologique in Paris and a former president of the Paris Municipal Council, put forth quite a different argument. A physician by training, like Brochard and Richet, Thulié specialized in mental illness and had been active in the campaign against state-regulated prostitution. In *La Femme: Essai de sociologie physiologique* (1885), he argued—in opposition to Richet—that the principal cause of depopulation was infant mortality, not voluntary sterility, and that this could be attributed to “the legal inferiority of woman, the Code’s injustices toward her, and the absence of laws to protect her situation and that of her child.” “It is because the woman question encompasses all the others,” he continued, “that I have written these pages.” Having diagnosed the problem, however, Thulié prescribed a treatment entirely consonant with the paternalistic attitude then evident among French republican men. He opposed work outside the home by mothers of small children and hence the wet-nursing industry that made their participation in the labor force possible. He also argued for legislation to obligate fathers to support unwed mothers and their offspring. To the extent such measures might have protected French women in the short run, their condition would doubtlessly have improved. But Thulié’s solutions, like those of many other republican reformers, were not calculated to deliver French women from male control; rather, they would have effectively ensured women’s material dependence on the good will of men.⁷

Adolphe Pinard, professor of obstetrics at the Paris Faculty of Medicine and a member of the Academy of Medicine, shared Thulié’s concern with infant mortality and women’s culpability. In 1890 Pinard argued for charitable and governmental assistance to pregnant and postpartum women in order to save many infants’ lives.⁸ Such proposals were welcomed by women active in women-centered philanthropies, such as Mme. Léon Bequet de Vienne, founder of the Société pour l’Allaitement Maternelle and of maternity homes for indigent women in Paris.⁹

French advocates of women’s rights in this period often argued from the same premises as Thulié and Pinard but arrived at sharply different conclusions. This became particularly clear in the years after 1889, when support for women’s rights advanced to a new stage. During the exposition of that year, two women’s congresses convened in Paris. The first, the French and International Congress on Women’s Rights, was organized by the long-time advocates of republican anticlerical feminism, Léon Richer and Maria Deraismes; the second, the Congress on

⁷ Henri Thulié, *La Femme: Essai de sociologie physiologique—Ce qu’elle a été, ce qu’elle est, les théories, ce qu’elle doit être* (Paris, 1885), iii. Thulié was echoing the arguments of Émile Acolas, Victor Schoelcher, and Gustave Rivet for abrogating article 340 of the Civil Code, which forbade paternity suits. See Acolas, *Le Droit de l’enfant: L’Enfant né hors mariage* (2d edn., Paris, 1870); and Rivet, *La Recherche de paternité*, (3d edn., Paris, 1890).

⁸ Adolphe Pinard, “De l’assistance des femmes enceintes, des femmes en couches et des femmes accouchées,” *Revue d’hygiène et de police sanitaire*, 12 (1890): 1098–1112, and *De l’assistance des femmes enceintes*, lecture given at the Sorbonne, May 9, 1891 (Paris, 1891). For a discussion of the birth-weight studies conducted by Pinard and his students throughout the 1890s, see Mary Lynn McDougall, “Protecting Infants: The French Campaign for Maternity Leaves, 1890s–1913,” *French Historical Studies*, 13 (1983): 79–105. On Pinard’s campaign for the teaching of *puériculture*, his term for the science of caring for infants, see, especially, “De la puériculture,” *Revue scientifique*, July 31, 1897. Also see his school text for girls aged ten to fourteen years, *La Puériculture* (Paris, 1904; 3d edn., 1909). For the postwar history of obligatory *puériculture*, see Linda L. Clark, “Educating Girls to Combat French Depopulation: Puériculture in the Primary Schools of the Third Republic,” paper presented at the Duquesne History Conference, held in Pittsburgh, October 13, 1981.

⁹ Marie (Mme. Léon) Béquet de Vienne, *Dépopulation de la France: Allocution prononcée par Mme. Léon Béquet . . . au Congrès général des institutions féministes tenu à la mairie du VI^e arrondissement, le 14 mai 1892* (Paris, 1892).

Feminine Institutions and Charities, presided over by Jules Simon, was the work of Emilie de Morsier and Isabelle Bogelot, two women long active in charity and reform circles. These two congresses stimulated a new wave of organizational efforts that marked the coming of age of the movement for women's rights in France and the beginning of a new phase in the debate on the woman question.¹⁰

During the early 1890s the term "féminisme" first came in vogue in France. As in other countries, this neologism covered a broad spectrum of approaches to resolving the woman question, not only in civil and political law but also in education and economic life. Partisans soon qualified their feminism with modifying adjectives—bourgeois, socialist, Christian, radical, republican, conservative, syndicalist, and so forth. Of these, two stand out as being philosophically the most important: "familial" feminism and "individualist" (or "integral") feminism. The first predicated a biologically differentiated, family-centered vision of male-female complementarity: "equality in difference" was the favored phrase. Familial feminists espoused a sexual division of labor in both society and the family (though the boundaries of the division were hotly contested), and a positive concept of women's special nature, or womanliness, informed all demands for change. Familial feminists aimed not to overthrow the economic basis of patriarchy but to reorganize the existing society to the greater advantage of women.

The "integral" or "individualist" feminists sought equality of opportunity for the individual, irrespective of sex, familial considerations, or national concerns. Indeed, partisans of this variety of feminism, subsequently considered by some the only "true" feminism, opposed the sexual division of labor, repudiated all concepts of woman's special nature, and insisted on an end to sexism, gender distinctions, and class distinctions as well. By the close of the nineteenth century, however, this brand of feminism had not acquired a broad following in France or elsewhere, despite the notoriety of some of its advocates. Most factions of the French movement for women's rights, whether bourgeois or socialist, Christian or anticlerical, could still be classified as subcategories of familial feminism.¹¹

A sure sign of the growth and diversity of French feminism in the 1890s was the proliferation of publications of various political hues that succeeded pioneering reviews by Léon Richer (*Le Droit des femmes*, 1869–91) and Hubertine Auclert (*La Citoyenne*, 1881–91). The new arrivals included the *Journal des femmes* (1891–1911),

¹⁰ For proceedings of the women's conferences, see *Congrès français et international du droit des femmes en 1889* (Paris, 1890); and *Actes du Congrès international des oeuvres et institutions féminines* (Paris, 1890). For discussion of these congresses, see Patrick Kay Bidelman, "The Politics of French Feminism: Léon Richer and the Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes, 1882–1891," *Historical Reflections*, 3 (1976): 93–120; and Claire Goldberg Moses, "The Evolution of Feminist Thought in France, 1829–1889" (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1978). Also see Moses's forthcoming book on nineteenth-century French feminist thought.

¹¹ On the varieties of French feminism, consult *Third Republic/Troisième République*, 1977. Also see Karen Offen, "Toward an Historical Definition of Feminism" (forthcoming); and Marilyn J. Boxer, "'First Wave' Feminism in Nineteenth-Century France: Class, Family, and Religion," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 5 (1982): 551–59. Fin-de-siècle feminists who advocated "integral feminism" insisted primarily on women's right to economic independence from men, though arguments for reproductive liberty also appeared. "Integral feminism" was one of a number of "integral-isms" espoused in the later nineteenth century, including Benoît Malon's "integral socialism," Léopold Lacour's "integral humanism," and Maurice Barrès and Charles Maurras's "integral nationalism." The terminology seems to have arisen in the 1870s with Paul Robin's claims for "integral education."

edited by Maria Martin, a former associate of Auclert; *La Revue féministe* (1895–97), edited by Clotilde Dissard; *Le Féminisme chrétien* (1896–99), edited by the social Catholic Marie Maugeret; *L'Harmonie sociale*, edited by the Guesdist-socialist Aline Valette; *La Femme socialiste*, edited by Elisabeth Renaud; the syndicalist-feminist *L'Abeille*; and, most impressive of all, the daily newspaper *La Fronde*, founded by Marguerite Durand in late 1897. Evelyne Sullerot, historian of the women's press in France, counted twenty-one feminist periodicals extant at the turn of the century.¹² Complementing these publications were feminist congresses organized in 1892, 1896, 1900, 1906, 1908, and 1913. Coupled with the establishment in 1900 of the Conseil National des Femmes Françaises as an adjunct of the International Council of Women, and the establishment in 1909 of the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes as an affiliate of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, all of these activities suggest that well before the war the French movement for women's rights had acquired a solid organizational base and a sizable (though by no means massive) number of followers.¹³

What historians ignore, at their peril, is that discussion of the woman question was by no means restricted to feminist publications. Periodicals of this decade are replete with articles on women's issues. Numerous examples are to be found in the issues of *Revue des deux mondes* and the *Revue des revues* (known after 1901 as *La Revue*), *Revue politique et parlementaire*, the *Nouvelle revue* of Juliette Adam, *Revue blanche* and *Revue bleue*, *La Quinzaine*, *Le Correspondent*, *Revue socialiste*, *Revue scientifique*, *Journal des économistes*, and *Revue d'économie politique*. Articles also appeared frequently in the daily press, ranging from *Le Figaro* and the *Echo de Paris* on the Right to *Le Radical* (which for many years ran a monthly column by Auclert) and the vehemently anticlerical *L'Action* on the Left. Books treating women's issues and the "New Woman" rolled from the presses, especially after the appearance in 1896 of Jules Bois's mystico-romantic *Eve nouvelle* and Léopold Lacour's *Humanisme intégral*. Some of these novels, such as Marcel Prévost's *Les Demi-vierges* (1894) and *Les Vierges fortes* (1900), became bestsellers; many others commanded an important following, among them Paul Margueritte and Victor Margueritte's *Femmes nouvelles* (1900), Gabrielle Reval's *Les Sèvres* (1900), Paul Bourget's *Un Divorce* (1904), Marcelle Tinayre's *La Rebelle* (1906), Colette Yver's *Les Cervelines* (1903) and *Les Princesses de science* (1907), and Daniel Lesueur's *Nietzschéenne* (1908). Women's

¹² Evelyne Sullerot, *La Presse féminine* (Paris, 1966), 9. Also see Li Dzeh-Djen, *La Presse féministe en France de 1869 à 1914* (Paris, 1934). Dzeh-Djen's book is outdated but still useful. For a list of feminist and socialist periodicals, see Charles Sowerwine, comp., "Women, Socialism, and Feminism, 1872–1922: A Bibliography," *TR/TR*, no. 3–4 (1977): 338–42.

¹³ For most of the congresses after 1896 published proceedings are available. Accounts of earlier congresses can be found in the contemporary press and in dossiers at the Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand in Paris. For 1900, see *Deuxième congrès international des œuvres et institutions féminines, 18–23 juin 1900, compte rendu des travaux par Mme. M. Pégard*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1902); and *Congrès international de la condition et des droits des femmes, 5–8 sept. 1900, questions économiques, morales, et sociales: Éducation, législation, droit privé, droit public* (Paris, 1901). For 1908, see *Congrès national des droits civils et du suffrage des femmes . . . , 26–28 juin 1908, compte rendu des travaux par Mme. Oddo-Deflou* (Paris, 1910). For 1910, see *Union française pour le suffrage des femmes, 1^{re} assemblée-générale, Paris, 1910: Compte rendu de la première assemblée-générale, tenue à la Salle Charras, Paris, le 13 mars 1910* (Paris, 1910). For 1913, see *Dixième congrès international des femmes: Œuvres et institutions féminines, Droits des femmes, 2–8 juin 1913, compte rendu des travaux par Mme. Avril de Sainte-Croix* (Paris, 1914). For discussion of the numerical base of the French women's suffrage movement, see Steven C. Hause and Anne R. Kenney, "The Limits of Suffragist Behavior: Legalism, Militancy, and Violence in France, 1876–1914," *AHR*, 86 (1981): 781–82.

issues also provoked controversial and widely discussed theatrical works by Paul Hervieu, Jules Case, Maurice Donnay, and Eugène Brieux.¹⁴ All these helped shape a climate of opinion in which the reform of women's civil, economic, and political status could be examined and in which the discussion of depopulation, nationalism, and feminism would proceed.

Writing in the *Journal des femmes* in August 1892, Martin advocated (as had Richer, Deraismes, and Auclert before her) legal reforms designed to protect children born out of wedlock and to facilitate marriages. Martin also proposed amending the Civil Code to improve the legal status of married women, with respect to both husbands and children. Young women, she claimed, did not want many children, having seen their mothers suffer greatly from child bearing. Women, not men, she implied, were making these decisions.¹⁵ The following winter Deraismes underscored Martin's argument in an address at a benefit for Marie Béquet de Vienne's Société d'Allaitement Maternelle. It was, Deraismes insisted, neither the love of luxury (as Arsène Dumont suggested) nor partible inheritance (as Bertillon and the followers of Frédéric LePlay, the Catholic sociologist, insisted) that retarded the birth rate, but rather the miserable legal and moral situation of women and children in French society.¹⁶

By the end of 1893 support by republican men for certain types of legal reforms seemed to be growing; members of the Alliance des Savants et des Philanthropes resolved in September to work for the "disappearance of all legislative measures or prejudices that tend narrowly to delimit and restrain the number of women for whom maternity is socially permitted."¹⁷ Although limited in scope, this resolution did recognize the political significance of women as mothers. The savants' awareness of the need for such reforms had no doubt been stimulated by many monographs on women's standing in French law published during the previous decade—all by legal scholars with reformist sympathies.¹⁸ But most of these

¹⁴ Although some studies by literary critics deal with the discussion of women in the works of individual authors like Émile Zola, there remains great need for a comprehensive study of the woman question in the French social novel and in French theater of the later nineteenth century. For a pioneer work in this field, see Amy Blythe Millstone, "Feminist Theatre in France, 1870–1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1977). Studies by an earlier generation of French literary scholars focused on the literature that attempted to resuscitate the traditional patriarchal family—literature unabashedly didactic in tone. See, for example, Claude Salleron, "La Littérature au XIX^e siècle et la famille," in Robert Prigent, ed., *Renouveau des idées sur la famille* (Paris, 1954). Salleron criticized the romantic individualism (and what he called the exalted revolt by women) found in the nineteenth-century novel, but, apart from Zola and Vallès, he gave little attention to writers of the late nineteenth century. Robert Talmy discussed the "renouveau de la famille" in the works of Paul Bourget, Henri Bordeaux, and René Bazin; see *Histoire du mouvement familiale*, 1 (Paris, 1962): 132–37. For a still useful collection of literary texts by neotraditionalist writers, see Albert Cherel, *La Famille française*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1925–27), esp. vols. 3 and 4. These studies were much influenced by the literary criticism of the *Action française* antipathetic to the French romantic tradition. See, for example, Charles Maurras, *L'Avenir de l'intelligence* (Paris, 1905); and P. Lasserre, *Le Romantisme français* (Paris, 1907).

¹⁵ Martin, "Dépopulation," *Le Journal des femmes*, August 1892.

¹⁶ Deraismes, "De la dépopulation," *Bulletin de la société de l'allaitement maternel et des refuges-ouvroirs pour les femmes enceintes*, no. 8 (1893). For the report of this lecture, see *Le Journal des femmes*, January 1893.

¹⁷ For a report of the meeting of the *Alliance des savants et des philanthropes*, see *Le Journal des femmes*, September 1893.

¹⁸ Works on women's position in French law, all published in Paris, included the following: Léon Richer, *Le Code des femmes* (1883); Paul Gide, *Étude sur la condition privée de la femme* (1867; 2d edn., 1885); Louis Bridel, *La Femme et le droit: Étude historique sur la condition des femmes* (1884); Sarmisa D. Bilcesco, *De la condition légale de la mère en droit romain et en droit français* (1890); Moïse Ostrogorski, *La Femme au point de vue du droit public: Étude*

scholars, like the savants themselves, were socially conservative men. Their perspective, a variant of familial feminism, was summed up by Louis Bridel, a professor of law, who wrote, also in 1893: "The true feminists do not intend in any way to tear woman away from her natural vocation. What they desire and demand is that woman be better armed and better protected, so that the task she has been given [that is, motherhood] can manifest itself in all its grandeur, and not as a fatal servitude to whose yoke she must resign herself. To grant woman her rights and to guarantee them will facilitate her accomplishment of her duties, not turn her away from them."¹⁹

The question of extending women's legal rights had meanwhile become complicated by public alarm over the increasing participation of women in the labor force. In 1892, after considerable controversy, the French legislature broke with its noninterventionist principles to pass a law regulating the employment of adult women. The new law not only restricted the daily hours of women's work in industry but forbade women's employment at night (when work was often much better paid).²⁰ Leading political economists contributed directly to the law's passage. Two of the republic's most eminent participants in the discussion were Jules Simon, then a senator as well as permanent secretary of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, professor of political economy at the Collège de France. Both were knowledgeable contributors to earlier controversies over women's employment,²¹ and Simon, a liberal and long-time foe of state intervention in the marketplace, had grown so concerned about the population problem that he began to advocate state intervention on behalf of employed women, including government-subsidized maternity leaves. Women workers, he insisted, needed the state's protection.²² Leroy-Beaulieu went further; he publicly castigated the feminist movement for diminishing women's interest in marriage and maternity by tempting them with "men's jobs."²³

d'histoire et de législation comparée (1892); Louis Frank, *Essai sur la condition politique de la femme: Étude de sociologie et de législation* (1892); and Léon Giraud, *De la condition des femmes au point de vue de l'exercice des droits publics et politiques: Étude de législation comparée* (1891). For a good survey of this legal scholarship and the issues of the fin de siècle, see Raoul de La Grasserie, "Le Mouvement féministe et les droits de la femme," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, 1 (1894): 432–49.

¹⁹ Louis Bridel, "Le Mouvement féministe et le droit des femmes," *Revue sociale et politique*, 3 (1893): 123.

²⁰ On the law of November 2, 1892, see Andrée Lehmann, *De la réglementation légale du travail féminin: Étude de législation comparée* (Paris, 1924), chap 1; and Mary Lynn McDougall, "Protecting Women or Preserving the Family: The French Campaign for Protective Labor Legislation, 1874–1914," unpublished paper, 1982, courtesy of the author.

²¹ See Jules Simon, *L'Ouvrière* (Paris, 1861; 9th edn., 1891); and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *Le Travail des femmes au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1873). At the meeting of the Société d'Économie Politique, June 5, 1884, Simon and Leroy-Beaulieu addressed the question, "Où la femme, au point de vue économique, est-elle mieux placée, au foyer de la famille ou dans l'atelier?" See *Journal des économistes*, 26 (1884): 445–59.

²² Simon, *L'Ouvrière*, xii–xvi. Simon's experience as head of the French delegation to the Berlin congress of 1890 on worker protection no doubt contributed to his *volte-face*. For his report, May 12, 1890, see Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Conférence internationale de Berlin, 15–29 mars 1890: Procès verbaux . . .* (Paris, 1890), 17–24. Simon insisted that in France respect for individual rights precluded state intervention. Within less than a year, however, he abandoned a laissez-faire approach to women's employment and made an eloquent speech to the Senate advocating state restriction of women's work in industry. See *Annales du Sénat, Débats*, July 7, 1891, pp. 31, 407–12.

²³ See Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, "The Influence of Civilisation upon the Movement of the Population," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 54 (1891): 372–84. In this article, Leroy-Beaulieu responded to a theory propounded by social anthropologist Arsène Dumont, who attributed the fall in the birth rate to "social capillarity," or the

Rebuttals flew thick and fast. Women went to work not for amusement, Marya Chéliga-Loevy retorted, but for survival. She pointed out that the majority of women attending meetings of her *Fédération Française des Sociétés Féministes* were mothers; they well understood what legal liabilities women faced in French society. Dissard remarked that for working-class women the attraction of better-paying jobs had nothing to do with feminism, but derived instead from poverty, the bitter consequence of industrialism. "Feminism," argued Dissard, "is in no way directed against marriage; it asks quite simply that woman in the *foyer* be conscious and free, sharing with man all the rights, all the responsibilities, all the obligations."²⁴ In short, these feminists favored the family, but not in the authoritarian form then institutionalized by the French Civil Code.

A SECOND STAGE IN THE LINKING of depopulation, nationalism, and feminism ensued in 1896, when debate on both the woman question and depopulation began to emerge in antirepublican nationalist thought and in the republican response to it. The relationship postulated was less one of cause and effect than of interpenetration in a new climate of opinion. Early that year the French government released new census figures. These showed a continuing decline in the absolute number of births, but, more alarming still, France's 834,000 births in 1895 were exceeded by 852,000 deaths. The deficit suggested to pessimists like Bertillon and Richet that the French population, far from continuing its slow growth, was about to enter an absolute decline. France had gained only one-quarter million inhabitants in the past decade, whereas its rival across the Rhine had gained eight million. "Finis Galliae!" was Bertillon's mournful verdict.²⁵

In April an international congress of advocates of women's rights convened hastily in Paris. Its delegates scandalized republican moderates by treating the public to a confrontation between proponents of two radical approaches to the subject of motherhood itself.²⁶ The first line of thought, expressed by the French socialist-feminist Léonie Rouzade (and soon elaborated at length by Swedish reformer Ellen Key and the founders of the German *Bund für Mutterschutz*), was that "motherhood is women's principal social function and deserves to be subsidized by the State."²⁷ The second, espoused by the neo-Malthusian anarchists Paul

ineluctable movement of men and wealth from the countryside to the city in quest of luxury. See Dumont, *Dépopulation et civilisation: Étude démographique* (Paris, 1890). Also see Leroy-Beaulieu's *Traité théorique et pratique d'économie politique*, 4 (Paris, 1896): esp. 625–26. In later statements, Leroy-Beaulieu expanded but did not modify significantly the themes he developed in the 1890s. See "La Question de la population et la civilisation démocratique," *Revue des deux mondes*, October 15, 1897, pp. 851–99, and *La Question de la dépopulation* (Paris, 1913).

²⁴ Clotilde Dissard, "Féminisme et natalité," *Revue féministe*, November 20, 1895, pp. 180, 174–81; and Chéliga-Loevy, as reported in Dissard, *ibid.*, 176.

²⁵ Bertillon, "Problème de la dépopulation," 538. He used this phrase in an earlier letter to *Le Temps*, February 26, 1897.

²⁶ For contrasting perspectives on the 1896 congress, see Clotilde Dissard, "Le Congrès féministe de Paris en 1896," *Revue internationale de sociologie*, 4 (1896): 537–52; and Baron J. Angot des Rotours, "L'Agitation féministe," *La Quinzaine*, July 1, 1896, pp. 111–20. For a third survey of this congress reconstructed through press coverage in *Le Figaro*, see Wynona H. Wilkins, "The Paris International Feminist Congress of 1896 and its French Antecedents," *North Dakota Quarterly*, 43 (1975): 5–28.

²⁷ Rouzade, as quoted in Wilkins, "International Feminist Congress," 23. Rouzade's interest in state-supported child rearing dated from the early 1880s, according to Charles Sowerwine and Marilyn J. Boxer. See

Robin and Marie Huot, was that, since women were only producing cannon fodder for the armies of the state, they should be given the wherewithal to refuse—in short, they should have unrestricted access to contraceptive information and devices. The next month Bertillon founded the Alliance Nationale pour l'Accroissement de la Population Française, with the stated purpose of encouraging republican men to father large families.²⁸ Just three months later Robin founded the Ligue de Régénération Humaine, expressly to propagandize for birth control as a weapon against the state.²⁹ In the interim the French Senate had approved a bill, passed by the Chamber the preceding year, that simplified the formalities for marriage, thereby encouraging the founding of more legitimate families, all in the national interest.³⁰ Although it is difficult to insist on cause and effect in this instance, it is clear that these events were intimately connected.

Bertillon, with whose pronatalist arguments this article began, presented the program of his Alliance Nationale in the *Revue politique et parlementaire*. Men, he declared, were to blame for the falling birth rate. Drawing on the theories of Frédéric LePlay, he traced the decline to men's unwillingness to split up family patrimonies.³¹ Moreover, he categorically rejected the arguments of those men,

Sowerwine, "Women and the Origins of the French Socialist Party," *TR/TR*, nos. 3–4 (1977): 119–21; and Boxer, "Socialism Faces Feminism: The Failure of Synthesis in France, 1879–1914," in Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, eds., *Socialist Women: European Socialist Feminism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (New York, 1978), 79–80. Sowerwine's *Femmes et socialisme* is highly critical of socialist women's insistence on motherhood. He is silent on Rouzade's later views and on the entire discussion of legislation affecting women's employment and marriage law reform, including the vital fact that, in 1891–92, socialists Emile Brousse and Paul Lafargue submitted bills to the Chamber of Deputies proposing subsidized maternity leave for women workers. Lafargue argued that child bearing was a social function and should be subsidized by taxing employers. See *Annales de la Chambre des députés: Documents* (1891), no. 1187, and (1892), no. 2369. Among the subsequent scholarly and popular books in French advocating some form of state assistance to mothers, see Louis Frank et al., *L'Assurance maternelle* (Brussels, 1897); Just Sicard de Plauzeoles, *La Fonction sexuelle au point de vue de l'éthique et de l'hygiène sociales* (Paris, 1908), and *La Maternité et la défense nationale contre la dépopulation* (Paris, 1909); Jacques Mornet, *La Protection de la maternité en France: Étude d'hygiène sociale* (Paris, 1910); and A. Vallin, *La Femme salariée et la maternité* (Paris, 1911). On the arguments of Ellen Key and the *Bund für Mutterschutz*, see Bell and Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom*, chaps. 3, 5; Cheri Register, "Motherhood at Center: Ellen Key's Social Vision," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 5 (1982): 599–610; Amy Hackett, "Helene Stöcker: Left-Wing Intellectual and Sex Reformer between Empire and Republic," paper presented to the Ninety-Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, held in Los Angeles, December 27–30, 1981; and Christl Wickert et al., "Helene Stöcker and the Bund für Mutterschutz," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 5 (1982): 611–18.

²⁸ Alliance Nationale pour l'Accroissement de la Population Française, *Programme, statuts et compte rendu des travaux de l'exercice 1896–1897* (Paris, 1897). Despite his primary focus on the *familialistes* who eventually split off from the *natalistes* to form their own organization, Talmy reported on subsequent activities of the Alliance in *Histoire du mouvement familial*, vol. 1. There is an ironic twist to Bertillon's subsequent personal history. His second daughter (and last child) was born in the fall of 1897; both daughters became career women. Files on the two at the Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand attest that neither married nor had children. Meanwhile, in 1900, Mme. Bertillon, née Caroline Schultze, a trained physician, returned to work.

²⁹ There is considerable information about Paul Robin and the Ligue (though the interpretation is hostile) in Bertillon's *Dépopulation de la France*. For a more sympathetic discussion of Robin's Ligue, see Roger H. Guerrand, *La Libre maternité, 1896–1969* (Tournai, 1971); and Francis Ronsin, *La Grève des ventres, propagande néo-malthusienne et baisse de la natalité française, XIX^e–XX^e siècles* (Paris, 1980). On Robin's unorthodox career as an educator, see Angus McLaren, "Revolution and Education in Late Nineteenth-Century France: The Early Career of Paul Robin," *History of Education Quarterly*, 21 (1981): 317–35. In a new book, *Sexuality and Social Order: The Debate over the Fertility of Women and Workers in France, 1770–1920* (New York, 1983), McLaren exaggerated the importance of French neo-Malthusian feminism.

³⁰ On the marriage reform law of June 20, 1896, see Darlan, minister of justice to the procureurs-généraux, June 23, 1896, reprinted in *Revue féministe*, 2 (1896): 636–40. Also see Esther Kanipe, "The Family, Private Property, and the State in France, 1870–1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1976).

³¹ Bertillon, "Problème de la dépopulation," 537–38. For the influence of LePlay, see his *La Réforme sociale en France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1864; 8th edn., 1901), and *L'Organisation de la famille* (Paris, 1875). In 1881, shortly before

notably Thulié and Leroy-Beaulieu, who took women's claims for legal reform seriously. Bertillon thus discounted the role not only of feminism but also of women themselves in the decline of the birth rate. Such claims were in any event unquantifiable! He denied that legal reforms would have any effect (though he did look with favor on the new law easing legal formalities for marriage). His solution was to tax the childless and grant tax relief for *fathers* with three or more children, a solution that Émile Levasseur, Bertillon's colleague and an economist and demographer, opposed as "illiberal" and, thus, heretical from the standpoint of republican doctrine.³²

From the socialist camp came a different objection. In the *Revue socialiste*, Désiré Descamps, while implicitly accepting the masculine bias of Bertillon's economic argument, turned it topsy-turvy by blaming depopulation on *men's* lust for property. The problem would never be remedied by fiscal reform but only by the abolition of private property; only then could prolific families flourish. "Capital," he argued, echoing Marx and Engels, "is what tears woman away from her role of wife and mother; it imposes sterility upon her."³³ Women and their "natural" instincts were, in this view, simply the victims of capitalist greed.

A heated debate arose over the relationship between feminism and socialism, only part of which need concern us here.³⁴ Some familial feminists responded by insisting that their brand of feminism was quite distinct from socialism. According to Chéliga (echoing Auclert), women were oppressed by men in every social class; extensive legal, educational, and economic reforms—such as the proposal by Jeanne Schmahl's *L'Avant-courrière* to give married women legal control over their own earnings—were thus required to guarantee women's well-being within the family context.³⁵ Meanwhile, Martin and her associates at the *Journal des femmes* continued to press for other legal reforms for women, married or unmarried. Why, she demanded in June 1896, should women bear children at all when they were

LePlay's death, his followers founded a monthly review, also entitled *La Réforme sociale*, which had a substantial impact on French social thought. For a recent reinterpretation, see Catherine Bodard Silver, trans. and ed., *Frederic LePlay: On Family, Work, and Social Change* (Chicago, 1982).

³² Bertillon, "Problème de la dépopulation," 550. For Levasseur's rebuttal, see "La Dépopulation de la France: Lettre à M. Marcel Fournier, directeur," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, 14 (1897): 5–30. In March 1897 Bertillon argued that sterilized milk was preferable to mother's milk for infants in child-care facilities, which prompted an angry reply from Pinard. See "De la puériculture," 137.

³³ Descamps, "Le Problème de la population," 282. For the antecedents of late nineteenth-century French socialists' attitudes toward sex and birth control, see Angus McLaren, "Sex and Socialism: The Opposition of the French Left to Birth Control in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 37 (1976): 475–92. Although McLaren does not deal much with the fin-de-siècle period, his emphasis on the continuing moral conservatism of socialist writers during the earlier period is also borne out by evidence from 1890 to 1914. "The Left did not break," he wrote, "with traditional Judeo-Christian morality"; *ibid.*, 492. For an exploration of anarchist, socialist, and syndicalist responses to neo-Malthusian arguments in the early twentieth century, see André Armengaud, "Mouvement ouvrier et néo-malthusianisme au début du XX^e siècle," *Annales de démographie historique* (1966), 7–19; Léon Gani, "Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue et les problèmes de population," *Population*, 34 (1979): 1023–43; and Alfred Sauvy, "Les Marxistes et le malthusianisme," *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, no. 41 (1966): 1–14.

³⁴ For the ringing defense of motherhood by socialist-feminist women, especially Aline Valette, in the mid-1890s, see Marilyn J. Boxer, "French Socialism, Feminism, and the Family," *TR/IR*, no. 3–4 (1977): 128–67; and Sowerwine, *Femmes et socialisme*, 53–64.

³⁵ See "Les Femmes et les féministes," *Revue encyclopédique Larousse*, November 28, 1896. Also see Chéliga, "Le Mouvement féministe en France," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, 13 (1897): 271–84; and Louise de Marnes, "La Condition de la femme et la dépopulation de la France," *La Fronde*, January 21, 1901.

treated so badly by the nation? "It is unjust," she argued later, "to impose duties on those who have no rights."³⁶

Writers for the *Journal des femmes*, sensitive to the arguments of Pinard and others, also began to press for legislation to ensure better care for the children who were born, and, at the meeting of the Alliance des Savantes et des Philanthropes in December, a number of activists spoke out boldly for economic assistance to mothers, for the "rehabilitation" of maternity (especially for unwed mothers), and for improvements in women's means of self-support.³⁷ The last of these demands, supplemented by advocacy of women's "right to work" became the special concern of Durand, in *La Fronde*. Yet even in that newspaper columnists took up the campaign of Pinard for obligatory *puériculture* (infant care training) for school-girls.³⁸ And, by 1900, the pioneer woman doctor and bourgeois republican advocate of women's rights, Blanche Edwards-Pilliet, was urging (not unlike Rouzade and Lafargue a few years earlier) that motherhood be made a fully subsidized social function of the French nation-state.³⁹ Thus did French feminists succeed in illuminating the patriarchal character of some republican men's efforts to solve the population problem and call on the government to provide a solution favorable to women.

Why were men like Bertillon so reluctant to acknowledge a role for women in reproductive choice, or to extend a helping hand to those who wished to emancipate French women? Why were they so reluctant to acknowledge even the possibility of links between population issues and women's issues? To answer this question the contribution of nationalist thought to the debate on women's issues must be considered. Perhaps the greatest tribute to the force of feminist ideas and activism in fin-de-siècle France was that it precipitated a major public debate and gave rise to a vitriolic antifeminism that forced men (especially those in political power) to take a position on the woman question. This surge of antifeminism manifested itself as an aggressive defense of patriarchal values of long standing, values identified with Catholicism but now defended by secular authors. It was central to nationalistic appeals even more ferocious than the anti-Semitic nationalism that dripped from the pages of Edouard Drumont's *La Libre parole* or the Assumptionists' *La Croix*. In initial stages it can be recognized in the writings of Gustave LeBon, the physician, anthropologist, and scientific popularizer who denounced the trend toward equal education for women and for blacks as a monstrous error.⁴⁰

³⁶ Martin, "Dépopulation," *Le Journal des femmes*, June 1896, and "Savants et philanthropes," *ibid.*, January 1897.

³⁷ Martin, "Savants et philanthropes." For further information on the campaign for maternity insurance in the French legislature to 1913, see Mary Lynn McDougall, "Protecting Infants," 98–105.

³⁸ Marie-Anne de Bovet, "Oh! Ces économistes . . .," *La Fronde*, December 15, 1897; and Andrée Téry, "Faisons des mères," *ibid.*, December 19, 1899. For a positive endorsement of *puériculture*, see Ida R. Sée, "L'Apprentissage de la maternité," *ibid.*, January 11, 1903.

³⁹ See "Rapport de Mme. la docteur Edwards-Pilliet," *Congrès internationale de la condition et des droits des femmes*, Paris, 1900, 66–68, trans. Karen Offen, in Bell and Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom*, 2: 145. In 1901 Edwards-Pilliet, in association with Augusta Moll-Weiss, founded the Ligue des Mères de Famille, a philanthropic organization of bourgeois women dedicated to bringing assistance and advice to working-class mothers in their homes.

⁴⁰ Gustave LeBon, "La Psychologie des femmes et les effets de leur éducation actuelle," *Revue scientifique*, October 11, 1890, pp. 449–60, and "Recherches anatomiques et mathématiques sur les lois des variations du

The books and tracts produced by this chauvinistic school argued that France was invaded, indeed infected (these writers were inordinately fond of medical metaphors), by morbid outside influences—Jews, Protestants, and Freemasons—all conspicuously present among the leaders of the French movement for women's rights. The antifeminists argued that France was threatened to the core by "Internationalism" and "Cosmopolitanism." In shrill tones they denounced all forms of Anglo-Saxon (by which they meant primarily English and American) cultural imperialism, of which feminism was the most reprehensible element. In a work by a Viennese Catholic priest translated from German in 1899, feminism was denounced as the major component of a Protestant, Freemasonic, Jewish, and Free-Thinkers' plot; in another lengthy book, the pseudonymous French writer "Anold" asserted that the imported plague of feminism was a primary cause not only of demoralization but of depopulation as well.⁴¹

Undoubtedly the most prolific of these antifeminist nationalist writers was Théodore Joran. Like Anold, Joran drew heavily on medical metaphors, appointing himself chief scourge of the feminist plague. "Feminism, like Socialism, is an anti-French malady!" "I object to feminism," he thundered, "because it allows women to envisage happiness as independent of love and external to love." "In reality, if not in law," Joran wrote, "good households are those where the man considers the woman as an object made for his own personal pleasure and well-being and where the woman believes she ought to please her husband, to serve him, and applies herself exclusively to that end."⁴² Jean-Jacques Rousseau himself never put it so baldly.

A more extensive analysis of the literature of French nationalist antifeminism need not be offered. Had such ideas remained marginal, there would be no need to discuss them at all. But they recur, with variations, not only in the thought of politically prominent nationalist intellectuals, such as Maurice Barrès, Jules Lemaitre, and Charles Maurras, but also in the work of two famous republican novelists who were generally thought (perhaps only because they wrote extensively about women) to be rather progressive, Marcel Prévost and Émile Zola.⁴³

volume du cerveau et sur leurs relations avec l'intelligence," *Revue d'anthropologie*, 2d ser., 2 (1879): 27–104, esp. 53–62. Both of LeBon's articles were equally hostile to women. Also see the recent studies of LeBon by Robert A. Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology: Gustave LeBon and the Crisis of Mass Democracy in the Third Republic* (Beverly Hills, 1975); and Susanna Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors: Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven, 1981).

⁴¹ Augustin Rösler, *La Question féministe, examinée au point de vue de la nature, de l'histoire et de la révélation*, trans. J. de Rochay [Juliette Charoy, pseud.] (Paris, 1899); Anold, *À quoi tient la supériorité des Français sur les Anglo-Saxons* (Paris, 1899), 160, and *L'Eternelle ennemie* (Paris, 1898). For a less shrill, though equally unsympathetic, attitude toward women's rights through an analysis of new novels by the British writers Olive Schreiner, George Egerton, and Thomas Hardy, see Mme. Arvède Barine [Cécile Vincens, pseud.], "La Gauche féministe et le mariage," *Revue des deux mondes*, July 1, 1896, pp. 106–31. Barine, like subsequent French neotraditionalist-nationalist writers (including those of the *Action française*), was highly critical of the "new morality" portrayed by these novelists, considering it the product of antisocial individualism as propagated by the romantic writers. She insisted on the necessity of discipline, of repressing the instincts, and she wondered why women would attack the institution of Christian marriage, which she asserted had been designed expressly for their protection.

⁴² Théodore Joran, *Le Mensonge du féminisme* (Paris, 1905), 120–21, 128–29, 295. For Joran, feminism became an obsession, against which he published yearly diatribes. See *Autour du féminisme* (1906), *Au Cœur du féminisme* (1908), *La Trouée féministe* (1909), *Les Féministes avant le féminisme* (1910), and *Le Suffrage des femmes* (1913). Beginning in 1908, Joran's publisher was Arthur Savaète, who published quantities of anti-Semitic and ultraconservative Catholic literature during the prewar period.

⁴³ Barrès celebrated the pulsing egotism of Marie Bashkirtseff; since Bashkirtseff was conveniently dead, Barrès never had to confront her directly. In contrast, he spoke of his *petite amie*, who was very much alive in

In 1900 Prévost published *Les Vierges fortes*, a best-selling novel that presents the story of two sisters, Frédérique and Léa. The heroine, Frédérique, insists she will never marry because of her mother's unfortunate experiences with men (seduced, abandoned, and left to raise an illegitimate child), and Frédérique commits herself to the feminist cause. Léa, the younger, wavers between loyalty to her sister and her sister's principles and her love for a young man whom Prévost portrays as a model of the companionate husband. Like the nationalist writers described above, Prévost depicted feminism as a new secular religion, international in scope and utterly foreign to France (a judgment that suggests a gravely defective historical perspective). Frédérique learns of "integral feminism" from a foreigner, portrayed as a Hungarian woman boarding in her mother's house. Frédérique soon becomes the disciple of the foreign woman, a relationship Prévost depicted with unmistakably erotic and suggestively lesbian imagery: "Hers was a total abandonment, delicious, a blind sacrifice at once to a being and to an idea, both confounded and indiscernible from one another. She offered herself passionately to the idea and to its apostle, with the thoughtlessness of one in love." Before departing for England to pursue the feminist mission, the Hungarian woman grants Frédérique permission to use her room and books until her return. She then presents Frédérique with her own copy of John Stuart Mill's classic work, *The Subjection of Women*. In a subsequent scene, as sexually explicit as any to be found in a nineteenth-century novel, Prévost portrayed Frédérique's conversion to—or, rather, "fertilization" by—Mill's ideas.⁴⁴ The lesson of *Les Vierges fortes* was unmistakable: feminist ideas were alien to France, imports from abroad.

Zola likewise contributed to the linkage of nationalism, depopulation, and feminism. A radical republican and close associate of Georges Clémenceau, Zola was also deeply concerned about the population problem, as he had made clear in an article of 1896 in *Le Figaro*. While in exile in England after the publication of his celebrated article, "J'accuse!" defending Dreyfus, Zola wrote *Fécondité* (1899), the first of his series of "evangelical" novels. In it, he elaborated a vision of France's new moral man and woman, which one literary critic aptly described as "a hymn to the new patriarchy." Zola traced the saga of a vast family founded by Mathieu Froment,

Paris, as "l'Objet"; *Un homme libre* (1889), in *Le Culte de moi* (edn. définitive, Paris, 1922, reprint edn., 1966), 221–25, 251–56. In *Le Jardin de Bérénice* (1891), Barrès revealed an obsessive pursuit of flesh-nature-woman-*peuple*, which at the same time repelled him aesthetically. Of Bérénice he wrote: "Ton rôle, ma Bérénice, est de faire songer aux mystères de la reproduction et de la mort, ou plus exactement, il fallut qu'en toi tout crie l'instinct et que tu sois l'image la plus complète que nous puissions concevoir des forces de la nature. Rien de plus, mais quelle tâche délicate!" *Le Jardin de Bérénice* (1891), in *Le Culte de moi*, 338–39. In the early 1900s Barrès, by then married and a father, became transfixed by the brilliance and sensuous beauty of a young Bulgarian-born poetess and princess, Anna de Noailles. Their celebrated liaison waned when Barrès seemed unable to suffer her individuality on a daily basis and finally rejected her as "self-centered" and "egotistical." Such men strove to impose their intellect, their imprint, on women who had minds of their own; it was intellectual as much as physical conquest that they sought. This obsession, coupled with his propensity to seek forceful men as heroes and to favor caesarian democracy, if not a king, suggests that Barrès believed intellectualized civilization had created a crisis in French virility itself. On the views of Jules Lemaître, see "Les Femmes de lettres," *Annales politiques et littéraires*, December 20, 1896, pp. 387–88, and "Féminisme," in *Opinions à répandre* (Paris, 1901), 158–64. For a recent analysis of Lemaître's abandonment of liberalism for the neotraditionalism of the *Action française*, see Alexander, "Jules Lemaître." On the ideas of Charles Maurras concerning the woman question, see *Dictionnaire politique et critique*, 2 (Paris, 1932): 35–42, and "Le Romantisme féminin, allégorie du sentiment désordonné," in *L'Avenir de l'intelligence* (3d edn., Paris, 1905). Also see Weber, *Action Française*, 6–7, 12.

⁴⁴ Marcel Prévost, *Les Vierges fortes*, volume 1: *Frédérique* (Paris, 1900), 81. For an extensive English extract, see Bell and Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom*, 2: 51–56.

a virtuous and hard-working artisan. Mathieu and his agreeable and bounteously fertile wife-companion (symbolically named Marianne) return to the land to make it flower through hard work. As goddesses of fertility, women played a central role in Zola's new republic; indeed, *Fécondité* abounds with organic metaphors. Froment's fields, warmed by the sun and worked conscientiously, yield abundant harvests; so also do the Froment women, Marianne, her daughters and her daughters-in-law, impregnated every two years by their wholesome, hard-working, and virile husbands. This extraordinary novel was the first installment in Zola's four-part sermon (fertility, labor, truth, and justice) to a new generation of republicans. His vision of women in the new social order was summed up by *La Fronde's* reviewer: "les hanches larges et un grand coeur."⁴⁵

BUT WHAT WERE THE ATTITUDES of those in a position to support reforms on women's behalf—the republican deputies, senators, lawyers, educators, and other intellectuals who came to power in the last decade of the nineteenth century? The political allies preferred by bourgeois republican feminist leaders were the "Solidarists." In fact, French republican feminism flourished in intimate association with "Solidarism," the political doctrine enunciated in 1895 by Léon Bourgeois on philosophical foundations laid by Auguste Comte and Alfred J. E. Fouillée. By 1900 solidarism had become "the official social philosophy of the French Third Republic."⁴⁶ Bourgeois proposed a political formula intended to allow radical republicans to ride the crest of interest in social welfare through state intervention, to pursue humanitarian aims of social reform and mass education within capitalist society, and thereby (it was hoped) to defuse class struggle and all potential revolutionary threats to the existing social order. For partisans of solidarism, the quest for national solidarity offered the antidote to class conflict.

⁴⁵ See Zola, "Dépopulation," *Le Figaro*, May 23, 1896, reprinted in *Nouvelle campagne* (Paris, 1897), 217–28, and *Fécondité* (1899), trans. Ernest Vizetelly, *Fruitfulness* (New York, 1900), 481–84. For a selection from this novel, see Bell and Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom*, 2: 130–32. The review of *Fécondité* referred to here was by Gustave Kahn; see *La Revue blanche*, 20 (1899): 284–93. Also see May-Armand Blanc, "La Femme dans l'oeuvre d'Émile Zola," *La Fronde*, October 31 and November 1, 1899. On Zola and the woman question, see David Baguley, *Fécondité d'Émile Zola: Roman à thèse, évangile, mythe* (Toronto, 1973); Anna Krakowski, *La Condition de la femme dans l'oeuvre d'Émile Zola* (Paris, 1974); Chantal Bertrand-Jennings, *L'Eros et la femme chez Zola: De la chute au paradis retrouvé* (Paris, 1977); and Mieczysław Kaczynski, "Les Quatre Évangiles" d'Émile Zola: *Entre la vision catastrophique et la vision utopique* (Lublin, 1979).

⁴⁶ Phrase derived from J. E. S. Hayward, "The Official Social Philosophy of the French Third Republic: Léon Bourgeois and Solidarism," *International Review of Social History*, 6 (1961): 19–48, and "Solidarity: The Social History of an Idea in Nineteenth-Century France," *International Review of Social History*, 4 (1959): 261–81. On solidarism, see Léon Bourgeois, *Solidarité* (3d edn., Paris, 1902); and Celestin Bouglé, "L'Évolution du solidarisme," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, 35 (1903): 480–505. For scholarly assessments of late nineteenth-century solidarity, see John Anthony Scott, *Republican Ideas and the Liberal Tradition in France, 1870–1914* (New York, 1951), 157–86; and William Logue, *From Philosophy to Sociology: The Evolution of French Liberalism* (DeKalb, Ill., 1983). Also see Theodore Zeldin, *France, 1848–1945*, 1 (Oxford, 1973), chap. 21. For a Marxist critique of solidarism, see Sanford Elwitt, *The Making of the Third Republic* (Baton Rouge, 1975). For an enthusiastic re-endorsement of the solidarist movement by a French socialist militant, see Marcel Ruby, *Le Solidarisme: Une doctrine pour la gauche* (Paris, 1971). The concept of social solidarity appears to have originated with Pierre Leroux, and Auguste Comte, of course, strongly supported it in his *Cours de philosophie positive*. For a discussion of the use of evolutionary theory by later solidarists to support their case for social harmony, see Linda L. Clark, "Social Darwinism in France," paper presented at the Ninety-Second Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, held in Dallas, December 27–30, 1977. French solidarist thought should be compared with Fabian thought in England and Progressive ideas in the United States.

The solidarist dispositions coincided magnificently with the philosophical predispositions of many French bourgeois advocates of women's rights. Both preferred concrete, scientifically designed solutions to what they perceived as abstract ideals; both sought harmony and association (what we now call consensus) rather than confrontation, conflict, and competition; both called for social justice to rout the inequities of natural justice, for disarmament and international arbitration rather than displays of force, and for national solidarity across class lines rather than conflict between the rich and the poor. Both solidarists and feminists deemed cooperation of the sexes—as of the classes—preferable to conflict between them. In seeking improvement in the condition of women, they were not disposed to topple capital or the class structure. Léon Bourgeois, in fact, was asked to lend his patronage to the 1900 international congress on women's charities and institutions. References to solidarity likewise peppered discussions at the 1900 women's rights congress.⁴⁷

The extent of solidarist support for reforms on behalf of women must be carefully qualified, however. Men, Bourgeois said, are *not* born free but are enmeshed in a web of obligations by a sort of quasi-contract; so it was for women as well. A higher, if rigorously secular collectivity—the nation—subordinated individual claims. Although radical republicans of solidarist persuasion were bitterly anticlerical, many of them were intellectuals and educators vitally interested in propagating a new morality, a morality that insisted on the functions and obligations of men and women in the name of the nation and on the family, not the individual, as the basic social and political unit of the nation. They did support a number of reforms that would have ameliorated women's position in society by enhancing their assigned roles—through liberalizing divorce laws, giving married women the right to control their own earnings, allowing all adult women to witness civil acts, or even to study in universities and professional schools such as the École des Beaux-Arts—but always on condition that the time-honored sexual division of labor be respected. Their touchstone, one that had a long history in republican thought on the woman question, was “equality in difference.”⁴⁸ They were willing to consider women as moral equals but could not accept members of either sex acting as individuals, in disregard of their functional context in the nation, which in this case was defined in terms of organic biology and the family.

Consequently, the male partisans of solidarity never dreamed of supporting rights for women independently of—or in conflict with—their assigned maternal responsibilities; they concurred with the familial feminism of Dissard but not with

⁴⁷ On the educational efforts of the solidarists, see *Congrès internationale de la condition et des droits des femmes, 5–8 sept. 1900, questions économiques, morales, et sociales: Education, législation, droit privé, droit public* (Paris, 1901); and *Congrès international de l'éducation sociale, 1900, tenu à Paris du 26 au 30 septembre 1900: Procès-verbal sommaire, par Mme. Anna-M. Yon-Lampérière* (Paris, 1902). Several authors spelled out the implications of solidarist thought for women's education. See Anna Yon-Lampérière, *Le Rôle social de la femme* (2d edn., Paris, 1898); Henri Marion, *Psychologie de la femme* (Paris, 1900), and *L'Éducation des jeunes filles* (Paris, 1902); and Baptiste Roussy, *Éducation domestique de la femme et rénovation sociale* (Paris, 1914). Also see *La Grande encyclopédie*, 17 (Paris, 1903), 143–70, s.v. “Femme.”

⁴⁸ For further discussion of the doctrine of “equality in difference,” see Karen Offen, “The Second Sex and the Baccalauréat in Republican France, 1880–1924,” *French Historical Studies*, 13 (1983): 252–86, and “Ernest Legouvé and the Doctrine of ‘Equality in Difference’ in Nineteenth-Century France: Some Reflections on the History of Feminist Thought” (forthcoming).

the individualist feminism of Madeleine Pelletier.⁴⁹ In 1893 the underpinning of the prevailing view had been presented authoritatively in the *Revue des deux mondes* in a review article on the biological foundations of the psychology of the sexes; its author was Alfred J. E. Fouillée, the philosopher of *Solidarisme*. In the most memorable sentence of this long article, he stated: "What was decided among the prehistoric protozoa cannot be annulled by Act of Parliament."⁵⁰ Madame Fouillée, better known to the public as the textbook writer "G. Bruno," shared her husband's view. As Linda L. Clark pointed out, in Bruno's primer for children eleven to thirteen years old, the functions and duties of women were explicit: a woman's life was to be centered entirely on the household, where her role was to influence children, especially sons, to become morally exemplary adults.⁵¹ In solidarist thought women were perceived not necessarily as inferior but invariably as biologically "different." (In this respect the solidarists established their distance from the misogyny of Proudhon.) The pronouncements of Émile Durkheim, Fouillée's colleague in the university, were equally explicit.⁵² Whenever women's demands seemed to augur excessive individualism, that is, to threaten the proprietary familial structure or to transgress the lines laid down for the sexual division of labor (which was considered vital to the national welfare), the solidarist republicans drew the line on reform.

With the partisans of solidarism in power after 1896, French feminists began to press for the enactment of various legal reforms that had awaited political solutions since the 1830s. A group of deputies in the Chamber organized a caucus of sorts on women's rights; the Paris Municipal Council granted subsidies to congresses on women's rights. But on certain demands the republican feminists encountered stiff resistance from male colleagues. Their efforts to undo the paternalistic and discriminatory regulation of women's work in industry, to abolish the legal

⁴⁹ On Pelletier, see Marilyn J. Boxer, "When Radical and Socialist Feminism Were Joined: The Extraordinary Failure of Madeleine Pelletier," in Jane Slaughter and Robert Kern, eds., *European Women on the Left: Socialism, Feminism, and the Problems Faced by Political Women, 1880 to the Present* (Westport, Conn., 1981), 51–73; and Charles Sowerwine, "Socialism, Feminism, and Violence: The Analysis of Madeleine Pelletier," in Edgar Leon Newman, ed., *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History, Eugene*, 8 (Las Cruces, N.M., 1981), 415–22.

⁵⁰ Alfred J. E. Fouillée, "La Psychologie des sexes et ses fondements physiologiques," *Revue des deux mondes*, September 15, 1893, pp. 399, 397–429. The quote is actually taken (without due credit) from one of the books Fouillée reviewed. See Patrick Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson, *The Evolution of Sex* (London, 1889; Paris, 1892), 267. Only a few years later Fouillée's position became more entrenched. Note his invocation of the threat of "masculinization" of women, which he feared would accompany women's "invasion" of the male professions in France, as allegedly was happening in the United States; *Psychologie du peuple français* (Paris, 1899), 292–93. Fouillée echoed the analysis of Jules Héricourt. See J. H. [J. Héricourt], "La Natalité dans les pays à civilisation avancée," *Revue scientifique*, July 25, 1896, pp. 123–24.

⁵¹ See Linda L. Clark, "The Molding of the *Citoyenne*: The Image of the Female in French Educational Literature, 1880–1914," *TR/TR*, no. 3–4 (1977): 74–104. Also see G. Bruno [Mme. Fouillée], "The Influence of Mothers and the Role of Woman in the Family," from *Francinette*, trans. Karen Offen, in *Victorian Women*, 67–68.

⁵² Although Durkheim never published his material on family sociology, he did lecture on the topic both at Bordeaux and in Paris. For a surviving fragment from one of his 1892 lectures in Bordeaux, see George Simpson, "A Durkheim Fragment," *American Journal of Sociology*, 70 (1965): 527–36. Durkheim emphasized the "progressive" or evolutionary character of the sexual division of labor as "the source of conjugal solidarity"; *De la division du travail social* (Paris, 1893), 58. Durkheim insisted that the family evolved toward the patriarchal type. These stands and the pattern of his own family life (as revealed by his nephew Marcel Mauss) strongly suggest that his views on the woman question conformed in most respects to those of other republican solidarist intellectuals and politicians, who supported only those reforms in women's legal position that did not erode the sexual division of labor. Also see Herbert Bynder, "Emile Durkheim and the Sociology of the Family," *Journal of*

incapacity of married women, and, of course, to achieve suffrage for all women, married and unmarried alike, aroused little enthusiasm among most republicans. These men, after all, were politicians and as such represented all-male constituencies that were, on balance, less “enlightened” than themselves. As one supporter, the future *président du conseil* René Viviani, pointed out at the 1900 women’s rights congress, “The legislators make the laws for those who make the legislators.”⁵³ If the intimate prejudices of an all-male electorate coincided with those of Prévost or harmonized with the biosocial evolutionary functionalism of Fouillée or Durkheim, it could be deduced that voter support for the demands of a thoroughgoing revolution in the status of women would be unenthusiastic indeed. This emerged even more clearly after the Dreyfus case revealed the implications of challenges to the pillars of traditional social authority, that is, the army and the courts, and the Ligue de la Patrie Française of Barrès and Lemaître arose to counter the revisionist activities, grounded in claims for individual justice, of the Ligue des Droits de l’Homme of Clémenceau, Viviani, and Zola.

For politically perceptive French feminists of either familial or integral persuasion, such developments meant that even their most committed supporters would henceforth proceed with caution and that, while maintaining their own stand on the principle of individual justice, they might be well advised to adopt more nonthreatening modes of argument—and a cautious, quintessentially “womanly” demeanor. This was precisely what happened, especially as the politicization of the population issue cast the sexual politics of all factions in high relief. At *La Fronde*, even as Durand organized women’s unions, she assiduously held her receptions for ladies, while the novelist Daniel Lesueur argued that for feminists grace and goodness were duties; other staff writers not only lauded the founding of cooking schools (where women could be taught the principles of nutrition and hygiene that would contribute to a better *pot-au-feu*) but propounded the establishment of crèches in all *quartiers* and cooperative kitchens as well.⁵⁴ Such reforms might ameliorate the condition of women in their prescribed domestic sphere; they did not challenge frontally the sexual division of labor or male supremacy in the family but sought to subvert it from within.

Marriage and the Family, 31 (1969): 527–33; and Steven Lukes, *Emile Durkheim* (New York, 1972), chap. 8. On Durkheim’s extraordinary intellectual influence, see Terry Nichols Clark, *Prophets and Patrons* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973).

⁵³ René Viviani, “Rapport de la troisième section (législation),” *Congrès international de la condition et des droits des femmes*, September 7, 1900, p. 201; *La Fronde*, September 10, 1900. Viviani, a radical-socialist deputy since 1893, had long been an ally of the women’s movement in France; since 1889 he had been an officer of the Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes. In 1900 he pushed through the law that authorized admittance of women lawyers to the bar. Throughout this period he was closely associated with Durand. For the most thorough discussion of the Durand-Viviani relationship to date, see Sue Helder Goliber, “The Life and Times of Marguerite Durand: A Study in French Feminism,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1975). Sowerwine remarked that, in spite of Viviani’s ardent support of women’s rights, he never mentioned the subject in his 1893 electoral *profession de foi*; in 1898, however, he did speak out for equal civil and political rights for women; *Femmes et socialisme*, 258.

⁵⁴ Daniel Lesueur [Jeanne Loiseau Lapauze, pseud.], “A propos d’une . . . robe,” *La Fronde*, March 11, 1898. Also see Marie-Louise Neron, “Foyer de l’ouvrière,” *ibid.*, January 12, 1898; Martin, “Le Restaurant à domicile,” *ibid.*, January 23, 1898; and Louise Debor, “Une École de cuisine et d’économie domestique,” *ibid.*, August 2, 1899.

AS THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BEGAN, men active in the political and cultural life of the Third Republic were forced to reconsider depopulation, nationalism, and feminism as linked problems and to seek appropriate solutions. This happened well before 1907, the usual date attributed to the nationalist revival, a year that also saw the formulation of the radicals' Nancy program, an increase in working-class unrest at home, increasing belligerence by the German emperor, and the launching of the French campaign for woman suffrage. The published record indicates that as the debate on population and women's issues intensified, the responses of republican men became increasingly explicit and detailed. These responses ranged from a defensive, traditionalist view of the family as the core unit of the state, clearly patriarchal and authoritarian, to a relatively more liberal and egalitarian view, which nevertheless upheld the division of labor along sexual lines as both a fundamental principle and an axiom of evolutionary progress. The controversy showed again that little support was forthcoming from republican men for the autonomous existence of women—or, for that matter, of men.

By 1902, despite the façade of republican unity that led to the definitive separation of church and state, three distinct lines of thought on the woman question can be identified among anticlerical republican men active in public life. The three are represented by the following clusters: the patriarchal patriots; the solidarist advocates of state intervention; and the integral individualists, who during this period adopted an antistatist perspective. The first two lines of thought were well represented among the seventy members of the all-male and ~~all-republican~~ extraparlimentary commission on depopulation, established by the Senate late in 1901 and appointed by René Waldeck-Rousseau early in 1902.⁵⁵ The discussions and reports of the commission and its two subcommittees on natality and mortality, as well as the published writings of various committee members, enable us to identify their explanations for the falling birth rate, their general views on the position of women—which often touched on women's responsibility (or lack thereof) for depopulation—and their attitudes toward state intervention.

Partisans of the first tendency, the patriarchal patriots, exhibited little enthusiasm for the notion that women might be perceived as responsible individuals capable of independent action. Their full attention was focused gloomily on the "traditional" family, in which patriarchal control was assumed to be a necessary control, especially over children, that they feared was in jeopardy, undermined by the nation. These men manifested outright hostility to the notion of economic independence for women, though they sometimes seemed less hostile to suffrage

⁵⁵ This commission consisted of deputies, senators, professors of law, political economy, and medicine, magistrates, hospital administrators, educators, high civil servants, and a smattering of men of letters. No woman was appointed to serve, as French feminists were quick to complain publicly. At the commission's first meeting, two subcommittees, one on natality and one on mortality, were established. The published records of the commission include: *Commission de la Dépopulation, Séance du 29 janvier 1902* (Paris, 1902), *Etat des travaux de la commission extra-parlementaire contre la dépopulation, dressé par M. Ogier, secrétaire générale de la commission* (Melun, 1902), *Tableaux statistiques recueillis ou établis par les soins du comité d'études* (Melun, 1902), *Note sur les mesures fiscales susceptibles dans les principaux pays d'influencer le mouvement de la population* [by G. Delamotte] (Melun, 1902), *Rapport sur l'âge au mariage et son influence sur la natalité* [by Arsène Dumont] (Melun, 1903), *Rapport sur la moralité publique* [by Charles Gide] (Melun, 1903), and *Rapport sur les causes physiologiques de la diminution de la natalité* [by Adolphe Pinard and Charles Richet] (Melun, 1903); and *Sous-Commission de la Mortalité, Séance du 2 juillet 1902* (Melun, 1903).

for women, perhaps on the assumption that women would vote as their husbands wished. They perceived the family to be under obligation to fulfill the manpower needs of the state. To this end, they viewed state intervention as necessary *only* insofar as it might promote natality by restoring as much formal authority as possible to the *chef de famille*. They advocated amendments to the inheritance and tax laws that would have restored paternal disposition of the patrimony of landed capital and urged the adoption of financial incentives through tax exemptions to foster the fathering of large numbers of children.

This line of thought, of course, had its roots in LePlayist sociology. In the wholly republican depopulation commission, however, it was espoused by secularists, who in this respect at least found themselves in accord with social Catholics. The secularists viewed natality and family building as exclusively male concerns; indeed, they sometimes presented the phenomenon of depopulation itself as evidence of male degeneracy—a crisis in French virility! This orientation was epitomized by the arguments of the doctor-demographer Bertillon, who even discounted the possible importance of abortion (the classic female solution to the problem of unwanted children, as Angus McLaren reminded us) in contributing to the decline.⁵⁶ The essence of this argument is conveyed, not in jest, by the title of an article by Bertillon's lieutenant Fernand Boverat, which appeared some years later in the magazine of the Alliance Nationale—"Préparons nos enfants à l'idée d'être pères."⁵⁷

A second prominent spokesman for patriarchal patriotism was Edme Piot, senator for Côte d'Or.⁵⁸ Piot's remarks on the population question are arguments remarkable for their infrequent references to women's role in reproduction. Although he called for reforms in public health practices that would facilitate maternity, his principal purpose was to encourage paternity. Piot did acknowledge women's importance in one respect: he thought they could be bribed. It was Piot who in 1903 reintroduced in France the old Roman notion of state-awarded medals for motherhood. Advocates of women's rights had a field day with this suggestion: Martin observed, with some sarcasm, that, although the idea of honoring mothers might be quite acceptable, it should certainly take a more tangible form; Auclert argued instead for a monetary indemnity *to be paid directly to mothers*, or, failing that, presentation of the *Légion d'honneur*.⁵⁹ (When in 1920 the French government did

⁵⁶ Angus McLaren, "Abortion in France: Women and the Regulation of Family Size, 1800–1914," *French Historical Studies*, 10 (1977–78): 461–85.

⁵⁷ Fernand Boverat, "Préparons nos enfants à l'idée d'être pères," *Revue de l'Alliance nationale*, no. 147 (1924): 306. Also see Boverat, *Patriotisme et paternité* (Paris, 1913). Not surprisingly, many of the patriarchal patriots also supported the sports movement of Pierre de Coubertin, with its emphasis on restoring virility, and later helped found the French eugenics movement. On these men and movements, see Robert A. Nye, "Degeneration, Hygiene, and Sports in Fin-de-Siècle France," in Newman, *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 404–12; John M. Hoberman, "Pierre de Coubertin: Hygienist of the Third Republic," *ibid.*, 413; and William Schneider, "The Origin of Eugenics in France," *ibid.*, 414. Also see William Schneider, "Toward the Improvement of the Human Race: The History of Eugenics in France," *Journal of Modern History*, 54 (1982): 268–91.

⁵⁸ See Edme Piot, *La Question de la dépopulation en France: Le Mal, ses causes, ses remèdes* (Paris, 1900), and *La Dépopulation: Enquête personnelle sur la dépopulation en France—Documents, discours, et rapports* (Paris, 1902).

⁵⁹ Piot, "Une Décoration pour les mères de familles," *Revue philanthropique*, 13 (1903): 273–74. Documents from the 1903 controversy were reprinted in successive issues of Paul Robin's neo-Malthusian periodical, *Régénération*. For women's views, see Martin, "La Grève des mères," *Le Journal des femmes*, June 1903; and

inaugurate a program to reward *mères de famille nombreuses*, it was strictly honorific—medals with ribbons and merit citations but no bonuses. It was left to the imagination of the Italian fascist Benito Mussolini to arrive at an even more inspired incentive; to the mother of a sixth living child, he offered a portrait of himself!)

Solidarism, the second and more complex line of thought among anticlerical republican men, espoused a more limited form of state intervention. This vision was personified by Paul Strauss, former Paris municipal councilor, senator for the department of the Seine, and director of the *Revue philanthropique*. Strauss, a radical republican, acknowledged women as competent beings (though always in the context of the family), and, in his private philanthropic activities, he worked closely and congenially with advocates of women's rights. Stressing the reciprocity of men's and women's obligations in the social division of labor, however, he invariably stereotyped women as mothers—even young, unmarried girls, who were perceived, first and foremost, as potential mothers. Men of solidarist persuasion preferred to view the population crisis as a moral issue, one that could be successfully addressed by the state through education and intervention—if only the government could be induced to adopt and finance the costly programs necessary to correct certain structural and environmental defects. They, too, were interested in enhancing natality in the national interest; as Senator Strauss put it in 1900, “La patrie d’abord, humanité ensuite.”⁶⁰

In contrast to the patriarchal patriots, solidarists like Strauss did take seriously the role of women in population formation. They generally gave credence to women's views and listened attentively to the claims of bourgeois feminists, who made an effort to present their demands in a respectful, conciliatory, and ladylike manner. The solidarists' solutions for women's concerns, however, had a way of coming down on the side of an intrusive, if benevolent, paternalism, the “police des familles” of Donzelot's recent analysis.⁶¹ This is evident in Strauss's arguments for obligatory school programs in *puériculture* for girls, and in the later response of another solidarist, the political economist Charles Gide, to the findings of a depopulation commission subcommittee report. In that report, Pinard blamed women's contraceptive practices for 80 percent of the benign tumors observed in women's reproductive organs after their surgical removal. Gide concluded from Pinard's findings that doctors should counsel bourgeois women against these unhealthy “neo-Malthusian practices”; he further insisted that the state educate married couples to believe that they owed four children to *la patrie*.⁶²

Hubertine Auclert, “Recompensez la maternité,” *Le Radical*, March 18, 1902, and “La Dotation des mères françaises,” *ibid.*, November 30, 1903. In addition, a series of undated articles by Auclert was reproduced in *Les Femmes au gouvernement* (Paris, 1923), 317–58. Also see “Lettre ouverte à M. Piot,” *La Fronde*, June 12, 1903; and Marcel Prévost, “La Conquête des mères,” *Le Figaro*, May 15, 1903.

⁶⁰ Paul Strauss, “La Puériculture avant la naissance,” *Revue des revues*, January 15, 1900, p. 140. Also see Strauss's contributions to the *Revue philanthropique*, which he edited, his article in the *Revue des revues* (August 1, 1900), and *Dépopulation et puériculture* (Paris, 1901). These publications offer splendid insight into the thinking of male-feminist, solidarist republicans.

⁶¹ Jacques Donzelot, *La Police des familles* (Paris, 1977).

⁶² Charles Gide, “Le Dépeuplement de la France: Y a-t-il quelque remède à la dépopulation de la France?” *La Revue hebdomadaire*, 5 (1909): 141–48.

Men like Strauss and Gide were never so obsessed with the need to restore male virility and authority as were the patriarchal patriots. But, as the population crisis continued with no sign of abatement through the first decade of the twentieth century, the tolerance of the solidarists for claims to rights based on individual liberty, whether made by men or by women, diminished markedly, and their public utterances were marked by increasingly shrill patriotic rhetoric. That this decreasing tolerance affected the possibilities for reform open to the French movement for women's rights, whose leaders were so closely affiliated with these men, there can be little doubt.

The third tendency among the secularists, unlike the first two, was not well represented on the depopulation commission. The advocates of integral individualism brooked no barriers to the rights of the individual, man or woman, no barriers to self-determination, irrespective of the perceived needs of state or society. In their ranks were both anarchists and neo-Malthusians, campaigning for the right of women not only to control their own bodies but also to employ active contraception—which they viewed as a woman's ultimate act of civil disobedience.⁶³ One member of the commission, the social dramatist Eugène Brieux, though silent during committee discussions, subsequently espoused these libertarian views. In *Three Daughters of M. Dupont* (1897), he had warned against the evils of Malthusianism; given a political climate already sensitive to the population question, this play presumably established Brieux's credentials as a defender of the nation and led to his appointment to the depopulation commission. And it was during Brieux's tenure on the commission, ironically, that he wrote *Maternity*, the play that scandalized his colleagues when it opened in Paris in December 1903. Through the play's female characters, Brieux spoke freely of the rank injustices confronting women in French society. In defending the right of women to control the disposition of their own bodies for procreation—against both husbands they did not love and predatory, egotistical seducers—*Maternity* confronted Parisian society with a stark reminder of women's inferior legal status and presented a powerful case for reform.⁶⁴

IN THE YEARS JUST AFTER THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, male alarm over the national population malaise often threatened to collide with French feminists' demands for expanded legal (and political) rights for women. Since in 1900 French women enjoyed neither political nor economic independence from male control and since the sheer imbalance of material and political power had greatly increased in men's favor during the nineteenth century, it would have been surprising to find French

⁶³ See Guerrand, *La Libre maternité, 1896–1969*; and Ronsin, *La Grève des ventres*.

⁶⁴ Eugène Brieux, "Maternity," trans. Mrs. Bernard Shaw, in *Three Plays by Brieux*, ed. Bernard Shaw (London, 1911). Although Brieux seems a forgotten literary figure today, Shaw considered him to be the "most important dramatist west of Russia" after the death of Ibsen; *Three Plays by Brieux*, vii. Brieux's pithy social plays of this period are splendid documents for studying the state of the woman question. For a commentary following the opening of *Maternity*, see M. de Morsier, "M. Brieux," *Revue bleue*, December 12, 1903, pp. 753–55. Note the ensuing public exchange between Brieux and Senator Piot in *Le Matin* (December 11 and December 16, 1903) and *L'Eclair* (December 14, 1903). Also see G. Drouineau, "Maternité," *Revue philanthropique*, 14 (1904): 553–60.

republican feminists, especially those most closely allied with the republican solidarist establishment, in headlong pursuit of women's integral independence. But that seemed to be the inevitable consequence of a liberal ideology whose individualist logic pointed to female autonomy outside the family. This prospect was obviously threatening to men: consider, for example, the hostile discussion of integral feminism by law professor Charles Turgeon in his award-winning *Le Féminisme français* (1902)—and the Radical party's tepid endorsement in 1907 of rights for "woman," "who must be protected by law in every circumstance of her life."⁶⁵ The outcome of such a confrontation would predictably have ended in unmitigated rejection of all claims on women's behalf. Bourgeois republicans who supported women's rights perceived that no support would be forthcoming from their male colleagues for the more extreme demands, which even they acknowledged as threatening to the social order. Durand recognized this in September 1903 when she announced the demise of *La Fronde* as a daily newspaper. "Feminism has obtained or is about to obtain everything it can pretend to ask for in the present state of our society. . . . [Feminism] will not achieve its ultimate goal, *equality before the law of every French person without distinction of sex*, until the day when women, more and better educated, will be able to offer solid assurances that their participation in public affairs will not yield a return to the past and to ignorance."⁶⁶

For the enhancement of women's position as *mothers* and *wives*, however, republican advocates of women's rights found that they could attract more support. From 1902 on, they and their political allies lobbied for state intervention on behalf of women. They asked for laws that would give wives equal authority with husbands in making important legal decisions concerning the lives of their children, remove the Napoleonic interdict preventing paternity suits in cases of seduction and abandonment of unmarried women, and establish obligatory school programs to educate French women in child care and hygiene in order to lower the appalling mortality rate among infants and young children. They demanded enactment of the longstanding proposal to grant married women control of their own earnings and abolition of the regulation of prostitution by municipalities. They asked that unmarried women be given the vote and that programs to prepare girls for the *baccalauréat* be instituted in the strictly sex-segregated girls' lycées. Some of these measures, notably the one that gave married women control over their earnings and the amendment of the laws on paternity suits, were achieved before 1914. Others were effected following the war. Small wonder that the German feminist,

⁶⁵ See Charles Turgeon, *Le Féminisme français*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1902), esp. vol. 1. The Académie Française awarded this book the Prix Monthyon. Parti Républicain Radical et Radical-Socialiste, "Programme, 1907," in David Thomson, ed., *France: Empire and Republic* (New York, 1968), art. 18, p. 281. This quintessentially solidarist statement did not please suffrage advocates such as Hubertine Auclert, whose articles in the party's organ, *Le Radical*, ceased to appear shortly thereafter. In the early 1880s, Auclert experienced similar disenchantment with the *Parti Ouvrier*. (I am indebted to Steven C. Hause for information on Auclert's tenure at *Le Radical*.)

⁶⁶ Durand, "Vers l'avenir," *La Fronde*, September 1, 1903. On the new activities of Catholic women, see Patrick Kay Bidelman, "Right-Wing Feminism in France: The Theory and Practice of the *Association patriotique du devoir des femmes françaises*, 1901–1913," paper presented at the meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies, held in Bloomington, Indiana, May 1981; and Odile Sarti, "Catholic Women and the Vote: The Response of the *Ligue patriotique des Françaises* to Women's Suffrage," paper presented at the meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies, held in Iowa City, Iowa, April 1983.

Käthe Schirmacher, wrote of France in 1909 that “for political reasons, the women’s rights movement is supported by men to a degree not noticeable in any other country.”⁶⁷

Little wonder, too, that these feminists deplored the calculated violence of the English suffragettes as unwomanly or that to uncompromising militancy they preferred a public stance supporting sexual complementarity within the family in the name of national and social solidarity.⁶⁸ In an era of nationalistic tubthumping, they chose to reiterate the lines made famous only a few years earlier by the heroine of Alexandre Dumas *fil’s* *Francillon*: “La maternité, c’est le patriotisme des femmes.”⁶⁹ With the significant exception of Madeleine Pelletier, most secular republican feminists (and most other socialist feminists as well) paid unrelenting homage to women’s roles as wives and mothers; they framed their proposals for reform—even those for woman suffrage—in such a way as not to *appear* to threaten women’s performance of familial functions. Indeed, the renewed emphasis on *function* seemed almost purposefully exaggerated.

French feminists emphasized both womanly function and womanly style not merely to acknowledge their appreciation of the seriousness of men’s concern over the population problem but also to promote desired legal reforms in the absence of the vote. This approach is epitomized by the 1910 campaign platform of Durand. To focus attention on the issue of woman suffrage, Durand and others declared themselves candidates for the Chamber of Deputies. Among other reforms, Durand advocated obligatory child care and housekeeping instruction in all girls’ lycées; recognition of (and payment for) household work done in the home; equal pay for equal work; obligatory humanitarian service for all women (except those who were already mothers) as long as military service was required for men; modification of laws that rendered women inferior in the married state; maternity insurance; and access for women to all schools, careers, professions, functions, and public charges for which their aptitudes and capacities permitted them to compete.⁷⁰

During the early years of the twentieth century, then, motherhood, *la patrie*, and the *pot-au-feu* were central to the ideology and reform activities of the organized republican feminist movement. French feminism had not, as Theodore Zeldin once suggested, “burnt itself out,” nor was it, as James McMillan characterized it more recently, primarily a “purity crusade.”⁷¹ In the face of the Bertillons, the Piots, the Simons, and the Zolas of the Third Republic, the leaders of the French women’s

⁶⁷ Käthe Schirmacher, *The Modern Woman’s Rights Movement: A Historical Survey*, trans. Carl Conrad Eckhardt (2d German edn., 1909; New York, 1912; reprint edn., New York, 1971), 181–82.

⁶⁸ French women’s rights leaders clarified their position on the issue of “unwomanly behavior” in 1908, when Hubertine Auclert and several other women, exasperated at the radicals and inspired by syndicalist agitation in France and woman suffrage violence in England, stormed Parisian polling places during the municipal election. For a class-based analysis of suffrage militancy in France, see Hause and Kenney, “The Limits of Suffragist Behavior,” 781–806.

⁶⁹ Alexandre Dumas, *fil’s*, *Francillon* (Paris, 1887), 47.

⁷⁰ “Réunion publique et contradictoire: Madame Marguerite Durand et le citoyen Charles Marest, candidats aux élections législatives dans le IX^e arrondissement exposeront leurs programmes,” April 13, 1910, Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand. Steven C. Hause kindly furnished me with a photocopy of this document.

⁷¹ Zeldin, *France, 1848–1945*, 1: 352; and James F. McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot: The Place of Women in French Society, 1870–1940* (London and New York, 1981), 89–96.

movement staked their claims for civil and political rights, as politically astute people anywhere would have done, squarely on the recognition by male colleagues of their unique claims as mothers. This was a powerful position. Those who compare the women's movement in France with the militant wings of the suffrage movements in the United States and Great Britain and then ask "what was the matter with feminism in France" do not understand the strategy that differing and compelling circumstances forced on French feminists. And yet pragmatism was by no means unique to the French movement for women's rights. Despite significant differences in strategy and tactics, the feminist movements of most Western nations during the early twentieth century were reformist; they expressed family-centered, nonindividualist values similar to those embraced by the French feminists of the Third Republic; and they based their programs for educational, legal, and economic reforms on such values, as publications of the time on women's rights abundantly attest.⁷²

The attention given by historians of the women's movement to more colorful but perhaps less representative militant activists in other countries must not be permitted to overshadow the historical importance of the reform current in France or elsewhere. Nor should the reformist position be decried by latter-day purists as an abdication of feminist principles, for, as we have seen, many of its advocates demanded profoundly subversive reforms in both civil and political law. But they preferred to couch their demands, especially those that promoted women's economic independence, in terms not of integral individualism but of "equality in difference," an approach less threatening to republican men. French feminists of the early twentieth century accepted a sexual division of labor in the family and in society, but they sought to restructure this division and turn it to women's advantage. They acknowledged women's reproductive role and responsibilities, but they rejected the conditions that governed it. Addressing the climate of opinion created by the population problem, they gave priority to the elimination of social penalties imposed on women by their reproductive role.

The emphasis on motherhood by French republican feminists at the fin de siècle, then, was a realistic, even astute, response to difficult political circumstances. Without question these feminists of the early twentieth century accepted many of the republican, capitalistic values of their male counterparts, including the commitment to democratic government. But they believed that these values could only be enhanced by improvements in the legal, educational, economic, and political status of women. They shared with the solidarist republican men a sense of overriding national urgency, concern about population and national strength, and a belief that radical individualism, for men and women alike, was in essence antisocial, a

⁷² For a discussion of the national peculiarities of feminism in Germany, see Amy Hackett, "The Politics of Feminism in Wilhelmine Germany, 1890–1918" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1976), "The German Women's Movement and Suffrage, 1890–1914: A Study of National Feminism," in Robert Bezucha, ed., *Modern European Social History* (Lexington, Mass., 1972), and "Feminism and Liberalism in Wilhelmine Germany, 1890–1918," in Berenice Carroll, ed., *Liberating Women's History* (Urbana, Ill., 1975). On feminism in the United States, see Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890–1920* (New York, 1965); and Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past* (Oxford, 1979). On England, see Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop*, 5 (1978): 9–65; and Brian Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain* (New York, 1978).

conviction that subsequently led some among them, notably Marguerite de Witt-Schlumberger, to endorse strict legal sanctions against abortion.⁷³

France's advocates of women's rights adopted, in the words of ethnographers Edwin Ardener and Shirley Ardener, the language appropriate to an "arena of public discourse" that "tends to be characteristically male dominated." As Shirley Ardener observed, "Unless [women's] views are presented in a form acceptable to men, and to women brought up in the male idiom, they will not be given a proper hearing."⁷⁴

Seen in this light, the story of France's movement for women's rights, focused on motherhood as a claim to citizenship, can contribute to an understanding of the ways in which women have attempted to control their own destinies not only in France but in all the democratizing Western nation-states since the era of the American and French revolutions. Recent studies by Ruth Bloch, Linda K. Kerber, Barbara Corrado Pope, and Mitzi Myers offer corroborating evidence on this point.⁷⁵ Their findings indicate that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries women on both sides of the Atlantic developed this approach to serve their own ends in a political environment that was perhaps even less receptive to their claims for liberty than that of the early twentieth century. Indeed, the long tradition of "republican motherhood" became a vehicle not only for improving the status of women but also for subverting the sexual system from within. It was the logical and necessary counterbalance to the nineteenth-century development, out of the longstanding Western division of labor between the sexes within the household, of an explicit secular ideology of "separate spheres," following the purposeful and often ruthless exclusion of women from men's newly acquired access to active political and professional life.

Accompanying the growth of the antimonarchical national state, this counter-ideology developed by women was in fact grounded in a *raison d'état* peculiar to women. It flourished particularly in the two countries—France and the United States—where republican doctrines triumphed during the nineteenth century, where universal manhood suffrage was first inaugurated, and where the inculcation of a conscious national identity became an explicit concern of educators. In both countries throughout the nineteenth century, there is abundant evidence of a recurring tendency to argue for reforms in the position of women in the family and in society by underscoring the centrality of their roles as mothers-of-citizens.⁷⁶ The leaders of women's emancipation in the Third Republic were keenly aware of the strategic possibilities offered by this role, even while many of them recognized—and accepted—its limitations.

⁷³ See, especially, Marguerite de Witt-Schlumberger, *Mères de la patrie, ou traites à la patrie* (Paris, 1920).

⁷⁴ Shirley Ardener, "Introduction," in Shirley Ardener, ed., *Perceiving Women* (New York, 1975), viii–ix.

⁷⁵ See Barbara Corrado Pope, "Revolution and Retreat: Upper-Class French Women after 1789," in Carol R. Berkin and Clara M. Lovett, eds., *Women, War, and Revolution* (New York, 1980), 215–36. Studies excellent for comparative purposes include Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980); and Mitzi Myers, "Reform or Ruin: 'A Revolution in Female Manners,'" in Harry C. Payne, ed., *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 11 (Madison, Wisc., 1982): 199–216. Also see Ruth H. Bloch, "American Feminine Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785–1815," *Feminist Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1978): 101–26; and Margaret H. Darrow, "French Noblewomen and the New Domesticity, 1750–1850," *Feminist Studies*, 5 (1979): 41–65.

⁷⁶ For an expanded exploration of this issue, see Bell and Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom*.

From an individualistic perspective, arguments for women's rights based on their essential social role as mothers are likely to be interpreted as counterrevolutionary. But within the historical framework of the patriarchal nation-state, when women's much-touted moral influence was scant compensation for their lack of economic and political power, such arguments may have provided the sole and most effective means of advancing their cause.

No Angels in the House: The Victorian Myth and the Paget Women

M. JEANNE PETERSON

THE REVOLUTION IN HISTORIANS' KNOWLEDGE of women and family life in Victorian England has left one social group untouched. While working-class women, prostitutes, nursing reformers, and female philanthropists have all become better known to us in the past fifteen years, the Victorian lady is understood today much as she was three decades ago when J. A. Banks and Olive Banks wrote their classic works on the Victorian upper-middle class.¹ Leisured, superficially accomplished, busy with the management of servants and the family's social life—this is the socioeconomic stereotype of the Victorian lady. Her sociopsychological profile is contained in one phrase—the “angel in the house.”

In both Victorian and modern usage, that term covers widely disparate and even contradictory notions. In the narrowest sense the angel was the one near to God, the pious one who kept the family on the Christian path. In secular terms the angel provided the home environment that promoted her husband's and children's well-being in the world; she also provided a haven from its worst pressures through her sound household management and sweetness of temperament. The latter meaning suggests the angel's domesticity, unworldliness, asexuality, innocence, even helplessness in matters outside the domestic sphere.² Although revisionist history has

I want to thank the members of the Paget family for their assistance and for permission to use their family papers: Lord Mayhew, Sir Julian and Lady Paget, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Paget, Dr. Oliver Paget, Mr. David P. Thomson, Mrs. Joan Thomson Charnock, the late Sir George P. Thomson, Col. Humphrey Paget, Mrs. Alice Thompson, and the late Mrs. James M. Thompson. For their reading of the manuscript and other help I want to thank George Alter, Walter Arnstein, Judith Berling, William Burgan, Moureen Coulter, Ann R. Higginbotham, Catherine Hoyser, Anya Peterson Royce, and the anonymous critics and the editors of the *American Historical Review*. Versions of this essay were presented to the Women's Studies Program and the West European Studies Program, Indiana University, Bloomington, the Departments of History and Women's Studies, the University of Hawaii, Manoa, September 14, 1981, and the Anglo-American Conference of Historians, University of London, July 5, 1982. Financial support for my work on the Paget family has come from the Office of Research and Graduate Development, Indiana University, Bloomington, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. I am grateful for their aid.

¹J. A. Banks, *Prosperity and Parenthood: A Study of Family Planning among the Victorian Middle Classes* (London, 1954). Also see J. A. Banks and Olive Banks, *Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England* (Liverpool, 1964).

²Nina Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Janet H. Murray, *Strong-Minded Women: And Other Lost Voices from Nineteenth-Century England* (New York, 1982), 6, 7, 10, 13; and Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983), 90. The *Oxford English Dictionary* supports these readings of the word “angel” as a “lovely, bright, innocent, or gracious being” as well as “ministering spirit or divine messenger.”

changed our ideas about a host of family subjects, the notion remains in the writing of many scholars of Victorian history that the accomplished, demure, and pious woman was not just an ideal but a reality—that she populated most genteel Victorian households.³ For some, the angel in the house is evidence of a “golden age” of family life, an era when men and women had separate roles in the social hierarchy. For others, she is a symbol of oppressed women trapped in the gilded cage of Victorian male domination. One way or another, we write as though the angel metaphor really describes the woman in the Victorian home.⁴

The angel became, some have argued, a model for all ranks of Victorian women. Perhaps so, but I maintain that the model is appropriate only to the middle strata of Victorian society, where women had the leisure, privacy, and prosperity to aspire to the combination of innocence, piety, and dependency that she embodied. Even then, the problem of being an angel in the house was radically different for the lower-middle-class woman keeping house on £200 a year than for the upper-middle-class woman whose husband earned upwards of £700 a year.⁵ The primary reference group for Victorian (and modern) discussions of the Victorian angel in the house is, I suggest, the women of the upper-middle class—the wives and daughters of clergymen, country gentlemen, and prosperous and well-born men in the professions and business. If any woman carried out the religious and social mandates of the angel model, it was the gentlewoman.

The angel's stereotypical social role varied, of course, according to her age and status. As a young, single woman she carried on the duties of the daughter of the house and was educated to the accomplishments—needlework, a smattering of French, a bit of painting, and piano. She made morning calls with mama and did occasional charitable work. Her single life provided training for her role as angel-wife. As a wife and mother she obeyed her husband, adored him, and promoted his spiritual and physical well-being. She supervised the servants' activities under the watchful eye of her husband and became the devoted and loving mother of a large Victorian family. She was an acquiescent, passive, unintellectual creature, whose life revolved entirely around social engagements, domestic management, and religion.⁶

³ R. K. Webb, *Modern England: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (2d edn., New York, 1980), 403; David Roberts, “The Paterfamilias of the Victorian Governing Classes,” in A. J. Wohl, ed., *The Victorian Family: Structure and Stresses* (New York, 1978), 63. Roberts found memoirists' praise of women “mechanical,” but he did not pursue the implications of his own doubts. Also see Clayton Roberts and David Roberts, *A History of England, Volume 2, 1688 to the Present* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1980): 650–51; and Murray, *Strong-Minded Women*, 5, 6. Like many authors, Murray moved back and forth between the angel as ideal and the angel as the reality of upper-middle-class female life.

⁴ Ivan Illich, *Gender* (New York, 1983); and Gorham, *Victorian Girl*. Not all have accepted these stereotypes. See, for example, F. B. Smith, “Sexuality in Britain, 1800–1900: Some Suggested Revisions,” in Martha Vicinus, ed., *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women* (Bloomington, Ind., 1977), 182–98. In general, American historians have been quicker than English historians to question this stereotype. See Carl Degler, “What Ought To Be and What Was: Women's Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century,” *AHR*, 79 (1974): 1467–90, and *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York, 1980); and Erna Olafson Hellerstein et al., eds., *Victorian Women: A Documentary Account of Women's Lives in Nineteenth-Century England, France, and the United States* (Stanford, 1981), 123–33.

⁵ Banks, *Prosperity and Parenthood*, 48–51. J. A. Banks identified the subjects of this earlier work as the upper-middle class; Banks, *Victorian Values: Secularism and the Size of Families* (London, 1981), 44–45. Patricia Branca, on the other hand, clearly dealt with the lower-middle class in *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London, 1975), 6, 16, 40, 47, 53.

⁶ For further information on the angel stereotype, see Banks and Banks, *Feminism and Family Planning*, 58–70; Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, 6, 16, 46, 56; Murray, *Strong-Minded Women*, 21, 75–83, 197; and Gorham, *Victorian*

Much in the literature of the Victorian years supports these notions of Victorian ladyhood. In Dickens's *David Copperfield* (1849–50) Agnes was a woman of unswerving piety, while Dora was angelic in her charm and her dependency; Emilia in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (1848) was charming, too, and not entirely competent to deal with the tasks life thrust at her.⁷ John Ruskin's essays set forth these feminine ideals with eloquence. Prescriptive literature like Sarah Stickney Ellis's *Wives of England* (1843) and *Daughters of England* (1845) further supports this notion of female character. The medical profession testified to the biological roots of her dependency. And, of course, Coventry Patmore's poem, *The Angel in the House* (1854), bolstered the image of female virtue and domesticity.⁸ Victorian and Edwardian memoirists and biographers, writing about their own mothers, sisters, and wives, added to our lore about the angels that inhabited nineteenth-century English homes. But perhaps the angel in the house never really existed, and perhaps students of the Victorian period have been substituting fiction for fact, idealizations for realities, prescriptions for descriptions.

A systematic, statistical survey of Victorian women of the upper-middle class is perhaps an impossible task. This essay, instead, takes a microscopic approach, examining the lives of Victorian women in a single family—the Pagets—to test the image of the Victorian angel against their actual lives. Were these women as ill educated and superficial, helpless and incompetent, unphysical and asexual as the angel stereotype suggests? Were they so pious, devoted, passive, and sweet as to deserve this famous image?

THE SUBJECTS OF THIS ESSAY are three generations of women who, by birth or marriage, became members of the Paget family in the nineteenth century. Although their lives span the period from 1778, when the first was born, to 1951, when the last survivor of these three generations died, this essay is limited to the nineteenth century, beginning with the founding couple's marriage in 1799 and ending with the coming of war in 1914, when the image of the "angel," like many other features of Victorian and Edwardian life, began to fracture.

The matriarch of the family was Sarah Elizabeth Tolver (b. 1778), the daughter

Girl. Also see Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Women and Society in Victorian England* (Totowa, N.J., 1973), esp. 42–46, 93.

⁷ This is not to say that Victorian fiction offers no examples of women who were ill tempered, domineering, authoritative, or independent. But most often they turn out not to be ladies or, if ladies, they are comic figures who therefore do not reflect valued social roles for women. Examples include Charles Dickens's Sarah Gamp in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843) and Mrs. Nickleby in *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838); and Anthony Trollope's Mrs. Proudie in *Barchester Towers* (1857) and Mrs. Arabella Greenow in *Can You Forgive Her?* (1864–65). Also see Michael Slater, *Dickens and Women* (London, 1983), 259, 273–75, 285, 350.

⁸ John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies: Two Lectures Delivered at Manchester in 1864* (London, 1865); Sarah S. Ellis, *The Wives of England, Their Relative Duties, Domestic Influence, and Social Obligations* (London, [1843]), and *The Daughters of England, Their Society, Character, and Responsibilities* (London, [1845]); Charles West, *Medical Women: A Statement and an Argument* (London and Edinburgh, 1878); and Patmore, *The Angel in the House*, 2 vols. (London, 1854). The most famous medical man is, perhaps, William Acton. See his *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs in Childhood, Youth, Adult Age, and Advanced Life* (3d American edn. from the 5th London edn., Philadelphia, 1871). The children of the Victorians played a crucial role, it seems to me, in the evolution of the twentieth-century idea of the angel as a central (and often contemptible) feature of Victorian domestic life. Intense ambivalence about Victorian womanhood characterizes the writings of many of them, including Virginia Woolf, Lytton Strachey, and even Vera Brittain.

of Ann Capps and Tom Tolver, a self-made gentleman. At twenty-one Betsy married Samuel Paget of Great Yarmouth (see Table 1). A young man of modest origins, he made a fortune as a provisioner of ships during the Napoleonic wars. Later he diversified into shipping and brewing. Betsy bore seventeen children in the first twenty-five years of her married life. Nine survived to adulthood.⁹ Kate and Patty, the oldest and youngest of her offspring, never married, nor did four sons. Through the three sons who did marry, five women entered the family. Frederick had, consecutively, three wives: Elizabeth Rogers, Hester King, and Sarah Shoubridge, all apparently the daughters of gentlemen. A partner in his father's brewing business, Frederick failed as a businessman. He moved his family to Vienna, where they remained outside the English family circle until Elise, the only surviving daughter of Frederick and Hester, returned to England in the 1860s. Lydia North (b. 1815), the daughter of a London cleric and schoolmaster, established another Paget family household in London in 1844 by her marriage to James Paget, a rising young surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. And her sister-in-law Clara Fardell (b. ca. 1825), daughter of an Ely clergyman, entered the Paget family in 1851 as the wife of Betsy's son George, a physician and teacher of medicine at Cambridge University.¹⁰

The women of the third generation of this study include Elise together with the daughters and daughters-in-law of Lydia and Clara. Lydia's eldest daughter Catharine married a clergyman and Oxford don. Helen Church, daughter of the dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, married Lydia's son Francis, also a clergyman and Oxford don (later dean of Christ Church and bishop of Oxford). Elma Katie Hoare came from a Norfolk banking family; her father had been a member of Parliament. She entered the Paget circle through marriage to the Reverend Henry Luke Paget, who became bishop of Chester after the First World War. Lydia's other two daughters-in-law were Julia Norrie Moke, an American-born heiress, who married the Pagets' eldest son, barrister John R. Paget, and Eleanor Mary Burd, daughter of a provincial medical man, who married the youngest son of the family, Stephen. Stephen abandoned a surgical career to take up writing and medical politics. The youngest of James and Lydia's offspring, Mary, remained a spinster.¹¹

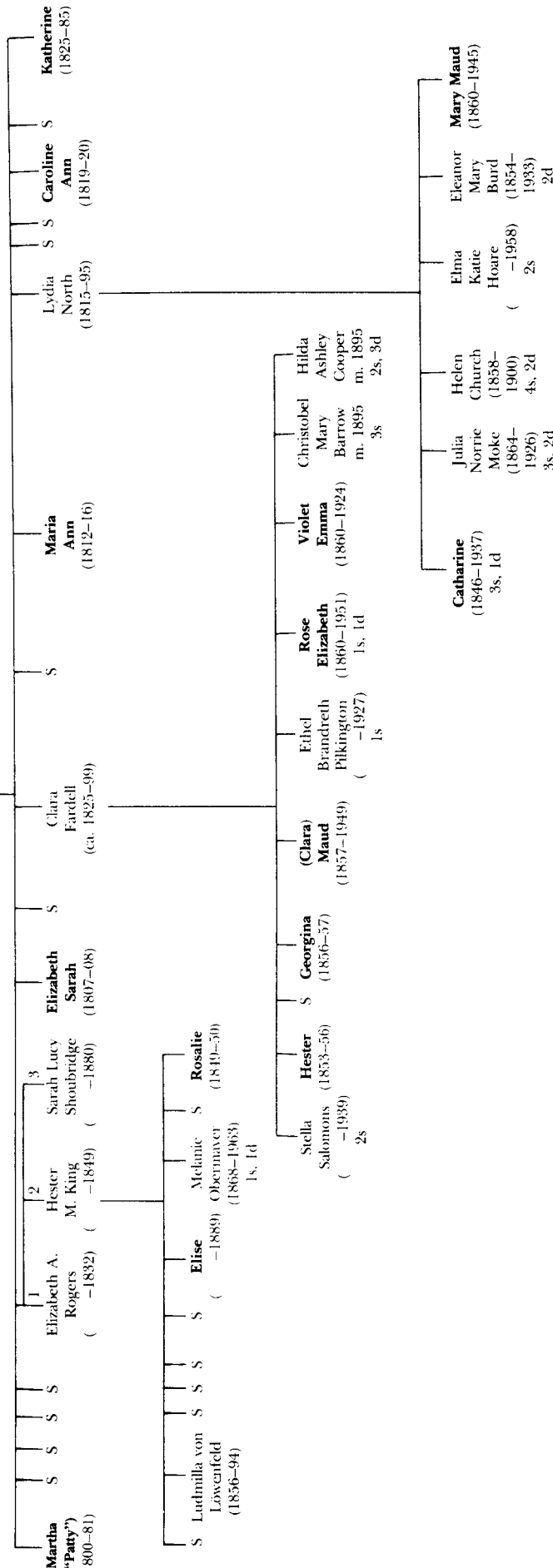
While Lydia's family had close ties to the Church of England, Clara's had links to the medical and scientific professions. Clara's three daughters, Maud, Violet, and Rose, all married Cambridge scientists. (Violet's second marriage was to a wealthy

⁹ Betsy bore sixteen children in the first twenty years of marriage; eight died before the age of six. Demographic historian George Alter pointed out to me that the pattern of births and deaths among Betsy's offspring suggests that she did not breast-feed her infants. Given that there was very little wet-nursing in England, the children might have been artificially fed, which may explain their high mortality.

¹⁰ Sir Julian Paget, Bart., "Paget Family Tree," MS genealogy of the family, November 1963; James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget, Bart.*, ed. Stephen Paget (London, 1902), 1–10; Humphrey Paget, "The Pagets of Great Yarmouth, 1800 to 1850," family MS (1930) in the possession of Lord Mayhew; and G. H. Brown, comp., *Lives of the Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians, 1826–1925* (London, 1955), s.v. George E. Paget. A copy of Humphrey Paget's manuscript is also in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Reserved Collection.

¹¹ Sir Julian Paget, "Paget Family Tree"; *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage* (105th edn., London, 1978), 2060; Stephen Paget and J. M. C. Crum, *Francis Paget: Bishop of Oxford* (London, 1912), 74–76; Elma K. Paget, *Henry Luke Paget: Portrait and Frame* (London, 1939), 210; "Sir John Paget, K.C.," obituary, *The Times* (London), August 22, 1938, p. 13; "Miss [Mary] Paget," obituary, *ibid.*, June 25, 1945, p. 6; and *Plarr's Lives of the Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, ed. Sir D'Arcy Power et al., 2 vols. (Bristol, 1936), s.v. Stephen Paget.

TABLE I



NOTE: Daughters, born Paget, shown in boldface type. Son born into the Paget family, no record of marriage; S.

SOURCES: Sir Julian Paget, Bart., "Family 'Tree,' MS genealogy of the family, November 1963, in the possession of Sir Julian Paget, London; Humphrey Paget, "The Pagets of Great Yarmouth, 1800-1850," family MS (1930) in the possession of Lord Mayhew, London; Sir James Paget, Bart., Visiting Lists, 1856-96, Royal College of Surgeons Library; and *Burkes's Peerage and Baronetage* (105th edn., London, 1978), 2060.

businessman.) Two of Clara's daughters-in-law entered the family through marriages to her sons who were medical men in private practice. A third daughter-in-law, Stella Salomons, married Clara's son Edmund, a stockbroker.¹²

In all, thirty females appear in the three nineteenth-century generations of the family: the founding mother; ten daughters and daughters-in-law in the second generation; and nineteen in the third generation. Of these thirty, six died in infancy. Two lived permanently abroad and fall outside the scope of this study. Of the remaining twenty-two, four never married, and four married but had no offspring. The remaining fourteen had the conventional lives of marriage and children. As far as we can reconstruct the record, the number of children born to any one woman ranged from a low of one to a high of seventeen. The average age of marriage for women in the second generation was twenty-seven; for the third generation, twenty-nine. The average age of their husbands at marriage was thirty-two and thirty-three respectively. And the median between marriage and the birth of the first child was seventeen months in the second generation and twenty-one months in the third. Following the pattern of the Victorian upper-middle class, the Paget families formed after 1870 (the third generation) tended to be smaller than those formed in the first two-thirds of the century. In the second generation the average was eight children; in the third (post-1870) generation the average was three.¹³

The first generation of Pagets belonged to the political and commercial elite of Great Yarmouth. The family remained in business for part of the second generation. The remaining sons of the second and all of the third generation were educated in public schools and Oxbridge and entered the Victorian professions—medicine, the church, law, the university. They did not aspire to join the ranks of county society. They and their families belonged to the upper-middle class, or what might better be called the “new urban gentry”¹⁴—urban professionals who became the new gentilefolk of industrial society. The Paget women came from this group and married into it. They may teach us something about the rest of the women of this social rank.

Because the Paget women did not live exceptional lives, information about them is often patchy. Little information survives, for example, about the three women who married Frederick. Three of Clara's daughters-in-law, Ethel, Christobel, and Hilda, also remain largely unknown. Yet records for other women in the family are surprisingly voluminous; they include letters, diaries, memoirs, newspapers, magazines, legal records and testaments, institutional documents, and the reminiscences of husbands, brothers, and sons.

The Paget women were in every way conventional ladies and, in their very

¹² Sir Julian Paget, “Paget Family Tree”; J. A. Venn, comp., *Alumni Cantabrigienses, A Biographical List of All Known Students . . . at the University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to 1900*, part 2, *From 1752 to 1900* (Cambridge, 1922–54), s.v. Owen Paget, and George Edmund Paget; and “Mr. J. H. Batty,” obituary, *The Times* (London), January 23, 1946, p. 7.

¹³ Sir Julian Paget, “Paget Family Tree.” Also see Banks, *Prosperity and Parenthood*, 2–5.

¹⁴ The only previous use of this phrase that I can find occurs when Philip Jenkins used a similar term, “urban gentry,” to refer to men of town origins who bought country estates; Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry, 1640–1790* (New York, 1983), 42. I intend the “new urban gentry” to refer to those ranks of urban society that sustained the values and social relations of the traditional gentry.

ordinariness, seem typical of the Victorian upper-middle class. Most married and bore children, but, whether married or single, none had a career. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that any wanted an occupation or profession. Their ranks included no feminists. All were Anglican except for the Jewish Stella, and their religious activities ranged from the occasional to the extensive. Their interests and pursuits were normal activities for nineteenth-century ladies of their status—painting, sketching, needlework, morning calls. They engaged in charitable activities, but none was a reformer. Some wrote and published, but the subjects were always those suitable for a lady's pen. They were, in short, the entirely predictable wives and daughters of the new urban gentry. In terms of personality and temperament, too, these women do not reflect anything but the norm. Some were shy and quiet, while others were more dynamic and extroverted, but not one stood out as exceptional by Victorian standards. In their education, views on sensitive issues in Victorian social life, and personalities and characters, they reveal something of the reality behind the image of the Victorian lady as the angel in the house.

GIVEN THE TIMES AND THE FAMILY'S STATUS, the Paget women almost certainly learned the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic at home. Although the evidence is sparse, we have glimpses of young Kate in Great Yarmouth in 1835 having lessons at home and, four decades later, of her ten-year-old niece Mary in the schoolroom upstairs in the big London house in Harewood Place. Education at home, historians have long thought, was intended to protect daughters from the evils of the world outside.¹⁵ But this does not appear to have been entirely true of the Pagets. For the first generation we know only that Betsy was "well-educated" and "very accomplished"; no clues tell us how or where. The evidence is firmer for the second generation. Lydia North, an adolescent in London in the 1820s, had the standard education at home but went to "botannical lectures" from time to time. Her clergyman father, thoroughly opposed to frivolity and idleness and recognizing her talent, enrolled her in the newly founded Royal Academy of Music.¹⁶

The third-generation girls also ventured out of the house to study. In the 1870s the adolescent Paget daughters in Cambridge attended Professor Sidney Colvin's lectures on art history and joined several other daughters of faculty members in organizing a class to study foreign languages. This education outside the home

¹⁵ Murray, *Strong-Minded Women*, 197; Sara Delamont, "The Contradictions in Ladies' Education," in S. Delamont and Lorna Duffin, eds., *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World* (London, 1978), 135–38; and Gorham, *Victorian Girl*, 73–75.

¹⁶ Lydia North to James Paget, July 16, 1839, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine [hereafter, WIHM], Paget MS. 91; Catharine Paget, diary, February 2, 12, 19, 23, 26, 28, 1870, Bodleian Library, Oxford [hereafter, Bodl. Lib.], Reserved Collection; Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 1, "Harewood Place," 14, Bodl. Lib., Thompson MSS; Mary Paget, "1 Harewood Place," Bodl. Lib., Thompson MSS; Delamont, "Contradictions in Ladies' Education," 136; and Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Boston and London, 1981), 40–41, 44. But see Gorham, *Victorian Girl*, 22–24. Lydia North to James Paget, December 24, 1836, WIHM, Paget MS. 12; Isaac W. North, *A Brief Memoir of the Rev. Henry North* (London, 1839), 10, 24, 34; and F. Corder, *History of the Royal Academy of Music from 1822 to 1922* (London, 1922), 40. Fanny Dickens, the sister of the novelist, was also a pupil at the Royal Academy in this period as were other girls; Corder, *History of the Royal Academy of Music from 1822 to 1922*, 9. For biographical notes on female musicians at the academy, see W. W. Cazalet, *The History of the Royal Academy of Music* (London, 1854), 279–326.

continued into adulthood. Rose Paget, at the age of twenty-seven, pursued her interests in science by working in the Cavendish Laboratory in the 1880s. During the same period Eleanor Burd studied at the Slade School of Fine Art in London. Ultimately, Rose entered the formal system of education for women; she took the Higher Local Examination and attended classes at Newnham.¹⁷ None of the other women enrolled in the newly opened Oxbridge colleges for women.

Obviously the Paget women received most of their education at home. Their mothers, of course, head the list of teachers. Older sisters helped educate younger girls, and governesses provided some language and art instruction. Lydia North, while visiting in Great Yarmouth, gave piano lessons to young Kate Paget.¹⁸ Although women provided most of the girls' education, men participated on occasion. Sir George Paget wrote regularly to his daughters when they were at the family's country house, Tan-yr-allt, in North Wales and he was at work in Cambridge. He used his letters as teaching devices, as vehicles for communicating information on subjects that arose out of newspaper stories or current family activities. He informed young Rose about warships and the history of shipbuilding; he gave her a four-page dissertation on cannons and a note on the history of the marquises of Anglesea. Following a visit to the South Kensington Museum to see gifts received by the prince of Wales on a visit to India, George described at length the jewels, their quality, and their uses.¹⁹

Aside from Paget's instructive letters, he also kept a minatory eye on his daughters' study habits and progress. When Rose was in Wales for the summer, he asked her to write "about all you are doing and learning." He exhorted her, "Do your best to save your Mama trouble, and learn all you can. Now is your time for learning, now you are young. If you do not make a good start now, you will run the risk of being behind-hand all your life." He attended even to the details of writing and arithmetic, and he could be severe. "You require some practice in letter-writing," he told Rose. "Your English is not always grammatical, and your spelling & stops not such as Rose Paget's should be. You have spelt pieces thus *peices*." The fourteen-year-old girl's arithmetic also got his attention. "I am glad you are . . . doing sums. I just looked at the last sums you sent. They were not properly set down. . . . The mistake seemed to be in your not being clearly aware that the sign = means *equal to*, and must never be put between two quantities unless they be really *equal to one another*." But he was not all severity; the pedagogue was also

¹⁷ Rose Paget, diary, May 5, October 12, November 2, 1875, February 2, 1876, November 23, 27, 30, 1877, Thomson Papers in the possession of David P. Thomson, London [hereafter, Thomson Papers]; E. V. Lucas, *The Colvins and Their Friends* (New York, 1928), 27–29; and R. J. Strutt, 4th Baron Rayleigh, *Life of J. J. Thomson* (Cambridge, 1942), 34. Also see the account by Rose's son, George P. Thomson, *J. J. Thomson and the Cavendish Laboratory in His Times* (London, 1964), 77, 92. Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 5, "October 5th, 1925," 17; James Paget to H. W. Acland, June 3, 1885, Bodl. Lib., MS. Acland d. 64, f. 210. Apparently many upper-middle-class women went to the Slade; Germaine Greer, *The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work* (New York, 1979), 52, 53, 63, 319.

¹⁸ Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 1, "Harewood Place," 14; Catharine Paget, diary, February 2, 12, 19, 23, 26, 28, 1870; Lydia North to James Paget, July 16, 1839, WIHM, Paget MS. 91; and Rose Paget, diary, entry following July 31, 1874, and April 23, 1876. Rose's diary describes their German governess, Fräulein Anna.

¹⁹ Sir George Paget to Rose Paget, June 30, July 7, 1872, May 17, 1874, July 2, 1876, Thomson Papers. But for David Roberts's idea of the remote father, see "The Paterfamilias of the Victorian Governing Classes," 59–62. Gorham discovered similarly involved fathers but considered them atypical; *Victorian Girl*, 126–28, 130, 170.

affectionate papa. "If you have any difficulty with your Algebra, write to me about it—indeed write every week, whether you have any difficulty or not." As he admitted to his daughter, "I like to hear how you are going on & what you are doing."²⁰

Paget advised his daughters, as they grew older, on the subjects they might study. "I hope you are learning to *speak* Welsh. You have a grand opportunity with Miss Ellis [in Wales]." He suggested that Rose follow the lead of one of the family's neighbors. "If Miss West is studying Botany, you might study it also." He thought the library at Tan-yr-allt would serve well enough for "merely learning how to distinguish plants and learn their names." But if, he went on, "you desire to study the *Physiology* of plants, let me know what books you have there, and if you have none that will serve I would send you one." When Paget took his children on a trip to the Low Countries in 1878, he prepared them in advance for the tour. "An acquaintance with their [Belgium's and Holland's] history will greatly add to the interest of seeing them," he told Rose. And he went to the university library to get J. L. Motley's volumes on *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* and sent them to Wales for Rose to read.²¹ No evidence exists that other Paget men were so involved in their daughters' education. But such fatherly involvement was possible and perhaps extensive.

Fathers were not the only men involved in the educational lives of these girls. Although the stereotype calls for governesses and schoolmistresses, Paget females of every generation had male teachers. When Betsy Paget, as a young wife and mother thirty years of age, wanted to study painting in Great Yarmouth, an artist came from Norwich to give her instruction. Lydia North's music teachers at the Royal Academy included men as well as women. Lydia's daughter Catharine studied music in London in the 1870s, and she, too, had men as teachers as well as women.²² Rose, Violet, and Maud took their various art, music, and language lessons in Cambridge from Messrs. Amps, Wiles, Archer Hind, Boquet, and Steinhilper.²³ In short, sex segregation was not a feature of these girls' education.

An important and often ignored avenue of Victorian education was self-education. As the Paget girls grew into womanhood, their reading contributed much to their culture as educated adults. In Great Yarmouth Kate's favorite books included volumes by Scott and Byron, the *Arabian Nights*, and a shelf of Shakespeare's works. Lydia read religious works and, perhaps under her fiancé's influence, also geology. Not all their reading was on the highest intellectual plane. In 1870 Catharine read Bulwer Lytton's *Harold* and Willkie Collins's *Man and Wife*. No empty-headed consumer of romance, she offered critical assessments even of the entertainments. "I read [the] 1st vol. [of Disraeli's] *Lothair*," she recorded in her

²⁰ Sir George Paget to Rose Paget, July 6, 1873, May 10, 1874, July 2, 1876, Thomson Papers.

²¹ Sir George Paget to Rose Paget and Violet Paget, June 30, 1872, and to Rose Paget, July 5, July 3, 1878, Thomson Papers.

²² Murray, *Strong-Minded Women*, 196; James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters*, 8, 255; Corder, *History of the Royal Academy of Music from 1822 to 1922*, 44–45; and Catharine Paget, diary, February 24, 28, June 2, July 13, 1870. Dyhouse mentioned male tutors for well-to-do families to "polish up" the girl's accomplishments; *Girls Growing Up*, 40. Also see Gorham, *Victorian Girl*, 22; and Delamont, "Contradictions in Ladies' Education," 136.

²³ Rose Paget, diary, October 16, 1875, April 29, October 13, 1876; and Maud Paget to Rose Paget, July 31, [1878], Thomson Papers. Most of these men were apparently Cambridge dons; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

diary on May 12, “—such *false* stupid stuff it seems to me.”²⁴ Catharine’s reading went beyond fiction to include history (J. A. Froude’s *History of England*), biography (G. H. Lewes’s *Life of Goethe*), religious books (the Oxford Lenten sermons for 1869), as well as the latest in folklore (*Vikram and the Vampire; or, Tales of Hindu Devilry*).²⁵ In Cambridge, Catharine’s cousins followed a similar regimen. In 1880 Maud was reading William Gresley’s *Siege of Lichfield, Some Elements of Religion, and Eternal Hope*. The heart of their learning from childhood, regardless of other interests, was the Christian religion.²⁶ This they learned in the family, in church, and in private reading.

The Paget women were all literate and numerate women. Letters survive from every generation that testify to their ability to write clearly and effectively. Occasional financial records demonstrate their ability to manage numbers logically.²⁷ Such skills were, of course, a standard part of a Victorian lady’s household management. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Betsy Paget, even with servants in the Yarmouth house, “took the close charge and guidance of . . . all [her children]: she managed household affairs and, after the manner of the time and place, did all the marketing and shopping, directed the cookery, and made the choicest sweets.” In the second and third generation such close attention to household chores may have been attenuated by social mobility, the demands of urban life, and changing domestic mores. But occasional cookery, light sewing, and shopping, as well as flower arranging, continued to be part of these women’s lives. The Cambridge girls were specifically taught such household tasks as ironing, and they participated in the entertainment of guests and management of servants.²⁸ But the interests and skills acquired by Paget women extended far beyond the household, and many of their activities do not conform to the piano-tinkling and watercolor-dabbling stereotype of the Victorian female.

The arts were a conventional arena of Victorian female “accomplishment.” Sketching and painting, piano and voice lessons, presumably taught by a badly trained governess or a black-coated music master—these were standard items in the young ladies’ curriculum.²⁹ At first sight, the Paget women seem to fit this pattern, but on closer examination it becomes clear that they do not. Seventeen children born in the space of twenty-five years might reasonably be expected to have filled

²⁴ Humphrey Paget, “Pagets of Great Yarmouth,” 115–16; Lydia North to James Paget, August 10, 1840, WIHM, Paget MS. 113; and Catharine Paget, diary, frontispiece, and May 12, 1870. On self-education, see Gorham, *Victorian Girl*, 103.

²⁵ Catharine Paget, diary, frontispiece. The British Museum Catalogue identifies the last item as the work adapted from the *Baitāl-Pachīst* by Richard Burton, published by Longmans in 1870.

²⁶ Maud Paget to Rose Paget, n.d., and n.d. [August 1880], Thomson Papers. The authorship of the religious books is unknown.

²⁷ Catharine Paget’s diary has an unnumbered separate ledger section devoted to records of income and expenditure. Also see the entry at June 24, 1870. Rose Paget’s diary indicates regular involvement in household financial matters.

²⁸ James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters*, 7; Catharine Paget, diary, June 30, July 15, October 8, November 23, 1870; and Rose Paget, diary, March 13, 1877, November 22, 1876. Letters to Rose Paget in the Thomson Papers are full of such references.

²⁹ Gorham, *Victorian Girl*, 104; Lee Holcombe, *Victorian Ladies at Work: Middle-Class Working Women in England and Wales, 1850–1914* (Hamden, Conn., 1973), 24; Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, 40; and Greer, *Obstacle Race*, 248–49. But see Greer’s oddly contemptuous remarks about female artists; *Obstacle Race*, 249.



Figure 1: Still life by Sarah Elizabeth Tolver Paget (n.d.).
Reproduced courtesy of Joan Thomson Charnock, Cambridge, England.

Betsy Paget's life, and her responsibilities as the wife of a local community leader also took time. She wanted to paint, however, and paint she did. Her teacher, John Crome (1768–1821), was a leading regional painter of the period, better known as “Old Crome” of Norfolk, and, under his direction, whatever her talents as a painter, she did master the technique of working in oil (see Figure 1). Third-generation Elise Paget also painted in oils. As part of her training she copied paintings in the National Gallery, and she traveled to France to study works in Paris galleries. She earned some recognition for the quality of her work; in 1878 and

again in 1888 her paintings won places in exhibitions at the Royal Academy of Art.³⁰

Elise's cousin Maud began her art studies while living at home in Cambridge. In 1878 she went to Dresden, where she lived for most of the academic year and studied sculpture, painting, and drawing from life, and Maud continued to paint after her return. While in Wales in the summer of 1880 she did landscapes and portraits of friends.³¹ In 1884 Maud's cousin Stephen married another young artist, Eleanor Burd, the daughter of a provincial general practitioner. She had as a girl taken up sketching and later attended the Slade School of Fine Art, where in 1885 she "won the first prize for drawing from life." Marriage that same year did not stop her from sketching and painting. Indeed, her father-in-law provided the funds to build a studio for her at the back of her house in fashionable Wimpole Street.³²

Music, too, was part of the Paget women's repertoire of apparently conventional accomplishments. The quality of their teachers offers one index of their achievements. At the Royal Academy of Music in the 1820s and '30s, Lydia North studied not only with Domenico Crivelli, the son of a famous Italian tenor, but also with Lucy (Philpot) Anderson, a renowned concert pianist. Her most important teacher was William Crotch. Crotch had been professor of music at Oxford and was principal of the Royal Academy of Music until 1832. He was "one of the most distinguished English musicians of his day." That upper-middle-class women had teachers of such distinction was apparently common. Even the famous Sir Charles Hallé often took lady pupils.³³

Famous teachers would have availed little without their students' abilities and dedication. In these respects Lydia North shone, for she was both talented and serious. At twelve or thirteen she won silver and bronze medals in competitions at the Royal Academy of Music for her performance on the piano. While some of the academy's students earned "severe censure" in the 1820s and 1830s for their poor performance, Lydia's teachers judged her among those "most highly satisfactory in all their studies" in 1830. And when Lydia was seventeen years old the school records showed that "Miss North has composed a Quartett for Piano, Violin, Tenor and Violoncello, which reflects the highest Credit upon her." She also learned how to "read a full orchestral score at sight." In her late teens Lydia was apparently invited to begin a concert career. She refused, for she did not like the prospect of

³⁰ James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters*, 8; R. H. Mottram, *John Crome of Norwich* (London, 1931); Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, 6 (East Ardsley, 1970): 39; and Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 2, "Pinner," 20. Some of Elise's work survives in the collection of the late Mrs. J. M. Thompson, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. On oils as the male painters' medium versus watercolors as the female painters' medium, see Greer, *Obstacle Race*, 249.

³¹ Rose Paget, diary, January 21, 1875; and Maud Paget to Rose Paget, n.d. [1878], July 13, 1880, Thomson Papers. Also see Maud Paget to Rose Paget, August 31, [1880], *ibid.* The following year Maud's sister Violet went to Dresden for a similar course. On the importance of drawing from life for Victorian women's art education, see Greer, *Obstacle Race*, 319.

³² James Paget to H. W. Acland, June 3, 1885, Bodl. Lib., MS. Acland d. 64, f. 210; and Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 5, "October 5th. 1925," 17.

³³ Stanley Sadie, ed., *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), s.v. Crotch, Gaetano Crivelli, Anderson, Pinsuti, Leslie, and Sainton-Dolby; James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters*, 255; and Sir Charles Hallé, *The Autobiography of Charles Hallé: With Correspondence and Diaries*, ed. Michael Kennedy (New York, 1973), 121–22. Sainton's most famous pupil was Fanny Moody. Anderson taught piano to Queen Victoria and her children.

"publicity."³⁴ But she did not give up music. As pianist and singer, she entertained family and guests, gave music lessons, and continued composing. She wrote glees (four-part unaccompanied songs) for performance in the family, and she and James played duets for piano and flute. One of her later compositions seems to have been prepared for her friend Cardinal Newman for use at the Birmingham Oratory, and another—"a little French dance"—came into the possession of the princess of Wales.³⁵

No other woman in the family achieved Lydia's level of musical skill, but her daughter Catharine's musical education reflected a similar seriousness and commitment. Her instructors, too, were notable members of the English music scene: Ciro Pinsuti, an Italian composer and teacher of voice, member since 1856 of the staff of the Royal Academy of Music; Henry Leslie, a choral conductor and composer of note, director of the prize-winning Henry Leslie Choir from 1855 to 1880, and briefly principal of the National College of Music; and Charlotte Sainton-Dolby, a singer, composer, and teacher, former student at the Royal Academy of Music, a favorite of Mendelssohn, and head of her own Vocal Academy after 1872. Catharine's voice teachers reflected Lydia's musical sophistication as well as Catharine's abilities. The Cambridge daughters had musical instruction that, although not by famous teachers, had substance and depth. The predictable voice and piano lessons were only part of a systematic schedule of musical training that included harmony and composition.³⁶

Clearly music constituted an important part of these women's lives. Concerts, operas, and private musical evenings made for a rich musical environment. Their training enabled them to appreciate the performances of Sir Charles Santley, Adelina Patti, Joseph Joachim, Sims Reeves, Zelia Trebelli, and others they heard in the private musical evenings and public concerts of mid-Victorian London. Catharine judged a performance of *Il Puritani* to be "first rate" but thought "Mme Reboux sang *dreadfully*" at a musical afternoon.³⁷ The musical and artistic education that the Paget women received, then, sustains the notion that these Victorian women were not mere dilettantes.

THE EDUCATION OF UPPER-MIDDLE-CLASS WOMEN, historians have assumed, was designed to make them "marriageable," a matter of "man-trapping proficiency."³⁸ The angel's education prepared her for home life, and she had no need for abstract subjects or deep learning. But again the Paget women's educational experience

³⁴ James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters*, 255; Corder, *History of the Royal Academy of Music from 1822 to 1922*, 40, 45; and Lydia North to James Paget, [November 16, 1838], WIHM, Paget MS. 64.

³⁵ Lydia North to James Paget, December 24, 1836, WIHM, Paget MS. 12; James Paget to Lydia North, January 4, 1837, *ibid.* 14; Lydia North to James Paget, February 3, 1837, *ibid.* 17; Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 5, "October 5th, 1925," 35–36, 41; and J. H. Newman to Lady Paget, January 9, 1879, Bodl. Lib., MS. Autogr. b. 13, ff. 378–79.

³⁶ Catharine Paget, diary, February 24, 28, March 10, 14, 21, April 4, June 2, July 13, 1870; and Rose Paget, diary, January 11, 14, December 15, 18, 1874, February 8, 1875.

³⁷ Catharine Paget, diary, July 11, June 10, 1870. Also see *ibid.*, February 19, March 24, June 6, 1870. Her diary indicates that she went to concerts two or three times a week.

³⁸ Gorham, *Victorian Girl*, 165; and Holcombe, *Victorian Ladies at Work*, 24. Also see Phyllis Stock, *Better than Rubies: A History of Women's Education* (New York, 1978), 127, 176; and Murray, *Strong-Minded Women*, 195, 197.

does not fit the model. In language and science, as well as the arts, their studies illustrate the potential depth of Victorian female education.

Language training for the Paget women included more than a decorative smattering of French. While her fiancé spent a term studying in Paris in the 1830s, Lydia North learned French at home. The Cambridge girls in the 1870s took French lessons three times a week. They also studied German, and Maud and Violet lived in Dresden for a year.³⁹ Their object and achievement was a firm mastery of these languages. Catharine Paget had a good command of both French and German. Brother Francis (Frank), a Christ Church don, sought her help as a tutor. "I wonder whether you would read some German with me . . . this autumn. If so, would you mind our trying [J. A. W.] Neander's *Church History*? I'm afraid I shall only read it very slowly, but I think it's the best way to begin on a reasonable book." Catharine also studied Italian, translated German *Lieder* into English, and wrote letters in French. T. H. Huxley, a family friend, asked her assistance in translating scientific materials. When they finished the work in early 1870, Catharine was proud that Huxley was "sending our translation not to 'Nature' but to 'Macmillan.'" ⁴⁰

Most of the Paget women had some command of classical languages as well. Lydia and Clara knew Latin and taught it to their sons and daughters. W. G. Rutherford recognized the erudition of Lydia's youngest daughter, Mary, by calling her a "Latinist," and Sir Alfred Milner sent her long quotations in Greek.⁴¹ In Cambridge, faculty daughters organized a class in Greek, and, like young men of the time, the Paget women displayed their classical learning by peppering their letters with Greek phrases.⁴² When home, Frank tutored Catharine in Greek, and, when away, he advised her by letter. "I am sorry you have begun with the New Testament in your Greek studies: for the English translation is a thousand times more charming than the original. I will bring you the *Phaedo* of Plato when I come home, which, with the aid of a translation, you will read quite as easily as the New Testament, and I think with far more pleasure." "Don't you think it would be well," he asked, "if you always wrote to me in Greek, I to you in French? whereby we should mutually improve."⁴³

³⁹ Lydia North to James Paget, February 6, [1837], WIHM, Paget MS. 19; and Rose Paget, diary, January 21, 1875, February 14, April 29, 1876. Rose's brother Charles was allowed to join the girls' class.

⁴⁰ Francis Paget to Catharine Paget, August 2, 1874, as quoted in Paget and Crum, *Francis Paget*, 35; and Catharine Paget, diary, January 11, July 12, November 28, January 31, 1870. I have been unable to locate the work on which Catharine Paget and T. H. Huxley collaborated. I suspect that gentlewomen often served as translators for the scientific or professional work of fathers, husbands, or friends. Also see Catharine Paget, diary, October 31, November 14, 1870. Regarding Mrs. T. H. Huxley's role in Huxley's work, see Leonard Huxley, *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*, 1 (London, 1900): 301.

⁴¹ Clara Paget to Rose Paget, April 22, [1878?], Thomson Papers; W. G. Rutherford to [Mary] Paget, November 1, 1893, Bodl. Lib., MS. Autogr. b. 13, f. 209; and Sir Alfred Milner to [Mary] Paget, June 30, 1896, Bodl. Lib., MS. Autogr. b. 14, f. 229. Also see Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 1, "Harewood Place," 14.

⁴² Rose Paget, diary, October 16, 1875; Francis Paget to Catharine Paget, n.d., as quoted in Paget and Crum, *Francis Paget*, 18–19; and Maud Paget to Rose Paget, n.d. [1878–79], Thomson Papers. Mr. Lewis of Corpus Christi taught the Greek class, and Elizabeth Cookson joined the group. For other examples of girls studying the classical languages, see Emily Pilkington to Rose Paget, July 5, 1880, Thomson Papers; and Gorham, *Victorian Girl*, 26, 130. Helen Heinemann described women who had a classical education before the Victorian period; Heinemann, *Restless Angels: The Friendship of Six Victorian Women* (Athens, Ohio, 1983), 3, 10.

⁴³ Catharine Paget, diary, January 18, 1870; Francis Paget to Catharine Paget, n.d. [1870–72], as quoted in Paget and Crum, *Francis Paget*, 26. But see the stereotype of sister-brother relations in Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, 14, 15; and Gorham, *Victorian Girl*, 155, 164.

The girls also studied arithmetic, algebra, and basic science.⁴⁴ They followed individual paths and read extensively in whatever interested them. Rose enjoyed geology and botany, which her sister found unpalatable. As Maud told her, "I have finished your odious little book on Botany & never was so confused in my life!" Maud did better with more abstract subjects. "Your book of logic is very good," she told Rose in June 1880. "I feel my mind much enlarged already by its perusal." By the end of the month she had read four books on logic.⁴⁵

Rose Paget's interest in science led her to mathematics and into the laboratory. The physicist Lord Rayleigh described her experience: "feeling the need of intellectual food more satisfying than French and German she gained a fair acquaintance with elementary mathematics." She began attending lectures and demonstrations at the Cavendish Laboratory in 1887, and in 1888 she moved on to the advanced demonstrations presented by J. J. Thomson, professor of physics. On October 15, 1888, Thomson wrote to tell her, "I think I have found a subject which you could work at with advantage," and Rose began research in the Cavendish Laboratory, studying "the stationary vibrations of soap films at audible frequencies." Thomson explained the project to her, provided her with the necessary laboratory apparatus, and lent her reading materials. Rose studied physics for over two years.⁴⁶

No strict line divides the Paget women's education from the rest of the activities of their youth and adult lives. Their education was useful and relevant in much the same way that a gentleman's was—incidental rather than systematic, in broad cultural terms more than in merely practical ways. It was liberal, not narrowly functional. They employed it in teaching their children, boys and girls alike, and may have adorned their drawing rooms with their paintings and music. Their intellectual pursuits were as intimate a part of their lives as their needlework and their collections of shells, old china, and autographs of eminent Victorians.⁴⁷

The Paget women's education, literacy, and learning bore fruit beyond the cultivated life of the family when they put their work and thoughts into print. Historians know of the women novelists, essayists, and polemicists who took up writing to make a living or to campaign for reform. Writing for publication was not, however, the preserve of exceptional women—the Harriet Martineaus and George Eliots of the age. Ordinary women, too, put pen to paper and published what they wrote. The Paget women wrote, not fiction but other sorts of works. Although a clergyman's daughter, Clara cared less about religion than about Welsh antiquities. She spent many months of the year in north Wales after she and George built a country house there in the early 1870s. During her long stays, and perhaps with the

⁴⁴ For school curricula in this period, see Stock, *Better than Rubies*, 174, 176, 182; Holcombe, *Victorian Ladies*, 24–25; and Gorham, *Victorian Girl*, 26, 139.

⁴⁵ Maud Paget to Rose Paget, July 13, 1880, Thomson Papers; Rose Paget, diary, March 23, 1877; and Maud Paget to Rose Paget, June 23, June 22, 1880, Thomson Papers.

⁴⁶ Rayleigh, *J. J. Thomson*, 34, 275; and J. J. Thomson to Rose Paget, October 15, 1888, as quoted in Thomson, *J. J. Thomson*, 77. Eleanor Balfour expressed a similar interest in mathematics and physics at about this same period; Ethel Sidgwick, *Mrs. Henry Sidgwick: A Memoir* (London, 1938), 9, 21, 71–72, 77, 103; and Rayleigh, *J. J. Thomson*, 34. Rose married Thomson in 1890. He later won the Nobel Prize in physics, as did their son George.

⁴⁷ Paget and Crum, *Francis Paget*, 5; James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters*, 7–8; and Catharine Paget, diary, February 25, March 1, 16, 1870.

aid of the university library in Cambridge, she carried out research that led to the private publication of pamphlets on Welsh prehistory, Carnarvonshire forts, and Norse mythology. Elma, as the wife of a clergyman, published works related to her role: a handbook for the conduct of mothers' meetings, a children's biography of Bishop Patteson, and a pamphlet entitled *In Praise of Virginity*, which endorsed holy orders for single women as an avenue to God's service.⁴⁸ Given her artistic work and her family's connection with the painter, Elise Paget quite fittingly wrote an article on "Old Crome" for an art magazine. Mary Paget, Lydia and James's spinster daughter, took a great interest in music and in the 1890s published a series of articles in the literary magazine *Temple Bar* on musicians—Henry Purcell, Henry Lawes, John Bull, and John Arne. Meanwhile, in Cambridge, Clara's daughter Rose turned her skills to poetry. She asked sister Maud and brother Edmund to look over her poems, and Edmund encouraged her to seek a publisher. In at least one case she seems to have succeeded, for a poem entitled "Aber Waterfall" appeared in *Temple Bar* in 1880, and it bears both the stylistic and geographical marks of Rose's authorship.⁴⁹

Christianity—as learning, culture, and commitment—also shaped these women's activities. Lydia taught in a Sunday school and regularly visited the poor. A generation later Catharine took time in a very busy social life to visit the poor in her district. Under the auspices of her parish church, she became a volunteer teacher at the Burlington Charity School for Girls, work she particularly enjoyed. She went to the school every week to teach geography and arithmetic.⁵⁰ Christian socialism and the settlement-house movement led some of the Paget women, like the men of the family, into mission work in London's east end. In the 1880s, Catharine's aunt Kate, by then in her late fifties, brought "wisdom and devotion" to her work in the Poplar district of east London, where her nephew Luke led Christ Church's mission. Three decades later, Catharine, a widow in her sixties, worked among the poor

⁴⁸ Clara Paget, *Extracts from "The Kalevala,"* trans. J. M. Crawford (Cambridge, 1892), *King Bele of the Sogn District, Norway, and Jarl Angantyr of the Orkney Islands* (Cambridge, 1894), *The Northmen in Wales* (Cambridge, 1896), and *Some Ancient Stone Forts in Carnarvonshire* (Cambridge, 1896). Elma K. Paget, *The Story of Bishop Patteson*, Children's Heroes Series, vol. 13 (London, 1907), *The Woman's Part* (London, 1914), *In Praise of Virginity*, Marriage and Morality, no. 4 (London, 1916), *Studies and Discussions for the Women's Fellowship and Reformed Mothers' Meeting* (London, 1918), and *Henry Luke Paget: Portrait and Frame* (London, 1939). Elma K. Paget also edited *New Methods in the Mothers' Meeting* (London, 1915).

⁴⁹ Elise Paget, "Old Crome," *The Magazine of Art*, 5 (1882): 221–26. [Mary Maud Paget], "Dr. Arne," *Temple Bar*, 117 (1899): 111–27, "Henry Purcell," *ibid.*, 107 (1896): 593–603, "Henry Lawes," *ibid.*, 109 (1896): 24–33, and "John Bull," *ibid.*, 111 (1897): 398–407. Edmund Paget to Rose Paget, March 19, March 22, March 28, 1879, Thomson Papers; [Rose Paget], "Aber Waterfall," *Temple Bar*, 58 (1880): 388. Aber Waterfall was a common sight on summer walks in Wales. See, for example, Clara Paget to Rose Paget, June 15, [1880], Thomson Papers. For writings probably by Catharine Paget, see C. P., "The Pleasures of Hotel-Bills, By a Traveller," *Macmillan's Magazine*, 23 (1870): 159–60, and C. P., "The Traveller's Calendar," *ibid.*, 28 (1873): 184–92. Also see the memoir by Catharine Thompson and Stephen Paget in H. L. Thompson, *Four Biographical Sermons on John Wesley and Others* (London, 1905).

⁵⁰ Lydia North to James Paget, December 24, 1836, WIHM, Paget MS. 12. Catharine Paget, diary, February and June 1870. Also see *ibid.*, October 10, 11, 15, 1870. The archives of the Burlington School give no clue to the existence of volunteer teachers there; Burlington School, London, Minutes of the Trustees, 1870–75, Burlington Danes School MSS. My thanks to Mrs. E. Moore, former head mistress of the school, for access to the Victorian records. On district visiting, see Anne Summers, "A Home from Home—Women's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century," in Sandra Burman, ed., *Fit Work for Women* (New York, 1970), 33–63. F. K. Prochaska thought "slumming" or "keep[ing] up with the Joneses" motivated such district visiting; see Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1980), 107, 108.

under the auspices of the mission established by Magdalene College in east London, where her son James was also active. Violet Paget Roy served as lady superintendent of St. Saviour's Homes, established by the National Association for Promoting the Welfare of the Feeble Minded, and Mary Paget gave her name, time, and money to the work of the Factory Girls' Country Holiday Fund. In these charities the Paget women had to confront the bitter facts of life for the poor—the “verminous” factory girls, the sexual temptations of working-class life, and the hopeless cruelties of the slum streets.⁵¹

The Paget women were active, but they neither had careers nor seemed to regret the lack of them. They often involved themselves, however, in the careers of the men in their families, and no strict demarcations of roles kept these women at home and out of family professional activities. Lydia contemplated going to her brother's parish to help him with record keeping while his curate was away. She also engaged in a bit of family politicking, canvassing the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital when her brother Isaac sought a post as chaplain there. From the beginning of her engagement to the young surgeon, she discussed his medical cases with him. Rose, keeping house in Cambridge while her mother and physician father were away, found herself medicating the servants and doling out both medicine and advice to his patients on his instructions. As the wife of the bishop of Chester, Elma Paget often represented her husband at committee meetings, and they worked as a team in managing the affairs of the diocese.⁵² Some of the Paget women found more gratification in politics than they did in charity and religion. Early Victorian Yarmouth was a thoroughly political town, and Betsy was, her son recalled, “ready to do . . . more than her share in politics, as a thorough Tory with Mr. Pitt for her hero.” Clara also became involved in public causes. When the water supply in her Welsh village was threatened by a greedy property owner, she battled her neighbor, Major Molesworth, on behalf of the local poor, took the matter to local authorities, and mobilized a policeman to enforce the law.⁵³

The Paget women enjoyed many options in their education and activities. They could study what they wanted, limit their activities if they wished to family and friends, or turn to public affairs, whether in charities, politics, family profession, or the arts. Most important, their lives show that female education could be serious and thorough. In this respect they differed little from the leisured gentlemen who

⁵¹ Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 2, “Pinner,” 14; James M. Thompson, diary, October 7, 1902, and following entries, Bodl. Lib., MS. Eng. Lett. d. 182; Violet Paget Roy to George P. Thomson, May 2, 1898, Thomson Papers; Herbert Fry's *Royal Guide to the London Charities for 1910* (London, 1910), 98–99; “Miss [Mary] Paget” obituary, *The Times* (London), June 25, 1945, p. 6; Catharine Paget, diary, January 14, 1871; Elma K. Paget, *New Methods*, 16; and Henrietta Barnett, *Canon Barnett: His Life, Work, and Friends*, 1 (London, 1918): 123. Also see Melvin Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age* (London, 1964).

⁵² Lydia North to James Paget, February 11, 1837, February 14, 23, 1839, August 10, 1840, WIHM, Paget MSS. 22, 86, 87, 113; Clara Paget to Rose Paget, April 7, [n.y.]; George Edward Paget to Rose Paget, July 1, 1880, Thomson Papers; and Cheshire Record Office, Minutes of the Chester Diocesan Association for the Promotion of Social Purity, October 26, 1923, September 28, October 24, 1924, April 30, 1926, November 14, 1927. Leonore Davidoff saw social connection as the upper-middle-class woman's role; Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Women and Society in Victorian England* (London, 1973), esp. 16–17. The evidence here suggests something more substantive. On the role of the prime minister's wife, see Esther Shkolnik, “Petticoat Power: The Political Influence of Mrs. Gladstone,” *The Historian*, 42 (1980): 631–47.

⁵³ James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters*, 8; and Rose Paget, diary, April 14, 1874.

pursued a liberal education in philosophy or biology with no need to make a profession or career of such interests. Similarly, their lives demonstrate that the education of Victorian gentlewomen was not necessarily oriented toward the marriage market. If typical, the experience of the Paget women suggests that a fine education, whether formally or informally obtained, was part of the cultural equipage of the new urban gentry of both sexes.

ANOTHER COMMON ASSUMPTION about Victorian womanhood is that the "angel in the house" had no contact with money and did not care for sex. To earn money, some believe, was beneath her dignity and even declassed her.⁵⁴ Not one of the Paget women had to earn her own living; none had any financial needs not met by the earnings of a father, husband, or brother. The two spinster daughters of Samuel and Betsy Paget were worst off because of their father's financial collapse, but even they did not have to earn a living. They survived with the support of brothers Alfred, George, and James.⁵⁵ The experiences of other Paget women suggest, nevertheless, that the received wisdom needs reassessment.

Although Lydia North belonged to a prosperous family, she gave piano lessons to the children of family friends in the 1830s. What began as an excuse for a day out of town for the sake of her health soon became a source of income and pleasure. She enjoyed the work enormously. "The esteem, the parental affection . . . combined with . . . respect" from her employers brought her "almost uninterrupted enjoyment." She also enjoyed the money. On her way to a lesson, "she used to buy a twopenny apple of the old woman who kept an apple stall near the house" and "munch it in the streets." Catharine, Lydia's daughter, had analogous experiences in the mid-Victorian years. Her father allowed her some £3 a quarter while she was single and living at home in the 1870s, in part perhaps as payment for the lessons she gave to little Mary. In addition, she received a quarterly sum of £10 or £11 from an unspecified source (perhaps stocks in her name). In all she had some £50 or £60 a year to spend as she wished. She did not seem to consider such income as earned. Payment from *Macmillan's* qualified as true income. In March 1870, she noted, "I came home to the *delight* of finding a cheque for £4 from Macmillan. The first money I have ever *earned*!" Even her accounting sheets reflect her excitement; there, too, she reported the £4 as "*Earned*." She did not need this money for the necessities of life but spent it on church offerings, ribbons, shoes, and gifts. In the process she learned how to keep financial accounts and enjoyed the recognition that came with work for pay.⁵⁶

The family's reaction to women's earnings was somewhat mixed. "Dearest papa," Lydia said, "ever considered it much for the happiness of young people that they should be actively employed." The Reverend North's own lost musical career must

⁵⁴ See, for example, M. Jeanne Peterson, "The Victorian Governess: Status Incongruence in Family and Society," *Victorian Studies*, 13 (1970): 9–10.

⁵⁵ Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 2, "Pinner," 1–2.

⁵⁶ Lydia North to James Paget, [November 16, 1838], WHM, Paget MS. 64; Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 3, "My Mother's People," 2; Elma K. Paget, *Henry Luke Paget*, 39; Catharine Paget, diary, unnumbered ledger section, and March 28, 1870. For more of Catharine's earnings, see her diary, unnumbered ledger section, December 1870.

have given him a special interest in his daughter's venture. Neither her mother nor her sisters found fault in her earning. Only her brother-in-law, the tea merchant and banker Richard Twining, was somewhat censorious in the matter. But Twining was "a hard, dry, inexorable, laughterless man," and he always found much to disapprove.⁵⁷ Lydia's employers remained her friends throughout life. Most important, of course, was the attitude of Lydia's future husband. When she and James Paget decided to marry, she worried that he might disapprove of her work. When she confessed to having done something "regarded by the world as lowering," James's response left her feeling that her anxiety had been "absurd."⁵⁸ If there was any reaction to Catharine's earnings a generation later, it is nowhere recorded. But it is also unlikely, for she worked closely with her father on his writing and correspondence with editors. He could not have disapproved of her own efforts or she would have stopped. The Paget women did not often earn money, but, when they did, they were neither shamed nor declassed.

The Paget women were also involved in decisions concerning the administration of family money throughout their adult lives. Included were both mundane household matters that were standard for middle-class women and major responsibilities related to family finance. In Great Yarmouth, Betsy Paget "took part," her son James said, "even a leading and decisive part, in all grave business-questions."⁵⁹ In a family that faced a decade of serious financial strain, the issue was important. The subject of money came up between Lydia and James from the very beginning of their relationship, and their financial affairs were characterized by candor and equality. Financially, the pair was mismatched—the Norths had wealth, while the Pagets had severe financial problems. The discrepancy might have been a source of tension, but it was not. As in all things, James, the impoverished medical student, was punctilious about money, but not hypersensitive. In the winter of 1837 the couple exchanged long letters between London and Paris (where James took a brief course). When little money matters arose, like postage due on his letters to her, James suggested that Lydia "put it [the postage] down to my account with you, in which you have already two or three items against me. . . . It is but fair that we should enjoy our pleasure at equal expence." He went on to note that "there will be a considerable amount of expenditure of this kind before we can have a common purse, and till then let our business be fairly transacted—after that we can make some mutual arrangement."⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Lydia North to James Paget, [November 16, 1838], WIHM, Paget MS. 64; Isaac North, *Henry North*, 34; and Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 3, "My Mother's People," 8. Much later, Lydia's son Stephen and her daughter-in-law Elma raised doubts about Rev. North's attitude. See Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 3, "My Mother's People," 1–2; and Elma K. Paget, *Henry Luke Paget*, 39. This case illustrates how the children of the Victorians might have created much of the mythology about their parents.

⁵⁸ Lydia North to James Paget, [November 16, 1838], and [November 17, 1838?], WIHM, Paget MSS. 64, 65. The couple discussed the matter face to face, and, as a result, there is no record of what James thought except her second letter to him. Later in their engagement Lydia regretted that she was no longer earning money, when her income could have reduced the burden James had to carry; Lydia North to James Paget, October 9, 1839, *ibid.* 100.

⁵⁹ James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters*, 8.

⁶⁰ James Paget to Lydia North, February 5, 1837, WIHM, Paget MS. 18. For other examples of their discussion of money, see Lydia North to James Paget, March 17, 1843, *ibid.* 134; and James Paget to Lydia North, July 23, 27, 1840, *ibid.* 104, 105.

After their marriage Lydia North Paget handled ordinary family finances. James made regular disbursements "To Lydia." Their son Stephen recalled, "One morning a week, [my brother] Luke and I used to go with my Mother 'to pay the bills.' The shops were Lidstone's, Holland's, Bradley's, Luckie's—these were the butcher, grocer, greengrocer, and poulterer: and a fishmonger's in Marylebone Lane." Later Lydia relied on her daughter Catharine to handle some of these accounts. In Cambridge, Clara's daughters also played a regular role in domestic financial affairs. While mama was in Wales for the summer, either Maud or Rose stayed in Cambridge and acted as housekeeper and intermediary in money matters between her parents. One particularly vexing June (probably in the late 1870s or early 1880s) Maud wrote from Cambridge to her sister in Wales, asking for information on a bill from a Cambridge tradesman. "Oh, deary me! this horrible housekeeping, here's Papa haranguing on the 'Tea Bill' again & a nice little lump is to be paid at Church's next week." Other bills also needed explaining, and she urged Rose, "Pray enlighten me quick before we are reduced to £ a week."⁶¹

Wills offer the most systematic information regarding women's roles in family finances. In a few cases the Paget men left women out of the management of their estates. Their reasons were not always obvious. When Sir James Paget wrote his will in the late 1890s, his wife Lydia was dead, and his younger daughter Mary may have been losing her sight. His elder daughter Catharine might have been a suitable choice as executor, but he passed over both daughters to name his son-in-law, the Reverend H. L. Thompson, his eldest son John, the barrister, and his former student and professional associate Sir Thomas Smith to administer his £74,861 estate.⁶² In the 1840s Betsy's son, bachelor Charles Paget, named his father, Samuel, as his executor. When making his will Charles also had a choice of several competent brothers, an ailing mother, and two spinster sisters, one over forty, the other not yet eighteen. His choice of his father may reflect no more than their existing business partnership; it need not, certainly, imply a rejection of female competence in money matters. Sometimes passing over the wife as executrix may signal strained relations between husband and wife or between the husband and the wife's family. Tensions with in-laws seem to account for Edmund Paget's choice of his solicitor to administer his estate of £6,137. Sir George Paget's decision in 1892 to leave the management of his £21,939 estate to his sons, but to leave in his wife Clara's hands the power to appoint new trustees, is difficult to assess. Perhaps he wanted to leave the day-to-day details to the younger members of the family, while leaving major power in the hands of his wife. But he did exclude all his daughters from involvement in the administration of his estate. Lydia's eldest son, Sir John Paget, barrister and expert on banking law, was the only Paget to leave his £6,286 in

⁶¹ Sir James Paget, Visiting Lists, 1856–96, Royal College of Surgeons Library. (Because the entries are so cramped and unsystematic, more exact details of the Pagets' domestic financial arrangements are impossible to obtain.) Stephen Paget, memoirs, pt. 1, "Harewood Place," 39; Catharine Paget, diary, January 19, February 22, 1870; and Maud Paget to Rose Paget, June 25, [n.y.], Thomson Papers. My special thanks to Mr. Eustace Cornelius, librarian of the Royal College of Surgeons, for his help in this project from its beginnings.

⁶² Prerogative Court of Canterbury, *Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration Made in the Probate Registers of the High Court of Justice in England . . . , 1900*, Principal Registry of the Family Division, Somerset House [hereafter, P.C.C., *Calendar*], s.v. Sir James Paget. In this and all references, estate values are rounded off to the nearest pound.

the hands of bankers. His wife had predeceased him, but he left two adult sons and two adult daughters without responsibility in his affairs. Perhaps his will reflects confidence in bankers; perhaps it reveals his relations with all his children.⁶³

These five cases aside, the Paget women figure largely in the management of family property. Indeed, when it was possible to do so, Paget family men almost always designated women to administer their estates. Choice of an executrix did not depend on the size of the estate. Henry Luke Paget, bishop of Chester, named his wife Elma and son Paul executors of the small personalty of £497 he left in 1937. At the other extreme was Rose's husband, J. J. Thomson, who in 1940 named daughter Joan as well as son George executors of his £82,601 estate. In 1862 the Reverend Alfred Paget left his £1,500 estate to his spinster sister Katherine (aged thirty-seven), although he might have appointed one of several responsible brothers. Widower Francis Paget, bishop of Oxford, named his sister-in-law Mary Church executrix of his £15,226 estate. Church had taken over the care of his children after Helen Church Paget's death in 1901. Soon after Catharine Paget married the Reverend H. L. Thompson in 1877, he named her executrix of his estate. In 1905 he left an estate valued at £4,164. Catharine's youngest brother Stephen designated his wife Eleanor for this task; on his death in 1926 the estate was valued at £6,588. With a few possible exceptions the Paget wills suggest confidence in the abilities of the family women either to assume or, in some cases, to continue the administration of family financial affairs.⁶⁴ Money and its management were not alien to them, and the Pagets, men and women alike, expected women of the family to be involved in family finances throughout their adult lives.

The only subject thought to be more fraught with tension and secrecy than money in the Victorian code of morals and mores was sex. Steven Marcus's influential *The Other Victorians* argues that Victorians were "alienated" from their own physical existence. If this was true of Victorians generally, it was particularly true of the Victorian lady. On this point Marcus, and many others since, quoted Dr. William Acton, who claimed that "the majority of women (happily for society) are not very much troubled with sexual feelings of any kind." Of late, Peter Gay challenged this image of sexless Victorian bourgeois womanhood in Europe and America, but he drew most of his cases from Germany and the United States. A recent study by Edward Shorter concentrated on women's health problems—what women suffered in the lifelong trial of being female.⁶⁵ To look only at sexual

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1844, s.v. Charles Paget; *ibid.*, 1929, s.v. George Edmund Paget; *ibid.*, 1892, s.v. Sir George Edward Paget, Kt.; *ibid.*, 1938, s.v. Sir John R. Paget, Bart.; and Rose Paget, diary, August 11, 14, 20, 29, 1877.

⁶⁴ P.C.C., *Calendar*, 1937, s.v. Henry Luke Paget; *ibid.*, 1940, s.v. Sir Joseph J. Thomson, Kt.; *ibid.*, 1862, s.v. Alfred T. Paget; *ibid.*, 1926, s.v. Stephen Paget. Thomson's wife was eighty years old when he died. Francis Paget's will is recorded under his title, Oxford, Bishop of. For other instances of women administrators of men's estates, with dates of probate and estate values, see *ibid.*, 1868, Frederick Paget to Sarah Lucy Paget (under £800); *ibid.*, 1927, Charles Edward Paget to Ethel Paget (£8,687); *ibid.*, 1927, Alfred J. Meyrick Paget to Christobel Paget (£1,383); and *ibid.*, 1928, Hans Gadow to Clara Maud Gadow (£2,703). Oddly enough, the women of the family nearly universally chose male executors, regardless of whether there were women at hand to do the work.

⁶⁵ Marcus, *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* (New York, 1964), 18, 21; Acton, *Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs*, 162; Gay, *The Education of the Senses* (Oxford, 1984); and Shorter, *The History of Women's Bodies* (New York, 1983). For more on the American perspective, see Carl Degler, "What Ought To Be and What Was," 1467–90; and Hellerstein et al., *Victorian Women*, 166–67, 174–75.

function or at female disease is not enough; Victorian sexuality needs to be seen as part of a larger discussion on women's physical lives, their attitudes toward their bodies, and their relationships, both physical and emotional, with men.

The Paget women were, in the first place, energetic and active—as children, as adolescents, and as women, both before and after childbirth. Taking a walk—not a slow stroll—was a basic form of exercise in every generation. Lydia went for walks in London, along the quayside in Great Yarmouth, and around St. Mary's on her holiday in the Isles of Scilly. The Cambridge girls, vacationing in Wales, also took long walks. Maud walked the six miles from Penmaenmawr to Conway and back one autumn day in 1879. Hiking and climbing also constituted a regular part of the Paget women's outdoor lives. In the summer of 1870 James and Lydia took a house in Wales, and Catherine spent much of her summer there. She and her companions had more than one "splendid scrambling walk" in the hilly Welsh countryside. A decade later Maud was in North Wales at her parents' house in Penmaenmawr with a guest, Edith Tait, daughter of the archbishop of Canterbury. Both were climbers. Maud judged that Edith was "quite equal to me in energy, &c." Maud and her party hiked up Mt. Snowdon (3,500 feet) in less than two hours in the rain. Climbing was not reserved for the young. On frequent trips to Wales, Clara (now Lady Paget and forty-five to fifty years of age) took pleasure in hours-long hikes in the mountains; visitors of both sexes joined her on these vigorous expeditions.⁶⁶

Other summer activities included horseback-riding and swimming. In her twenties, Lydia went horseback-riding with sister Sarah during a holiday in the Isles of Scilly. Sarah was not fond of riding, and Lydia paced herself to her sister's lower level of skill. At other times she rode with more vigor, and her brother Isaac called Lydia "Minshi the Son of Jehu." Lydia reported all this to her fiancé with amusement and a certain glee. "So you see dear, what a very Amazonian young lady I am become." Lydia also enjoyed driving a pony chaise, but her brother scolded her for driving too fast. In 1870 Catharine, her younger sister Mary, and their friend Carrie Gull enjoyed a "capital bathe in a good rough sea." Their mother Lydia, aged fifty-five, joined them in the surf. In the winter, skating attracted the young people, and sedate decorum was not the order of the day on the ice, any more than on horseback. At age twenty-four, Catharine learned to ice skate. "I had lots of tumbles but enjoyed it all."⁶⁷ The Paget women were, in short, generally active and often athletic.

⁶⁶ Lydia North to James Paget, December 24, 1836, WIHM, Paget MS. 12; Maud Paget to Rose Paget, September 25, 1879, Thomson Papers; Catharine Paget, diary, August 12, 24, 25, 1870; Maud Paget to Rose Paget, June 26, 1880, June 24, [1880], Thomson Papers; Rose Paget, diary, July 29, August 10, 1875, July 11, 27, August 9, 22, 1876. The highest peak in the Snowdon group is Moel-y-Wyddfa, which is 3,560 feet, but on some occasions they may have climbed the peak closest to their residence, Tal-y-fan, which is 2,001 feet. The athletic aristocratic woman has long been known to Victorian scholars, but less is known of the upper-middle-class woman's activities. Gorham found them vigorous; *Victorian Girl*, 94. But Paul Atkinson contrasted the "sickly" Victorian lady of the . . . upper-middle classes" with the new schemes for women's physical education in the 1880s; Atkinson, "Fitness, Feminism and Schooling," in Delamont and Duffin, *The Nineteenth-Century Woman*, 92, 93.

⁶⁷ Catharine Paget, diary, August 15, 1870; Lydia North to James Paget, April 1, March 17, 1843, WIHM, Paget MSS. 138, 134; Catharine Paget, diary, January 29, 1870; and Maud Paget to Rose Paget, September 25, 1879, Thomson Papers. Also see Catharine Paget, diary, August 23, 26, 1870. Caroline Gull was the daughter of another medical eminence in London, Sir William Gull. Jehu was a king of Israel known for the fury of his chariot driving. By "Minshi," Isaac presumably meant Nimshi, Jehu's grandfather. In Vienna, Ludmilla Paget

From what we can tell, most of the Paget women suffered from common minor ailments but not from the major gynecological disorders that could limit women's lives and pleasures. Catharine suffered from a "face sore and stiff" in July 1870, which was "not very bad." A month later she had an "unlucky toothache," probably the source of the difficulties in July. At other times she was out, about, active, which suggests that she usually enjoyed good health. Catharine's experience seems typical of the Paget women and their circle. Apart from common ailments—a cold, a toothache, an inflamed eye—their health was generally good. In middle life and after, the women suffered from disorders common to both sexes. Betsy, for example, seems to have suffered from a series of minor strokes late in life.⁶⁸

The reproductive histories of the women of the family also suggest generally good health. Before 1870 most had large families, although none as large as Betsy's seventeen. After 1870 family size declined, presumably with the use of contraceptives. Two women in the family died in childbirth.⁶⁹ Menstruation seems to have been a problem for at least one woman in the family. Rose Paget suffered some discomfort, and, appropriately enough, consulted her father, a physician, for advice. "During your 'poorly' times," he told her, "*rest* yourself—lying, if convenient on a couch. At other times, when you are *not* poorly, you can take exercise and will be the better for it." Lydia had intermittent difficulties with ill temper and depression that suggest a cyclical problem related to ovulation and menstruation. Catharine Paget, too, may have suffered a bit from her menstrual cycle. She found herself (at intervals) feeling "dull" or low—perhaps describing what is now known as premenstrual syndrome—but she did not link her blue moods to her physiology.⁷⁰

In the specific matter of sexual relations, the search for evidence becomes more difficult. The Paget family is typical in its relative silence in this matter. But there are hints in the record that the women of the family were sexually responsive, despite what Acton had to say. The Paget girls and women repeatedly expressed their awareness of, and interest in, men. Lydia and James got into a debate over the relative evils of card playing and dancing. Lydia argued for the lesser wickedness of dancing but admitted, "I fear I rather like dancing." She believed her taste for it was "in *some degree* innocent as it would give me equal pleasure to dance *alone* to good music, as to dance with the ordinary run of strangers one meets." She was aware that paired dancing, with its physical contact, might be a source of physical pleasure as well as a place for merely social flirtation. When Maud spotted a Mr. Bower at church she "nearly jumped." "Do you remember," she asked her sister Rose, the man "who used to play divinely on the fiddle at the Wed[nesday] Pops. 'Twas he—

drove a coach and four horses, also at great speed, and eventually died of injuries sustained in a road accident. The horses bolted, but no one knows why. (Information courtesy of Dr. Oliver Paget, September 12, 1983.)

⁶⁸ Catharine Paget, diary, July 14, August 17, November 18, 22, 1870; and James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters*, 145–46.

⁶⁹ Banks, *Prosperity and Parenthood*, 5. Considering the timing, I guess that Frederick Paget's first and second wives, Elizabeth Rogers and Hester King, both died as a result of complications in childbirth.

⁷⁰ George E. Paget to Rose Paget, May 25, 1880, Thomson Papers; Lydia North to James Paget, [May 14, 1839], August 2, 1839, [February 2, 1841], WIHM, Paget MSS. 88, 95, 120; and Catharine Paget, diary, February 3, 23, March 24, April 21, May 3, 1870.

'twas! he & no mistake." They found some men attractive; they teased each other when some particular young man caught their fancy. In London Catharine's social life brought her into contact with many attractive men—and she noticed them. H. P. Liddon, canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, especially fascinated her. "It is *grand* preaching," she exclaimed, "one long argument close & unanswerable, made attractive by his *delivery, voice & beautiful reverence*."⁷¹ His spiritual virtues, his rhetorical skills, and his person moved her to eloquence.

Flirtation and more serious sexual interaction were also part of the by-play between two engaged people. Lydia North was, at one level, a playfully flirtatious woman. "*How can you,*" she asked James, "*be so cruel* as to endeavour to aggravate that miserable feeling of jealousy which you know is already so predominant in my disposition? . . . really I am quite shocked!!!" Beneath the teasing, Lydia acknowledged herself as affectionate, loving, ardent. Even after a long engagement, this couple's affection for each other continued warm, and their expressions of it reveal only a more comfortable assurance of reciprocity. Lydia teased him, but beneath her play was provocation and challenge. She admitted to "a love so intense for an earthly object that I *dare* not indulge it but with some reference to the mercy of God."⁷²

This couple's discussions about matters sexual contain nothing of the bluntness and baldness of late twentieth-century frankness, but they were neither coy nor foolishly circuitous. James, for example, found Paris shockingly irreligious. And he told his fiancée of "the most indecent sights in the open streets in broad day." He admitted that his views of "female delicacy" were considered "rather ultra" but insisted that the sort of "degradation" he saw in Paris only confirmed him in his views. Protesting that decent women should be protected from such sights, he nevertheless told Lydia about the French women whose appearance he found "almost disgusting," particularly because of "the rather loose mode of dress wh. they adopt, and wh. as I believe you know is singularly offensive in my eyes."⁷³

During their long engagement in the 1830s the couple's relationship was physical as well as close. When the two were apart, they wrote to each other almost daily. James felt, he told her, "buoyant delight in thinking of you, and in remembering the enjoyment of those sweet privileges of love." He imagined, as he wrote, that they were together. "Kiss me, dearest," he wrote her, "and I will go on [with my letter]." And her answer, "Accept my ready and fervent compliance . . . now." They watched other couples and (not without some self-congratulation) noted that not all observed the same social decorum in matters of affection. James told Lydia what he had seen among friends at a party. "H. D. [Henrietta Dowson] quite astonished me

⁷¹ Lydia North to James Paget, February 2, 1841, WIHM, Paget MS. 120; Maud Paget to Rose Paget, n.d. [1878?], Thomson Papers; Catharine Paget, diary, March 6, 13, 20, 27, April 3, 1870. For another example of Maud's interest, see Maud Paget to Rose Paget, n.d. [1878 or 1879], Thomson Papers. Corder indicated that the girls at the Royal Academy of Music flirted at an early age; *History of the Royal Academy of Music from 1822 to 1922*, 49. I suspect that Victorian girls had "crushes" on clergy the way girls in the 1940s and 1950s idolized movie actors and girls in the 1960s worshipped rock musicians.

⁷² Lydia North to James Paget, December 30, 1836, October 9, 1839, WIHM, Paget MSS. 13, 100. Also see Lydia North to James Paget, March 25, April 1, 1843, *ibid.* 136, 138.

⁷³ James Paget to Lydia North, February 5, 1837, WIHM, Paget MS. 18.

by her daring. Entre nous Lydia do not be induced by any praises you may hear of her to imitate her. . . . That extreme and ardour of affection when openly exhibited is as displeasing to me as, when privately shown, it is delightful."⁷⁴

As a married couple Lydia and James shared a bedroom and a four-poster bed, even when prosperity allowed them more distance and individual privacy. They chose an upstairs bedroom that did not adjoin the sleeping quarters of any of the children, giving them added privacy as a couple. They knelt at the bedside to say their prayers together before retiring. Within the circle of the family, moreover, Lydia displayed a relaxed sensuality. Her son Stephen remembered a delicious scene from his childhood. In 1860, when Lydia was forty-five years old and pregnant with her sixth child, and Stephen was five years old, "my mother used to lie . . . [on the schoolroom sofa] and I used to 'tickle her foot.' . . . I believe my Mother really enjoyed it: and I was a most expert tickler: the forefinger of the left hand . . . lightly tracing away up and down and across foot and ankle, rarely and very lightly touching the sole: mostly the arch and the inner aspect of the stockinged foot. Sometimes I tickled her hand: but usually her foot." Lydia's capacity for sensuous self-indulgence may explain part of why James called her, after thirteen years of married life, "My own darling—my own sweet comfort-woman, my one dear companion."⁷⁵ These scant clues about money and female physical experience point to the possibility that the financially fettered, physically inactive, and anaesthetic angel was not at all the norm of Victorian middle-class life. Perhaps, though, money and sex have less to do with the angel in the house than does the role of the Victorian woman as religious wife and loving mother.

THE GREATEST TEST OF THE ANGEL IN THE HOUSE as a model of Victorian upper-middle-class womanhood must be that of personality and character, for the angel was first and foremost the religious woman, the peacemaker, the comforter, and the submissive woman—submissive to father, perhaps to brothers, certainly to husband. Given the differentiation of sex roles in Victorian families, it is easy to assume that the closest social bonds were between mothers and daughters, on the one hand, and between fathers and sons, on the other. The Paget girls did not always, however, ally themselves with their mothers. Fathers played an important role in their daughters' educational lives. Emotionally, too, mothers were sometimes less significant than fathers. Lydia North's father was a silent and withdrawn man, and she spent much time in the company of mother and sisters. But the silent and

⁷⁴ James Paget to Lydia North, May 23, 1839, March 25, 1843; Lydia North to James Paget, April 1, 1843; James Paget to Lydia North, July 20, 1838, WIHM, Paget MSS. 89, 136, 138, 57. Henrietta Dowson was engaged to Lydia's clergyman brother Jacob. For an unusually candid account of the intimacies of one couple, see Susan Chitty, *The Monk and The Beast: A Life of Charles Kingsley* (New York, 1975), 79–89, and illustrations. Lydia's son Stephen began courting practices early; he kissed a girl "behind the schoolroom blind" at a children's party when he was eleven or twelve years old (that is, in 1866 or 1867). Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 1, "Harewood Place," 17.

⁷⁵ Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 1, "Harewood Place," 30, 28–29; and James Paget to Lydia Paget, July 6, 1857, WIHM, Paget MS. 182. Stephen also tickled his aunt Sarah's foot. The bedroom James and Lydia shared was not the nicest one upstairs. Stephen could never understand why his parents insisted on that room.

unsociable Rev. North, nevertheless, played an important role in Lydia's life; it was he who made sure that she had music lessons and encouraged her extensive development as a musician.⁷⁶

Among the Cambridge Pagets, some daughters were close to their fathers and alienated from their mothers—a situation that did not always lead to family peace. One summer Rose sent her sister Maud some of her poetry, and Maud wrote back, “I read it to Mama. . . . [She] liked it *evidently very much* & seemed hurt that you never had read her any others.” Maud advised Rose, “Whatever your ideas may be, it cannot hurt . . . for you to read [your poems] to Papa & Mama especially as it gives pleasure to both.” Maud sympathized with her sister, however, for she, too, felt reticent about sharing her artistic and musical efforts with her mother Clara. “Your feelings in reading poetry to M[ama] cannot be much otherwise to mine in showing drawings & singing songs neither of which may be understood.” Whatever they admitted publicly, Rose and Maud had a relationship to Clara that was less than placid. Truthfulness as well as obedience was the core of a daughter's Christian duty, and Lydia fell short of the mark in the matter of her engagement to James. When the young couple informed their families that they planned to marry, James's father raised serious objections on grounds of prudence. They appeared to accept Sam's judgment but made no change in their plans. During much of the eight years of their engagement, Lydia colluded with James in deceiving his family.⁷⁷

The tensions of adolescence and young adulthood, arising at least partly from conflicts with parents, are reflected in the girls' emotional lives. Lydia North's imagination was captured by fierce storms, turbulent seas, and the prospect of violent death. In 1837 her father became dangerously ill, and, during his long recuperation that winter, Lydia, while alone one night, was seized by “a ruminating fit.” “I thought & thought, & fancied for about 20 minutes, till I began to think if perchance I *had* let one spark fall on the carpet, & a fire was to be the consequence, & Papa in his state had to make his escape out of doors, what should I think of my carelessness.” Her fantasy reveals a sense of guilt and ambivalence about her silent, authoritarian, and—in his illness—demanding father.⁷⁸

In her mid-teens Rose Paget was attracted to newspaper accounts of violence. The “Ashantee war,” a Welsh miners' strike, typhus, gunpowder explosions, and cyclones in India particularly caught her attention. She also dwelled on morbid events in the life of the family: the sudden death by stroke of her grandmother Fardell, the incarceration of her former governess in a German madhouse, and the suicide attempt of one of the Pagets' servants. Rose enjoyed seeing the spot called “Devil's Ditch,” where her father and his coachmen escaped three men who “no doubt intended robbery & perhaps murder.” Rose noted, “It was said that not long

⁷⁶ North, *Henry North*, 5–6, 10, 33–34; Lydia North to James Paget, February 6, 1837, [November 16, 1838], WIHM, Paget MSS. 19, 64. North's silence had, of course, its own power.

⁷⁷ Maud Paget to Rose Paget, n.d. [1880?], Thomson Papers; James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters*, 88–89, 90; Samuel Paget to Henry North, October 24, 27, 1836, WIHM, Paget MSS. 10, 11. Lydia also helped keep her brother's romance with Henrietta Dowson a secret from Mrs. Dowson; James Paget to Lydia North, January 4, 1837; Lydia North to James Paget, February 11, March 2, 1837, WIHM, Paget MSS. 14, 22, 25.

⁷⁸ Lydia North to James Paget, [August 17, 1840], February 6, 1837, WIHM, Paget MSS. 115, 19.

after, an old man was nearly murdered there, but it is probably untrue." This well-behaved daughter of the Victorian professional classes, for all her poetry and filial piety, was fascinated by violence and death. While revealing deep ambivalences in the psyches of at least two Paget women, these experiences also show that they were not sheltered from the realities of violence, crime, and death. Nor were squeamishness and primness considered proper in a young woman. When Rose seemed sentimental or affected Maud scolded her for being "missish," an epithet suggesting that swooning, helplessness, and sentimentality deserved ridicule, not admiration.⁷⁹

Historians have suggested that Victorian girls regularly took a subordinate, even submissive, position in relation to brothers. The Paget females do not provide unvarying support for this view. In their middle years the two spinster sisters of James and George were financially dependent on their adored brothers and may also have been submissive to them. Lydia was close to her brothers. When Isaac married and went to live in the Isles of Scilly, she visited him and "was not quite happy" with what she saw. She worried about his health and "induced him to write" to her surgeon-fiancé for medical advice. "You would have smiled," she told James, "to see me managing him."⁸⁰ Catharine was particularly close to her brother Frank. He left home in 1869 first to study at public school and afterward at Christ Church, Oxford. Religious ritualism was much debated in this period, and Frank brought this and related theological issues home from Oxford to his parents' breakfast table. "Lengthy family arguments" ensued, brother Stephen recalled. "Home-life at Harewood Place, so far as the sons and daughters were concerned, began to be . . . deeply committed to disputes on these lines." Catharine's reading and study enabled her to participate fully in these debates. Catharine and Frank had taught each other Greek, German, and French; they shared books and ideas—about politics, literature, religion, and philosophy. As a boy Frank had "made her his counsellor." In fact, he called her his "sister-confessor."⁸¹ Frank looked up to Catharine—contrary to the angel stereotype.

The unmarried daughters of Betsy and Sam lived out their roles as sisters and spinster aunts. The elder, Aunt Patty (Martha), her nephew Stephen judged, was "not clever, not much of a reader, nor a wide thinker: old-fashioned always: rather narrow in her views, and censorious." She was a bit timid and "London scared her," but the London suburb of Pinner bored her. She kept a "nervous venomous" little terrier, and she too had her moments of venom. When speaking of someone of whom she disapproved—"Napoleon III, or Mrs. Gladstone, or [her sister-in-law] Aunt Clara"—Patty would say they "ought to be whipped." Her nephew remembered how "she used to make the aspirate and the final d sting like a lash—'ought to be WHIPT.'" On the surface Kate seemed different from her older sister Patty. She

⁷⁹ Rose Paget, diary, February 12, June 16, September 27, October 3, November 8, 1874, July 20, 31, August 30, 1874, May 17, 1875. Also see *ibid.*, August 17, 1874, April 17, 1875; Charles E. Paget to Rose Paget, May 19, 1878, Thomson Papers; and *Oxford English Dictionary*.

⁸⁰ Lydia North to James Paget, March 25, 1843, WIHM, Paget MS. 135. For the subordination of girls to boys, see Gorham, *Victorian Girl*, 155, 163–64, 179.

⁸¹ Paget and Crum, *Francis Paget*, 16, 26, 34–35, 20 n. Their younger siblings, Stephen and Mary, "plough[ed] through Dante together"; Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 1, "Harewood Place," 46. Gorham suggested that boys and girls were purposely socialized differently by different reading materials; *Victorian Girl*, 163–64, 179.

could have married a Shrewsbury schoolmaster but chose to remain single. Her “ardent” and “aggressive” Paget allegiance led her to think that brother James was owed the best of everything—and Lydia to be less than he deserved. In the mid-1870s Kate (then aged fifty) traveled to the Continent with nephews Frank and Stephen (aged twenty-four and twenty). Otherwise she stayed home—“impatient, discontented, imprisoned in the dull enclosed suburban monotony of Woodridings.” In contrast to timid Patty she seemed like a “great eagle in a cage intended for a parrot . . . and she beat her wings against the bars of it, and often hurt herself.” She had “flings” (Stephen said) in London, Oxford, and Paris, but these must only have whetted her appetite for “money and wide influence.” Elise, the spinster cousin from Vienna, played the step-sister to her six cousins in Harewood Place. She tried to live quietly, sharing a house with her maiden aunts in Pinner and pursuing her artistic interests. But her cousin Stephen thought that she kept a “steady hold over herself.” Behind the reserve, however, she was “quick tempered, and sometimes showed it, flushing and speaking sharply.” As she grew older, Elise expressed herself more boldly, wore more assertive clothing, and allowed herself greater freedom.⁸²

The married woman has to be the apotheosis of the angel in the house. Lydia North offers the model of angelic piety. She was, of all the women, closest to the model of the clinging, dependent, reliant wife. Her son Stephen saw her as “a simple little white soul.”⁸³ But the children of the Victorians are not always reliable witnesses to the characters and relations of their parents. Lydia sought humility and rejected any credit for virtue; “do not entertain too high an opinion of me,” she told James. Praise, she said, led to pride and pride to sin. She looked to James to be her spiritual guide, even asking him for criticism of her character. “*Dearest*, I pray you tell me *frankly* of *all* my *faults*.”⁸⁴ Such sayings seem to prove that the sweet—and submissive—Victorian wife did indeed exist. But Lydia’s strivings for spirituality are the very mirror image of her human foibles. She was often angry, irritable, or bad tempered. And, although she asked James to criticize her, her reaction to his reproofs was scarcely submissive or humble. “I fear at times I give you but little cause to believe it is my *sincere* desire to be corrected by you, by shewing some symptoms of pain or temper when you have ventured to do so.” Naughty Lydia! She invited James’s correction but felt hurt or angry when it came.⁸⁵

In fact, the Paget women and their husbands seem often to have worked out marriages that were remarkable, given our stereotypes, for their mutuality. Partnership seems to have characterized, for example, Betsy’s relations with Sam. Eleanor Burd and Stephen Paget, too, had a partnership they called “our life.”⁸⁶ Even Lydia seems to have abandoned her fruitless search for humility and found a more balanced relationship with James. Certainly he depended on her from the

⁸² Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 2, “Pinner,” 7, 8–13, 17. Also see *ibid.*, 11.

⁸³ Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 3, “My Mother’s People,” 2.

⁸⁴ Lydia North to James Paget, February 6, 1837, WIHM, Paget MS. 19. Also see Catherine Hall, “The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology,” in S. Burman, ed., *Fit Work for Women*, 15–32. James also asked Lydia to be his spiritual guide.

⁸⁵ Lydia North to James Paget, October 9, 1839, WIHM, Paget MS. 100.

⁸⁶ Stephen Paget, memoir, pt. 5, “October 5th, 1925,” 19.

earliest days of their courtship. And fifteen years after their marriage he wrote to her, "It would be hard to tell how much and often I have wished for you all today."⁸⁷ She may have depended on him, but he needed her no less.

Perhaps the word "detachment" best characterizes the marriage of Lydia's sister-in-law, Clara Fardell Paget, to George Paget. Even when the children were young, Clara often left for Wales in early April and did not return until October. She took the preschool boys with her and left Rose or Maud to manage the house and to play hostess to the busy Cambridge don. Clara kept in touch with Cambridge and George by her letters to Rose, with postscripts enclosing "best love to your Papa & to you."⁸⁸ This arrangement begins to look like a partial separation, but Clara's attitude toward George was never one of overt hostility. She consulted him on family matters, watched over his health, and urged him to take a holiday in Wales when he seemed overworked or tired.⁸⁹ But it may have been easy for Clara to be benign when she was in her beloved Wales. If, on her account or his, the marriage was less than satisfactory, then the house in Wales was a source of liberation for both of them—a separation, without the legalities or the stigma, an amicable solution to the problem of a tense marriage. If it was not a troubled marriage, it was surely one in which domestic convention took second place to the individual wishes of the partners. The Paget marriages reflect the possibility of various solutions to the question of how married couples lived together in relative peace.

As mothers the Paget women were, sometimes, less angelic than they were as wives. Lydia was a devoted wife, but she admitted to James that pregnancies and babies required her to "assume . . . an interest very foreign to me concerning small children." Others of the Paget women were more maternal. Clara had specially tender feelings for her little boys. And Stella took every precaution with her new son's health.⁹⁰ But what began as devotion could verge on interference. Betsy Paget involved herself directly in decisions about her sons' lives, and Clara had no doubt that she should advise her son on his career. Characteristically she wrote to Rose, "Charles is more fitted for a Surgeon than anything else; tell him so with my love."⁹¹

Clara stands as a model of imperial motherhood. Off in Wales for five or six months of the year, her communications with her daughters took the form of terse orders about household affairs: "Have the attic bed well aired, have a fire in the room for two days—but not in the evenings. Have the Schoolroom well cleaned . . . my dressingroom . . . the Front dressing room. . . . Take Owen's Waistcoat to Miss Green to mend. . . . Ever your affectionate mother Clara Paget." When Rose once hinted at some dissatisfaction with their relations, Clara wrote back, "I am much engaged in Antiquarian as well as domestic work & really cannot write much."⁹²

⁸⁷ James Paget to Lydia Paget, December 5, 1858, WIHM, Paget MS. 190. Also see James Paget to Lydia Paget, July 19, 1863, *ibid.* 195.

⁸⁸ Rose Paget, diary, April 5, October 9, 1874, April 1, October 1, 1875; and Clara Paget to Rose Paget, April 17, [n.y.], Thomson Papers.

⁸⁹ Clara Paget to Rose Paget, September 7, [n.y.], Thomson Papers.

⁹⁰ Lydia North to James Paget, April 15, 1843, WIHM, Paget MS. 141. Clara Paget to Rose Paget, June 9, 1876; Stella Paget to Rose Paget, December 16, 1878, Thomson Papers.

⁹¹ James Paget, *Memoirs and Letters*, 13, 31, 67, 89; and Clara Paget to Rose Paget and Maud Paget, April 22, [1874?], Thomson Papers.

Clara's relations with her son Edmund were troubled, too. When he married a young Jewish girl, Stella Salomons, mama did not go to the wedding, did not want the couple invited for Christmas, and waited months before she visited their first child—her first grandchild. Her least angelic mother role came in her relations with Violet. Some unknown crisis in the adolescent girl's life led to conflict between mother and daughter—conflict so explosive that for several years the family colluded in domestic arrangements to ensure that mama and Violet should never be in the same town (let alone the same house) at the same time.⁹³

In their relations with the world outside the home the Paget women carried with them the same temperaments they expressed within the circle of the family. Religious activity both reflected and helped shape their personalities and characters, but even piety was not without its complications. Lydia, in visiting the poor, confessed, "It often strikes me as one of the greatest proofs of the utter aversion I naturally have to every thing that is good, that I always go with such reluctance to visit the poor people under our care; when I once get amongst them I quite enjoy myself, but on setting out I feel inclined to bend my steps in any other direction rather than the right." This Christian woman's repulsion at going to the shabby, perhaps wretched, dwellings of the poor may reflect her snobbery or her human sensitivity. But such feelings take her Christian service out of the realm of the angelic and place it firmly in the realm of ordinary humanity. Catharine was far less introspective about her Christian action. She cared, but she did not agonize. One Friday, she reported, "I spent the morning seeing poor people, the afternoon calling on rich ones."⁹⁴ Clara fought with her Welsh neighbors and got into a "row" with the parish priest in Cambridge because he was twenty minutes late for church service. Lydia avoided fireworks—but not criticism. She subjected every sermon to the severest evaluations.⁹⁵ From girlhood to old age, the Paget women raise questions about the modesty, the helplessness, the dependency, and the sweetness of the Victorian angel in the house.

ACCORDING TO THE RECEIVED WISDOM, Victorian ladies cared for nothing but homes and families, their education was "decorative adornment," and they submitted to fathers and husbands. Three generations of Paget women do not conform to this stereotype. Their education was more than decorative, their relationship to money less distant than we thought, their physical lives more vigorous, expansive, and sensual than either scholars today or some Victorians themselves have led us to believe. Most telling, perhaps, is that, behind the image of the loving, peaceful,

⁹² Clara Paget to Rose Paget, n.d. [1875–1881?]; Clara Paget to Rose Paget, [July 1880], Thomson Papers.

⁹³ Rose Paget, diary, August 29, December 25, 1877; Edmund Paget to Rose Paget, December 3, 1878; Stella Paget to Rose Paget, January 4, 1879, Thomson Papers; Rose Paget, diary, August 19, December 23, 1875, January 12, 13, February 14, March 31, May 5, 1876, January 31, 1877; and Louisa Howard to Rose Paget, May 23, 1879; Katherine Paget to Rose Paget, July 12, [1880], Thomson Papers. The origins of the conflict are unknown.

⁹⁴ Lydia North to James Paget, December 30, 1836, WIHM, Paget MS. 13; and Catharine Paget, diary, January 20, 1870.

⁹⁵ Rose Paget, diary, April 18, 1875; Lydia North to James Paget, February 22, 1837, WIHM, Paget MS. 22; and Rose Paget, diary, April 24, 1874.

docile daughters and wives of England, the realities of these women's characters and personalities ranged from the quiet Lydia to the talkative Rose and the bombastic Clara. Victorian ladies varied from the sweet to the tart, from the tender to the tough. Perhaps this argues the obvious. But since Victorians and historians alike have covered Victorian gentlewomen with sugar syrup, perhaps we need a reminder to pay closer attention to the obvious. Victorian women of all classes lived under legal and social disabilities, but that fact should not obscure the other realities of individual women's lives.

It cannot be said, of course, that the Paget women were typical even of upper-middle-class Victorian womanhood. To determine whether they represented the norm or the exception will require many more case studies showing how the ladies of Victorian England really lived. The example of the Paget women merely suggests some ways to transcend the stereotype and see Victorian women in all their complexity. From their example we may conclude: (1) Rank is as crucial a factor in studying women as it is in studying men. The culture, opportunities, options, and mentalities of these upper-middle-class women differed greatly from, for example, women of the lower-middle class. Any study of women's minds and actions must take life styles and life chances into account. (2) Age seems to be a significant variable in women's experience: the age of a female's siblings; the age at which women married, bore children, and climbed mountains; the ages and the relative ages of their husbands; and their children's ages when the women reached mid-life. (3) It is useful to take social geography into account in studying women's lives. Mores, but more important, opportunities and prospects for girls and women, even on the same economic levels, differed between Yarmouth, London, and Oxford, not to speak of the little suburb of Pinner. (4) For some purposes scholars should abandon a simple bi-polar analysis of social relations based on gender alone. In its place we might begin to look for patterns of relationship that combine gender issues with other variables. We need to search for patterns of interaction and change, for example, at various stages of the family life cycle. A woman's experience as a wife without children must necessarily be different, in her relations with her husband and in her life options, from those of a woman with many small children at home. A husband and wife with children gone from home may become a paired couple again, with new roles after age fifty or fifty-five. Relative age may be significant: a man and woman close to the same age will almost surely deal with each other differently than a couple whose ages are ten to fifteen years apart. And that age disparity will matter more in youth than in late middle age. Older brothers, younger brothers, sisters, aging parents—all of these offer relationships that can reveal the changing patterns of Victorian women's lives from childhood to old age.

What is so striking about most stereotypes is their remarkable fixity. The women of the Paget family illustrate the enormous variability that could exist within even a single family. This is not, in itself, of great interest—that one woman could be silent, another voluble, that one could pursue poetry while another studied physics, that one woman was devoted and passionate while another was cold and distant. This variability is significant only because it reveals how much freedom these women had, even within the boundaries of the most conventional and traditional of upper-

middle-class Victorian families. They experienced few restrictions on their liberty to read, study, travel, and enjoy themselves.

Brian Harrison, in his study of the opponents of women's suffrage, has suggested that a deeper understanding of women's activism, or its absence, might come from a close examination of women's lives at home and their relationships within families.⁹⁶ For the Paget women, the issues of suffrage and emancipation in any broader sense were meaningless; to women who had so many choices open to them, who did not need to struggle to open any door that attracted them, the women's movement must simply have been irrelevant. Closed doors, anomalous status, ideological commitment—these made women activists. But the liberties and comforts enjoyed by most women of the upper-middle class left them with no time or need for movements. Contentment rarely makes rebels. I suspect that the model of the angel of the house, had it truly been imposed on upper-middle-class Victorian households, might have made rebels of them all. Instead, the freedom, the adaptability, the choices inherent in genteel family life laid the basis for a profound conservatism, the conservatism of gender- as well as class-based privilege.

Even as an ideal, the angel in the house did not belong to these families. She was the dream of the lower-middle class, the poor housewife struggling to get by on £200 a year. To her the angel was an ideal, a model of the gentlewoman that she aspired to become, little knowing that the angel she admired did not exist—not in Harewood Place, not in St. Peter's Terrace, not in the bishop's residence—any more than she did in a bow-windowed house in Putney. The angel may have represented a dream of unachieved gentility for some women; she may have been a nightmare of potential repression for others. For yet others she was the “missish” and silly figment of “ladies” magazines and entrepreneurial advice books for sale to the newly arrived. Much talked of in some Victorian circles, the angel of the house was nowhere to be found among living women.

⁹⁶ Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain* (London, 1978), 258.

The Contribution of Women to Modern Historiography in Great Britain, France, and the United States, 1750–1940

BONNIE G. SMITH

IF THE PAST IS LIKE A FOREIGN LAND, the history of women is not only foreign but largely uncharted. This is especially true of women's historiography where no guidebooks provide topographical information showing monumental works, schools of interpretation, trends in research, and amateur histories. Yet a tradition of historical writing exists in this field, and women have contributed most to its development, which is hardly surprising. As Natalie Z. Davis has shown for the early modern period, women from Christine de Pisan to the Duchess of Newcastle practiced what is usually considered a male craft.¹ Like their male counterparts, they produced some great writing but also much that was mediocre and of little value today. Still, the sum of their historical endeavors has relevance for contemporary research and its problems. So also do the works of women historians who wrote during the two centuries subsequent to the period of Davis's essay. A topographical and topical analysis of their writings will link women scholars to the historiography of women and will connect their accomplishments to present inquiry.

Women scholars have, of course, long concerned themselves with conventional political history. Within the space of a few decades Catharine Macaulay (1731–91), Mercy Otis Warren (1728–1814), and Marie de Lézardière (1754–1835) produced distinguished narratives that gained them lasting, if uneven, reputations. Among women historians, however, these three were exceptional in that they generally ignored the history, though not necessarily the cause, of women. Macaulay's ambition to challenge David Hume's version of English history never prevented her from writing tracts about the condition of her sex, and Warren, while charting the course of the American Revolution, was certainly aware of lost opportunities for women in that struggle for liberty.² Yet most women historians wrote at least one

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¹ Davis, "Gender and Genre: Women as Historical Writers, 1400–1820," in Patricia Labalme, ed., *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past* (New York, 1980), 153–82. On American historians, see Kathryn Kish Sklar, "American Female Historians in Context, 1770–1930," *Feminist Studies*, vol. 3, nos. 1–2 (1975–76): 171–84.

² Catharine Sawbridge Macaulay's reputation came from publication of her eight-volume *The History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line* (London, 1763–83). Her defense of women is

work directly concerned with members of their sex or with topics they believed illustrative of women's values. No matter how often they were involved in the fields of study cultivated by their husbands, fathers, or mentors, no matter what other interests impelled them, women historians, to the extent that they departed from conventional subject matter and methodology, made distinctive and insufficiently appreciated contributions to historical scholarship. A better understanding of these contributions will refine our thinking about women's historical writing and about historiography in general. The Whig interpretation of history, for example, might have to include the idea of gender in addition to such ideas as presentism and progress. As Englishmen and Frenchmen—Thomas Macaulay or François Guizot—celebrated the ascent of middle-class men, so women sought to memorialize the achievements of other women.³ We may find that ways of writing history have both a paternal (for example, J. H. Green and social history) and a maternal ancestry (Félicité de Genlis [1746–1830], Elizabeth Ellet [1818–77], and Alice Morse Earle [1851–1911] and social history).

In their own ways women have been as interested in the past as men have been, and a first step in understanding the forms this interest has taken must be a certain amount of bibliographical discussion and typology. Few of the women scholars discussed here have familiar names, but most deserve more recognition than they have received. In some cases, lists of names are used not only to identify schools of interpretation, historical methodologies, and specific scholars and their related lines of inquiry but also to invite further study of them. The aim is to trace a kind of genealogy of women's historiography parallel to that of better-known men by outlining lines of descent through names and titles that omit references to male contemporaries. Side by side, for example, with the writings of late nineteenth-century male historians on Italy, there was a more or less coherent tradition of women's writings in this field that can be traced not only laterally but also backwards in time directly from Arvède Barine (1840–1908) by way of Caroline

scattered throughout her correspondence and writings. See, for example, *Letters on Education with Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects* by Catharine Macaulay Graham (London, 1790). On Macaulay and her work, see *ibid.*, 167–71; Lucy Martin Donnelly, "The Celebrated Mrs. Macaulay," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. [hereafter, *WMQ*], 6 (1949): 173–207; and Lynne E. Withey, "Catharine Macaulay and the Uses of History: Ancient Rights, Perfectionism, and Propaganda," *Journal of British Studies*, 16 (1976): 59–83. Mercy Otis Warren's major historical work is *History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution, Interspersed with Biographical, Political, and Moral Observations*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1805). But she was more renowned for her constant production of satires, plays, and poems, many of a political nature. On Warren, see Katherine Anthony, *First Lady of the Revolution: The Life of Mercy Otis Warren* (Garden City, N.Y., 1958); Alice Brown, *Mercy Warren* (New York, 1896); Lester Cohen, "Explaining the Revolution: Ideology and Ethics in Mercy Otis Warren's Historical Theory," *WMQ*, 37 (1980): 200–18; Lawrence Friedman and Arthur H. Sheffer, "Mercy Otis Warren and the Politics of Historical Nationalism," *New England Quarterly*, 47 (1975): 194–215; Maud Hutcheson, "Mercy Warren, 1728–1814," *WMQ*, 10 (1953): 378–402; Judith Markowitz, "Radical and Feminist: Mercy Otis Warren and the Historiographers," *Peace and Change*, 4 (1977): 10–21; William R. Smith, *History and Argument: Three Patriot Historians of the American Revolution* (The Hague, 1966); Joan Hoff-Wilson and Sharon Bollinger, "Mercy Otis Warren: Playwright, Poet, and Historian of the American Revolution," in J. R. Brink, ed., *Female Scholars: A Tradition of Learned Women Before 1800* (St. Albans, Vt., 1980), 161–82. Marie-Charlotte-Pauline-Robert de Lézardière's major work is her four-volume *Théorie des lois politiques de la monarchie française* (Paris, 1790). It was reprinted in 1844 under the sponsorship of Guizot, who had become an enthusiast of de Lézardière's work. On de Lézardière, see Elie Carcassonne, *Montesquieu et le problème de la constitution française au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1927), 478–512.

³ Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London, 1931)

Dall (1822–1912), Margaret Fuller (1810–50), Anna Jameson (1794–1860), Hor-tense Allart (1801–1879) to Germaine de Staël (1766–1817).⁴ In general terms women's historiography seems to have developed from many kinds of historical and antiquarian studies (often neglected by male historians) as well as biography, prosopography, and universal histories based on the lives of great women. In the nineteenth century women historians experimented in social history and the historical novel and later contributed to the emergence of the "new history" and to maternalist interpretations of cultural history, all of which illustrate the shift of historical narrative from men to women, from political activity to social and cultural life, and from public to private behavior. From this perspective Mary Ritter Beard (1876–1958), so often regarded as the materfamilias of a "new women's history," appears as the inheritor of an older tradition, going back indeed to the women polymaths of the eighteenth century. A clearer view of this tradition will help us correct myopia and attain a better understanding of contemporary women's historiography.

LIKE OTHERS IN THIS PERIOD, the eighteenth-century woman scholar infused her work with a kind of encyclopedic learning. Polymathic, she worked in a variety of genres and produced not only historical and antiquarian studies but also scientific treatises, didactic or moral essays, biographies, and general literary works. Charlotte Thiroux d'Arconville (1720–1805), for example, spent the first half of her life in science, until, finding her true métier, she turned to producing her great biographies of Francis II, Cardinal d'Ossat, and Marie de Medici.⁵ Even more impressive was her younger compatriot Louise Keralio Robert (1758–1821), who wrote three historical novels (including one set in the courts of Louis XIV and Charles II), a four-volume biography of Elizabeth I (with one volume of documentation), and a history of the queens of France. She also produced a fourteen-volume anthology of women's writings, translated English and Italian works, and edited a newspaper during the French Revolution.⁶ The interdisciplinary character of Robert's work was repeated in almost every subsequent generation—from Lucy Aikin (1781–1864) and Daniel Stern (1805–76) to Barine and Lucy Maynard

⁴ On the influence of Germaine de Staël, especially her *Corinne*, see Ellen Moers, *Literary Women* (New York, 1977).

⁵ Marie-Geneviève-Charlotte Thiroux d'Arconville's work includes *Essai pour servir à l'histoire de la putréfaction* (Paris, 1766), *De l'amitié* (Amsterdam, 1761), *Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Valcourt*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1767), *Vie de Cardinal d'Ossat*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1771), *Vie de Marie de Medici*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1774), and *Histoire de François II*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1783). In addition, she translated scientific works (for example, in 1759, Alexander Munro's two-volume *Traité d'ostéologie*) and works of literary authors such as John Gay, William Whitehead, Robert Dodsley, and Aphra Behn. On Thiroux d'Arconville, see Hippolyte de la Porte, *Notices et observations à l'occasion sur quelques femmes de la société du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1835).

⁶ See Robert, *Adélaïde* (Neufchâtel, 1782), *Amélia et Caroline, ou l'Amour et l'amitié*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1808), *Rose et Albert, ou le Tombeau d'Emma*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1810), *Histoire d'Elisabeth, reine d'Angleterre*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1786–88), *Collection des meilleurs ouvrages français composés par des femmes*, 14 vols. (Paris, 1786–88), *Journal d'État et du Citoyen* (1789), *Mercur national et étranger* (1791), and *Crimes des reines de France* (Paris, 1792). She also translated books by John Cart, Rugguccio Galluzzi, John Howard, John Gregory, and Henry Swinburne. On Robert, see L. Antheunis, *Le Conventionnel belge François Robert, 1763–1826, et sa femme Louise de Keralio, 1758–1822* (Wetleren, 1955); Isabelle Bourdin, *Les Sociétés populaires* (Paris, 1937); Jules Michelet, *Women of the French Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1855); and Jack R. Censer, *Prelude to Power: The Parisian Radical Press, 1789–1791* (Baltimore, 1976).

Salmon (1853–1927)⁷—until the emergence of professionalized “women’s history,” which has tended to reduce the encyclopedic scope, if not the experimentation, displayed by earlier explorers of this field.

“There is no higher service to perform for literature than to carry from one language to another the masterpieces of the human spirit,” de Staël wrote in 1816.⁸ Indeed, translating was a major preoccupation of women scholars: in England, Sarah Taylor Austin (1793–1867) devoted herself to works by Leopold von Ranke and Victor Cousin, and Cecilia M. Ady (1881–1958) to works by Benedetto Croce; in France, Clémence Royer (1830–1902), to Charles Darwin; and in the United States, Clara Erskine Clement Waters (1834–1916) and Mary L. Booth (1831–99), to Ernest Renan and Edouard Laboulaye, respectively.⁹ In the case of Austin, whose famous husband, John Austin, was an unreliable provider, translating was a “resource against the worst pictures of poverty.” Sarah Austin admitted that it was not the most lucrative undertaking; she could, she believed, “doubtless gain much more money and fame by lighter work.”¹⁰ Yet money obviously influenced Austin’s

⁷ A sample of Aikin’s lengthy bibliography shows some works for children; a translation of J. G. Hess, *Life of Ulrich Zwingli* (London, 1812); *Epistles on Women, exemplifying their character and condition in various ages and nations* (London, 1810), a history in 142 pages of verse; *Lorimer, a Tale* (London, 1814); *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 vols. (London, 1818), as well as histories of the courts of James I and Charles I; *The Life of Joseph Addison*, 2 vols. (London, 1843); and *Memoir of Miss Benger* (London, 1827), a contemporary of Aikin’s, a historical novelist, and biographer of Anne Boleyn, Mary Queen of Scots, and Elizabeth Stuart. See Philip Le Breton, ed., *Memoirs, Miscellany, and Letters of the Late Lucy Aikin* (London, 1864). Works by Stern [Marie Flavigny, Comtesse d’Agoult] include *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1850–53), *Histoire des commencements de la République aux Pays-Bas, 1581–1625* (Paris, 1863), *Florence et Turin, études d’art et de politique, 1857–1861* (Paris, 1862), *Dante et Goethe* (Paris, 1866), *Nélida* (Paris, 1846), and *Jeanne D’arc, drame historique* (Paris, 1857). On Stern, see her *Mes souvenirs, 1806–1833* (Paris, 1877), *Mémoires, 1833–1854* (Paris, 1927); Jacques Vier, *Le Comtesse d’Agoult et son temps*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1955–63); Ernest Newman, *The Man Liszt* (New York, 1925); Claude Aragonnes, *La Comtesse d’Agoult* (Paris, 1935); and Dominique Desanti, *Daniel* (Paris, 1980). The works of Barine [Louise-Cécile Vincens] include biographies for young people of reformers such as François de La Nove and William Penn; translations of Herbert Barry, *La Russie contemporaine* (Paris, 1873) and Lev Tolstoi, *Souvenirs: Enfance, Adolescence, Jeunesse* (Paris, 1887); Alfred de Musset (Paris, 1893); *Névrosés: Hoffman, Quincey, Edgar Poe, G. de Nerval* (Paris, 1898); *La Jeunesse de la Grand Mademoiselle, 1627–1693* (Paris, 1901); *Louis XIV et la Grande Mademoiselle* (Paris, 1905); *Princesses et grandes dames* (Paris, 1890); and *Portraits de femmes, Mme. Carlyle, George Eliot, Une detraquée, Un couvent de femmes en Italie au XVI^e siècle, Psychologie d’une sainte* (Paris, 1887). Although neither a historical novelist or translator, Salmon’s work represents the tradition of women’s interdisciplinary study as it developed into the twentieth century. See *Domestic Service* (London, 1897), *The Dutch West India Company on the Hudson* (Poughkeepsie, 1915), *Historical Material* (New York, 1933), *History of the Appointing Power of the President* (New York, 1886), *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York, 1923), *Progress in the Household* (New York, 1906), and *Why is History Rewritten?* (New York, 1929). She also wrote numerous articles on such diverse topics as the Treaty of Utrecht, patronage in the public schools, and the history of the University of Michigan. Also see Louise F. Brown, *Apostle of Democracy: The Life of Lucy Maynard Salmon* (New York, 1943). The archives at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., contain a large collection of material on Salmon.

⁸ De Staël, “De l’esprit des traductions,” *Oeuvres complètes*, 2 (Paris, 1871): 294.

⁹ Leopold von Ranke, *The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. Sarah Taylor Austin (London, 1840), *History of the Reformation*, trans. Sarah Taylor Austin (London, 1845–47); Victor Cousin, *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia*, trans. Sarah Taylor Austin (New York, 1835); Benedetto Croce, *A History of Italy, 1871–1915*, trans. Cecilia M. Ady (London, 1937); Charles Darwin, *De l’origine des espèces*, trans. Clémence Royer (Paris, 1862); Ernest Renan, *The English Conferences of Ernest Renan, Rome and Christianity, Marcus Aurelius*, trans. Clara Erskine Clement (Boston, 1880); and Edouard Laboulaye, *Laboulaye’s Fairy Book*, trans. Mary L. Booth (New York, 1867).

¹⁰ Letter from Austin to Harriet Grote, October 25, 1843, in Janet Ross, *Three Generations of English Women: Mrs. John Taylor, Mrs. Sarah Austin, and Lady Duff Gordon* (London, 1888). Also see Gordon Waterfield, *Lucie Duff Gordon in England, South Africa, and Egypt* (London, 1937), 199; and W. L. Morison, *John Austin* (Palo Alto, 1982). Susan P. Conrad adopted Harriet Martineau’s idea that “translation . . . was a harmless pastime, a passive activity”; Conrad, *Perish the Thought: Intellectual Women in Romantic America, 1830–1860* (New York, 1976), 185. Martineau was cousin to the energetic, and anything but passive, Sarah Austin, whose work brought her

career, for her family emigrated to the Continent from time to time to avoid the high cost of London life as well as to accommodate her husband's interest in historical jurisprudence. As a result she developed, from childhood, a facility for languages and gained entrée into German and French political and intellectual circles. Having gained a reputation as adaptor and interpreter of Goethe to the English, Austin became a favored translator and correspondent of Auguste Comte, Guizot, Ranke, and other luminaries. Her work also illustrates a general interest in comparative culture on the part of women scholars and a widening of perspective and horizons on the history of their gender. Some of the famous histories of the queens and princesses of England, Normandy, and Scotland by Agnes Strickland (1796–1874) and Elizabeth Strickland (1794–1875) were translated by women; so were Barine's court histories and the historical novels of Sophie Cottin (1770–1802). In the late nineteenth century the versatile Charlotte Juliet Blennerhasset (1843–1917), contributor to the *Cambridge Modern History* and protégée of Lord Acton, translated her own works on women from German into French.¹¹

Since translations produced rich and sometimes contrasting evidence on cross-cultural experience, translators often extended their efforts into the field of comparative history. Mary Berry (1763–1852), who edited and translated (1810) the letters of Marie Anne du Deffand to Horace Walpole, wrote *A Comparative View of the Social Life of England and France from the Restoration to the French Revolution* (1828).¹² From Austin's many translations and trips to Germany evolved her *Germany from 1760 to 1814* (1846), in which she viewed Continental social life and intellectual trends from the perspective of a cosmopolitan Englishwoman and made use of such unusual sources as diaries, travel accounts, and memoirs of notable women, including Caroline Pichler and Johanna Schopenhauer. Her work reflected a growing interest at the time in foreign, especially German, culture. Victorine de Chastenay (1771–1835), translator of Oliver Goldsmith and Ann Radcliffe and author of *De l'Asie* (1808) and *Du Génie des peuples anciens* (1808), left at her death an unpublished manuscript on postclassical, early Christian Europe that continued her comparative, universal history.¹³ Sharing many romantic and conservative attitudes common in the early nineteenth century, she pointedly concerned herself with describing the condition of women in these different cultures. The comparative approach to women's history, however, went beyond such particular cultural

respect, a crowded social and intellectual calendar, and continuous challenge to her mental horizons. It is possible that Martineau resented this stardom, and she did translate the work of Auguste Comte.

¹¹ See Agnes Strickland, *Alda, l'esclave bretonne*, trans. Louise de Montanclos (Tours, 1858), and *Vie de Marguerite d'Anjou*, trans. Mme. C. G. (Paris, 1850); Sophie Cottin, *Elizabeth: The Exiles of Siberia*, trans. Mary Meeke (Rochester, 1817), and *Malvina*, trans. Elizabeth Gunning, 4 vols. (London, 1804); Barine, *Madame, Mother of the Regent, 1652–1722*, trans. Jeanne Mairat (New York and London, 1909), and *La Grande Mademoiselle, 1627–1652*, trans. Helen E. Meyer (New York, 1902). Charlotte Julia Blennerhasset produced scholarly works in several languages as did several other women, including Mary Robinson Darmesteter Duclaux and Vernon Lee. Blennerhasset, for example, translated her *Marie Stuart, 1542–1587* (Paris, 1909) into French.

¹² See Berry, ed., *Works of Horatio Walpole*, 5 vols. (London, 1798), and *Letters of the Marquise du Deffand to the Hon. Horace Walpole* (London, 1810). On Mary Berry and Agnes Berry, see Lewis Melville, ed., *The Berry Papers* (London, 1914); and Lady Theresa Lewis, *Extracts from the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, 3 vols. (London, 1865).

¹³ On de Chastenay, see G. Lapérouse, *Mme. la comtesse de Chastenay* (Châtillon-sur-Seine, 1855).

trends. This is illustrated most conspicuously by the histories of women in India, the pre-Christian Near East, and Greece and Rome published by Clarisse Bader (1840–1902).¹⁴ Like de Chastenay, Bader was drawn to the comparative study of culture as a basis for making practical judgments about the situation of women, as, for example, in her *La Femme française dans les temps modernes* (1884). Such intercultural interests and translations endured in women's scholarship long after interest in the exotic, inspired by romanticism, had expired.

To a large extent modern historical writing depended on the development of a biographical mode that charted the life and accomplishments of the "great man" whose deeds became the symbol of Whig sensibility. This cult of the "great" historical figure also inspired the dazzling biographical dictionaries of women that appeared early in the nineteenth century. In 1804 alone, Fortunée Briquet's (1782–1825) *Dictionnaire historique des françaises*, Mary Betham's (1776–1852) *Biographical Dictionary of Celebrated Women of Every Age and Country*, and Mary Pilkington's (1766–1839) *Memoirs of Celebrated Female Characters* sketched the reigns of famous queens, the triumphs of heroines, and the legends of mythical women to create a feminine version, perhaps, of the classical *De viris illustribus* or modernized renditions of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* or de Pisan's *Book of the City of Ladies*.¹⁵ The proliferation of feminist ideas sustained and even intensified this biographical impulse. By the end of the nineteenth century whole series entitled "Eminent Women," "Famous Women," or "Women of Colonial and Revolutionary Times" had been published in England and the United States. They brought earlier compilations up to date by including biographies of George Eliot, Margaret Fuller, Mary Lamb, and Mercy Otis Warren.¹⁶ Appearing simultaneously were many prosopographies of literary women, *salonières*, court ladies, religious women, and the like.¹⁷

¹⁴ Bader, *La Femme biblique* (Paris, 1866), *La Femme dans l'Inde antique* (Paris, 1863), *La Femme grecque. étude de la vie antique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1873), and *La Femme romaine, étude de la vie antique* (Paris, 1877). Also see her *Madame Roland, d'après des lettres et des manuscrits inédits* (Paris, 1892), *Marie Antoinette en 1783 et en 1793, d'après des documents manuscrits et en partie inédits* (Paris, 1893), and *Sainte Claire d'Assise* (Paris, 1880).

¹⁵ See Mary Hays, *Female Biography*, 6 vols. (London, 1803). Hays's work preceded the publications of Briquet, Betham, and Pilkington, although Betham claimed in her introduction that her book was in press when Hays's volumes appeared. Briquet's work is ironically dedicated to Napoleon I.

¹⁶ The series "Women of Colonial and Revolutionary Times" published in the 1890s by Scribner's consisted of six volumes: Mary Gay Humphreys, *Catherine Schuyler* (New York, 1897); Alice Morse Earle, *Margaret Winthrop* (New York, 1895); Harriet Horry Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney* (New York, 1896); Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, *Martha Washington* (New York, 1897); Alice Brown, *Mercy Warren* (New York, 1896); and Maud Wilder Goodwin, *Dolly Madison* (New York, 1896). The series "Famous Women" published by Roberts Brothers of Boston in the 1880s included Mathilde Blind, *George Eliot* (Boston, 1883); Mary Robinson, *Emily Brontë* (Boston, 1883); Bertha Thomas, *George Sand* (Boston, 1883); Anne Gilchrist, *Mary Lamb* (Boston, 1883); Julia Ward Howe, *Margaret Fuller* (Boston, 1883); Helen Zimmern, *Maria Edgeworth* (Boston, 1883); Emma R. Pitman, *Elizabeth Fry* (Boston, 1884); Vernon Lee, *The Countess of Albany* (Boston, 1884); Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Mary Wollstonecraft* (Boston, 1884); Mathilde Blind, *Madame Roland* (Boston, 1886); Florence Miller, *Harriet Martineau* (Boston, 1884); and Bella Duffy, *Madame de Staël* (Boston, 1887). These works were republished in England by William Allen as the "Eminent Women" series. A. Carrette [née Bouvet] edited a French version of these series, in ten volumes, between 1890 and 1905. The series included biographies and selected writings of Anne de Montpensier, Marguerite-Jeanne de Staël-Delaunay, Jeanne de Campan, Laure d'Abrantès, Félicité de Genlis, Marie-Jeanne Roland, Marie-Madeleine de LaFayette, Françoise de Motteville, Louise-Elisabeth Vigée-LeBrun, and George Sand.

¹⁷ A sample of many prosopographies includes Anne Elwood, *Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England*, 2 vols. (London, 1845); Mabel Richmond Brailsford, *Quaker Women, 1650–1690* (London, 1915); Elizabeth Casey, *Illustrious Irish Women*, 2 vols. (London, 1877); Annie Challice, *Illustrious Women of France, 1790–1873* (London,

Since the rise of feminism biographical works have in most cases stressed a struggle for identity, for visibility, for selfhood in the face of obstacles, whether familial, social, or personal. By saying “Je le veux” the female sovereign asserted her role as a major actor on the historical stage,¹⁸ and every “great woman” had to make some such affirmation. How this was done is the story told by many biographers as they reveal the process of female definition. Some have even gone so far in this quest as to examine great women from the male perspective. Jameson’s *Loves of the Poets* or *Characteristics of Women* examined Cleopatra, Catherine of Aragon, and Beatrice through a prism that refracted both her own and a fictional male account of each subject.¹⁹ The invocation of great women inspired massive historical research into the character of women’s existence, produced an important tradition of women’s historiography, and set the initial terms for assessing women’s historical significance.

Historians also depended on biography for the coherence it gave to narrative and for the organic connections it revealed in the historiography of women. Compilers of the first historical dictionaries scrupulously included their immediate scholarly predecessors. Betham incorporated all the bluestockings, and Briquet, the *salonières* and the literary and political women of the revolutionary generation. In the nineteenth century the works and life of de Staël established an archetype and an ancestry for the woman intellectual. Appreciations, biographies, criticisms, and scholarly interpretations poured out after de Staël’s death and were particularly important to Louise Dauriat (1818), Albertine Necker de Saussure (1820), Hortense Allart (1824), Fanny de Mongellaz (1825 and 1828), Anna Jameson (1826 and thereafter), Lydia Maria Child (1832), Margaret Fuller (1845), Maria Norris (1853), Amélie Lenormant (1862), Julia Kavanagh (1862), Mathilde Bourdon (1867), Amely Bölte (historical novel, 1869), Charlotte Blennerhasset (1887), and Bella Duffy (1890).²⁰ Such intellectual filiations had a parallel in the “regular and connected chain” of political women presented in the Strickland sisters’ *Lives of the Queens of England*.²¹ Later, Amelia Gere Mason’s *Women in the Golden Age* portrayed

1873); Amelia Gere Mason, *Women of the French Salons* (New York, 1891); Elizabeth Ellet, *Women Artists in All Ages and Countries* (New York, 1859); Ethel Rolt Wheeler, *Famous Blue Stockings* (London, 1910); Adelaïde Celliez, *Les Reines d’Espagne* (Paris, 1856), *Les Saintes de France* (Paris, 1853); and Barine, *Princesses et grandes dames*.

¹⁸ Anne Jameson, *Celebrated Female Sovereigns*, I (New York, 1832): xviii.

¹⁹ Jameson, *Memoirs of the Loves of the Poets* (Boston, 1846), and *Characteristics of Women, Moral, Poetical, and Historical* (New York, 1836). The latter dealt with women as they are portrayed in Shakespeare’s work, and both had French counterparts. The appearance of these works early in the nineteenth century (although similar studies appeared later, for example, Lucie Goyau’s *Les Femmes dans l’œuvre de Dante* in 1902 and Myrrha Borodine Lot, *La Femme dans l’œuvre de Chrétien de Troyes* in 1909) is reminiscent of the early publications in the current literature on women’s studies, which initially centered on “images” of women. The difference is that in the preceding era the almost proto-phenomenological studies predated modern psychology and psychoanalysis, both of which have drastically revised this type of undertaking.

²⁰ The changing fashion in Staëlian biographies is interesting. Nineteenth-century women writers considered de Staël’s work in part as representative of the problem of the life of the mind for women. By the twentieth century many male authors had converted her life to a protracted “histoire scandaleuse” devoid of intellectual import, the culmination of this trend being Christopher Herold’s *Mistress to an Age* (New York, 1958). For some reason, women historians today have been less fascinated than their predecessors with intellectual women.

²¹ Agnes Strickland and Elizabeth Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest*, 1 (London, 1840–48): xix. Although coauthored, this series bears Agnes Strickland’s name alone. The sisters also collaborated on *Lives of the Queens of Scotland* (London, 1850–59), *Lives of the Bachelor Kings of England* (London,

Aspasia as a model for women of the Renaissance courts, whose facility in conversation helped generate that intellectual revival. They in turn served as models for the *salonières*, whose activities were in a sense carried on by nineteenth-century women's clubs. In the literary and political life of women in this era lies an extraordinary generational continuity,²² which was fostered by prosopographies and anthologies of women's writings, beginning with Robert's fourteen-volume *Collection des meilleures ouvrages composés par des femmes* (1786–88). These works paralleled male histories and in some ways offered a corrective to them. From de Pisan (whose works took two volumes in Robert's anthology) to the *salonières*, Olympe de Gouges and Mme. Roland, a French women's history could be told based on series of worthy women. By the mid-nineteenth century Agnes Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England* or Jameson's *Celebrated Female Sovereigns* constituted political alter-histories, while anthologies and collective biographies of writers formed a contrapuntal account of intellectual achievement.

This large body of evidence about "great" women provided an organizing structure for more synthetic "universal" histories, which competed with those from the male perspective published over the previous two centuries. Mme. de Coicy's two-volume *Les femmes comme il convient de les voir* (1785) classified the deeds of women in a way reminiscent of de Pisan's *Book of the City of Ladies*. Intellectual women, regents and rulers, women in politics, women and chivalric orders, women and love of liberty, women and love of country, women of courage in time of danger were each represented, and each had a lesson to teach. "Fairly extensive experience accompanied by deep study of history," wrote de Coicy, "enabled me to show that for the general good of humanity and especially for that of the French nation, it would be very advantageous if women were closely tied to men in the performance of public duties."²³ Thereafter such histories appeared regularly: de Mongellaz's (1798–1830) *L'Influence des femmes sur les mœurs et les destinées des nations* (1828), Child's (1802–80) *History and Condition of Women in Various Nations* (1835), Olympe Audouard's (1830–90) *Gynécologie* (1873), Henriette Guizot de Witt's (1829–1908) *Les Femmes dans l'histoire* (1889), and Beard's *On Understanding Women* (1931). Unlike de Coicy, these writers organized women's history in the chronological style of national histories. No matter what the subject, they repeated the claim of earlier biographers that women had been "a power, a presence."²⁴ They adduced evidence, as Agnes Strickland had done, "to trace the progress of civilization, learning, and refinement . . . and to show how greatly these were affected by queenly influence in all ages."²⁵ A later kind of political history of women, devoted more specifically to feminist accomplishments, likewise built on series of great

1861), *Lives of the Seven Bishops* (London, 1863), and *Lives of the Tudor Princesses* (London, 1867). Agnes Strickland wrote historical novels and the life of Queen Victoria, but the family effort did not end there. Jane Strickland produced novels and *Rome, Regal and Republican: A Family History of Rome* (London, 1854), while the emigre sisters Catherine Strickland Traill and Susannah Strickland Moodie became prominent Canadian writers. See Una Pope-Hennessy, *Agnes Strickland, Biographer of the Queens of England* (London, 1940).

²² See Mason, *Women in the Golden Age* (New York, 1901).

²³ De Coicy, *Les femmes comme il convient de les voir*, 1 (Paris, 1785): 3.

²⁴ Jameson, *Characteristics of Women*, 302.

²⁵ Strickland and Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, 1: xix.

women linked by common participation in reform movements. Paulina Wright Davis's (1813–76) *A History of the National Woman's Rights Movement* (1871) interspersed documents with accounts of the accomplishments of important women like Frances Wright, Angelina Emily Grimké, and Sarah Moore Grimké; Harriet Robinson's (1825–1911) *Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement* (1881) began with Abigail Adams and included what became a familiar honor roll of greats—Warren, the Grimké sisters, Wright, and others—punctuated by accounts of periodic meetings in Massachusetts. In that same year the encyclopedic *History of Woman Suffrage* interfiled descriptions of heroines, speeches, conventions, and political battles. What Natalie Davis has called the “woman worthy” has played a crucial role, then, in organizing memories of the female past, in laying claim to historic personality, and in challenging or enriching traditional accounts of accomplishment and influence.²⁶

From the beginning, however, the notion of the “woman worthy” encountered difficulties. Doing her duty for the revolution, Robert, in her *Crimes des reines de France* (1791), portrayed every woman associated with the French throne as bloodthirsty and implicated in monarchical oppression. Soon after, de Genlis, later described by her biographer as “envious and frivolous,” used her *De l'influence des femmes sur la littérature française* (1811) to scold many would-be protagonists of the women's cause, especially Cottin, whose historical novels had become an international sensation. Several years after she blackened the reputation of Bettina von Arnim, Daniel Stern, in her *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, mocked the women who “published newspapers that weren't read at all,” who ran for office, or who tried to vote. She found the revolutionary clubs composed of women “of questionable morality,” and she charged that their activities alienated “many good souls” from the general cause of reform.²⁷ The disapproval of some critics derived from a belief that ideas of women's prominence were somehow antidomestic or even antifeminist, because they contradicted assumptions of women's historic invisibility and lack of access to power. Lydia Maria Child, historian and antislavery crusader, regarded de Staël as “intellectually the greatest woman that ever lived” but could not abide her aristocratic background and attitudes, vanity over her power, and “inability to live without the dangerous excitement of admiration.”²⁸ Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of *Godey's Lady's Book* and Child's contemporary, dissected the virtues and villainies of a range of famous women in her *Women's Record: Sketches of All Distinguished Women from the Beginning till A.D. 1850*, which in turn provoked Dall to come to their defense.²⁹ Throughout the nineteenth century such considerations

²⁶ Natalie Z. Davis, “‘Women's History' in Transition: The European Case,” *Feminist Studies*, vol. 3, nos. 3–4 (1975–76): 83–103.

²⁷ Stern, “Études littéraires sur quelques écrivains allemands contemporains: Mme. d'Arnim,” *Revue des deux mondes*, April 15, 1884, pp. 265–97, and *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, 2: 190–91. Stern's attitude toward these women is extremely convoluted. In the next few pages of *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* she wrote that fortunately the working class had not been educated to misogyny and appreciated the bravery of such women.

²⁸ Child, *Memoirs of Madame de Staël and of Madame Roland* (Auburn, Me., 1832), and *History and Condition of Women*, 2 (Boston, 1835): 157. For a good discussion of Child's work (and of the writings of other nineteenth-century women historians in the United States), see Conrad, *Perish the Thought*. Also see Helene G. Baer, *The Heart Is Like Heaven: The Life of Lydia Maria Child* (Philadelphia, 1964).

²⁹ For Dall's defense, see *Historical Pictures Retouched* (Boston, 1860), a compilation of articles first published in the *Una*.

prevented much agreement about the ranking of heroines and women worthies, with prominent figures like Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, Mary Wollstonecraft, and George Sand moving in and out of favor.

Scholars acknowledged the importance of major personalities in narrating women's history but could not agree on how to treat them. One problem was an epic-like quality that seemed to determine the course of any woman worthy's life. Because moral qualities remained important in a heroine's past (for example, de Staël according to Child or the women of 1848 according to Stern), her life could not be narrated by the simple toting up of achievements. Rather it had to be interpreted in terms of the changing moral standards for the behavior of womankind—or more recently the moral constructions placed by historians on political actions. Vacillation between interpretive poles, with major figures alternately celebrated and anathematized, encouraged romantic rather than “scientific” history. Such ambivalence about heroines may also have stemmed from the general tendency of the historical profession to disparage women's accomplishments. Although the author of a “well-written” biography, Warren herself was “an unpromising subject,” while the “life of Mrs. Dolly Madison cannot easily be made anything else than a chronicle of small beer.”³⁰ In any case, the *American Historical Review* often confined books on heroines to the “Minor Notices” section in a move that probably, if inadvertently, contributed to undermining their stature. For all the attempts to demonstrate the “regular and connected chain,” or to “shew queenly influence,” narrative history based on personalities has been beset by difficulties, which have caused historians to seek other approaches.

PERHAPS BECAUSE OF THE PROBLEMS in writing about great women, historians have, almost from the beginning, diversified their efforts. In a move away from naive biography, women found a more sophisticated alternative in social history. Indeed, they wrote some of the first works in this field, possibly because it was so uncrowded. “One subject is, in all countries, open, and in all, to my mind, far more interesting than any other—the condition, habits, and character of the *people*,” Austin wrote to Guizot three years before her social history of Germany appeared.³¹ The goal of Elizabeth Ellet, as expressed in the preface to her *Domestic History of the American Revolution* (1850), was “to exhibit the spirit and character of the Revolutionary Period; to portray, as far as possible in so brief a record, the social and domestic condition of the times, and the state of feeling among the people, with something of the services and experience of *a class not usually noticed* among those whose names live in historical remembrance.”³² The invisibility of women led scholars to explore new terrain, especially the private space in which women could be found. Beginning with histories of manners and morals of court and castle written by de Genlis, Marie Gacon-Dufour (1753–1835), Lucy Aikin, and

³⁰ See the review of Alice Brown's *Mercy Warren*, in *AHR*, 2 (1897): 573; and the review of Maud Wilder Goodwin's *Dolly Madison*, *ibid.*, 376.

³¹ Letter from Austin to François Guizot, June 7, 1843, reprinted in Ross, *Three Generations of English Women*, 196.

³² Ellet, *Domestic History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1850), v. Emphasis added.

Mary Berry, historians like Austin moved to histories “of the *people*” and of middle-class life.³³ Child’s *History and Condition of Women in Various Ages and Nations* brought forth two volumes of evidence on Jewish funeral and marriage practices, Babylonian songs and dances, African organization of work and child raising, holiday practices in Europe and the United States, and customs of the American Indian and Eskimo. By the end of the nineteenth century, Georgiana Hill, after writing *A History of Dress* (1893), produced *Women in English Life*, which seemed, in its emphasis on women in guilds, urban charity, and family life, to be in the school of J. R. Green and Alice Stopford Green (1848–1829). Contradicting the progress supposedly characteristic of English political life, Hill found no “orderly evolution,” no “unvarying progress from age to age” in the condition of women.³⁴ In the twentieth century Eileen Power (1889–1940), with her studies of nunneries and medieval housewives, was at the forefront of a more general shift toward social history.³⁵ This exploration of the private sphere of women’s historical experience produced mixed reactions: de Genlis’s encyclopedia of court customs fascinated aesthetes of the late nineteenth century; Earle’s histories of colonial customs were praised for filling gaps in our knowledge of the American past; but Macaulay hated the way the Stricklands laced their tales of great deeds with details of privies and other aspects of the quotidian because they detracted from the grandeur of a past that led to an even grander present; and Power’s history of nunneries, ignoring as it did traditional examination of religious ideals in favor of social organizations, was distasteful to high-minded dons.³⁶ Yet the authors of travel books and vignettes of family life extracted from memoirs and diaries sensed, as did Ellet, that beyond the usual “historical remembrance,” beyond, that is, the sound of drums and trumpets, lay a large portion of women’s experience.

To these historians social history rivaled political history in its capacity to yield evidence of personality and power. For Mason, women of the Renaissance, though learned in languages, classics, and research techniques, made their greatest contribution in generating a prototype for the later *salon*. They conversed with Renaissance men about shared humanistic ideas and thereby “created society anew.”³⁷ Similarly, Ellet, in *Queens of American Society*, argued that women, from neighborhood leaders to presidents’ wives, developed new networks of social and

³³ See Stéphanie-Félicité Ducrest de Saint-Aubin Genlis, *Dictionnaire critique et raisonné des étiquettes de la cour, des usages des Français, depuis la mort de Louis XIII jusqu’à nos jours* (Paris, 1818); Marie-Armande-Jeanne Gacon-Dufour, *La Cour de Catherine de Médicis, de Charles IX, de Henri III et de Henri IV*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1807); Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 vols. (London, 1818); *Memoirs of the Court of King James the First*, 2 vols. (London, 1822), and *Memoirs of the Court of King Charles the First*, 2 vols. (London, 1833); Mary Berry, *A Comparative View of the Social Life of England and France from the Restoration to the French Revolution*, 2 vols. (London, 1828); and Austin, *Germany from 1760 to 1814*.

³⁴ Hill, *Women in English Life*, 1 (London, 1896): xiii. Assisting her husband in his historical studies until his death in 1883, Alice Stopford Green edited his unfinished works and wrote in 1899 a biography of Henry II, her *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1894), and many histories of Ireland. See Robert B. MacDowell, *Alice Stopford Green* (London, 1967).

³⁵ Power, *Medieval English Nunneries c. 1275 to 1535* (Cambridge, 1922), and *Medieval People* (London, 1924).

³⁶ For a favorable appraisal of Earle’s work, see Edward G. Porter, review of Earle’s *Home Life in Colonial Days*, in *AHR*, 3 (1899): 544–46. On Power, see R. H. Tawney, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 5th supplement (London, 1949), 718–19; and Una Pope-Hennessy, *Agnes Strickland, Biographer of the Queens of England* (London, 1940), 3. In fact, according to Pope-Hennessy, Agnes Strickland and Macaulay had running battles in print and conversation over historical interpretations; *Agnes Strickland*, 199, 222–23.

³⁷ Mason, *Women in the Golden Ages*, 294.

political intercourse for a nation abandoning decadent aristocratic and hierarchic patterns of communication. Finding the inhabitants of Washington a “motly throng” composed of “discordant elements,” Dolly Madison, for example, was represented as promoting “a spirit of union and kindly feelings” with the consequence that “party spirit lost its bitterness.”³⁸ In her *History of New York*, Martha Lamb (1829–93) wrote of European influences, of wars, and of institutional, commercial, and political developments but gave priority to “the social thread, knotting and tangling, but yet running through all the years, spinning its own way and coiling itself into every feature of the structure—the cable indeed, to hold the multiplicity of parts together.” Quarrels and witchcraft, mansions and marriages, and the concerns and activities of women were major strands in that cable. Like Lamb, editor of the *Magazine of American History* and author of *The Homes of America*, many women wrote local history because access to sources was easier and the perspective more congenial.³⁹ This commitment to the women’s aspect of social history persisted in the twentieth century with Alice Clark’s functionalist account of domestic activities⁴⁰ and Powers’s depiction of leadership in monastic institutions.

Nonetheless, the social history of women also encountered problems of form and narrative. Its practitioners found that this approach to the past did not mesh with traditional political history. So de Genlis’s history of court etiquette is arranged like an encyclopedia with each entry—“flambeaux de carosse,” “fondations,” “lits de repos,” “perruques,” “précieuses”—listed alphabetically.⁴¹ Meticulously researched, Earle’s work on colonial life, including studies of architecture, children, and domestic artifacts, used both an anecdotal and topical form. To recapture the social past Earle wrote on famous wives and marriage customs, friendship, kitchen work, travelers and adventuresses, the social and economic role of widows.⁴² Today such subjects are often labeled “impressionistic”; in Earle’s time the term was “chatty.” But the difficulty in writing about homes and customs was—as in Earle’s case—the inappropriateness of conventional chronology (1763, 1765, 1774, and 1776). When grand public events appeared on the periphery rather than at the center, historical narratives lacked an accepted (or acceptable) storyline in much the same way as did the antiheroic approach. And eschewing drums and trumpets as the standard of significance left historians of women—James Harvey Robinson notwithstanding—open to charges of trivialization, because their material was eccentric and generally outside the prescribed boundaries of history. Ever aware of her historiographical antecedents and the historical climate in which she wrote, Beard prefaced her survey of women’s history (largely social and cultural) with the warning that her book would “appear weird and unsymmetrical to the masters of system with a

³⁸ Ellett, *Queens of American Society*, 243.

³⁹ Lamb, *History of New York*, 1 (New York, 1877, 1880): iii. On American local historians, see Sklar, “American Female Historians.” French local historians and folklorists in the nineteenth century include Josephine Amory de Langérac, Félicie-Marie Ayzac, Albertine Clément-Hémery (also editor for forty years of the *Journal des dames et des modes*), Louise Guiraud, and Adine Riom.

⁴⁰ Clark, *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1923).

⁴¹ De Genlis, *Dictionnaire critique et raisonné des étiquettes de la cour*.

⁴² See, for example, Earle, *Colonial Dames and Good Wives* (Boston, 1895).

profounder knowledge of history."⁴³ But Beard was and remained unusual in her understanding of this heterodoxy and its causes.

Past generations of women historians recognized the barriers to narrating private experience and attempted to hurdle them by writing not only social history but also historical novels. Often producing classics in the genre, many scholars from Charlotte de la Force (1654–1724) to H. M. F. Prescott (b. 1896) mixed fact with fiction to create a blend of public and private perspectives.⁴⁴ Whereas Walter Scott, Victor Hugo, and others used fictional modes to heighten the drama of a historical moment, women showed a double world, and one in which the public moment both influenced and formed a backdrop for domestic experience. In this way they addressed the irrelevance of history, defined so cogently by Jane Austen as “the quarrels of popes and kings, with wars and pestilence in every page; the men so good for nothing, and hardly any women at all.”⁴⁵ As historians decreed history to be the record of public events and nothing less, and as historical fiction became the chronicle of factually informed yet imaginary experiences, blending the two became less and less respectable. The chasm between them challenged the most speculative minds. As Henry James commented on Eliot’s *Middlemarch*, “If we write novels so, how shall we write History?”⁴⁶ Fictional techniques allowed both for factual narrative and for radical shifts of context, for example, from court to *salon*, from the progress of a battle to that of a love affair. In joining temporal and spatial dimensions of private life with the record of public events, the historical novel offered one solution to the problem of narrating the experience of women. Although such a solution never gained parity with conventional historical narrative, it remains interesting to current historians of women and exemplary, to the historiographer, of women scholars’ heterodoxy and experimentation.

BY THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY methodological experiments in historical writing converged with a theoretical line that led scholars to pursue the ethical past of women by searching the record for evidence of maternal or explicitly feminine virtue. This ethical quest had antecedents, for example, in Robert’s investigation of maternal goodness, charity, and virtue (all of which she found lacking) in the activities of French royalty. In 1828 de Mongellaz’s two-volume history of women rejected criteria men had used in selecting women for historical remembrance, specifically the equality of accomplishment suggested by Joseph-Alexandre Ségur and the charm of character adopted as a standard by Gabriel Legouvé. Instead, de Mongellaz (praised at her early death for erudition and scholarship) decided that only “le plus moral” of deeds would qualify women for inclusion in her pano-

⁴³ Beard, *On Understanding Women* (New York, 1931), v.

⁴⁴ For a work that contains histories within histories and at the center a fiction, see Charlotte de la Force, *Histoire de Marguerite de Valois, reine de Navarre* (Paris, 1696). Also see H. M. F. Prescott, *The Man on a Donkey, a Chronicle* (New York, 1952).

⁴⁵ For one discussion of Austen’s point, see Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic* (New Haven, 1979), 132–36.

⁴⁶ Henry James, review of George Eliot’s *Middlemarch*, in *Galaxy*, 15 (1873): 428.

rama.⁴⁷ De Mongallez's definition of "moral" was generous, but less sophisticated and less scholarly biographers in the nineteenth century churned out hagiographies of saints, good queens, and other narrowly inspirational figures.⁴⁸ These works (albeit amateurish) paralleled those celebrations of politicians, industrialists, scientists, and progressives written by male historians. Not only did they juxtapose the stories of prominent women to those of prominent men but they also contrasted the ethical stance of women to the secular and amoral (even immoral) accomplishments of men. Almost in tandem, domestic or sentimental novels mythologized household values. In particular, these novels appropriated and converted the sense of "virtue" until it came to reside in female individuality as represented by the heroine.⁴⁹ The implicit critique of male values (parallel again to the critique of the aristocratic past in male history) was consolidated late in the century by the combined efforts of anthropologically and archaeologically oriented historians and by feminists.

Julia Cartwright (d. 1924) in the preface to her biography of Beatrice d'Este summarized this "maternalist" trend in the historiography of women. She wrote: "Virtue goes quietly on her way, while vice is noisy and uproarious; the criminal forces himself upon the public attention, while the honest man does his duty in silence and no one hears of him. This is especially the case with the women of the Renaissance."⁵⁰ Disillusioned with the inhumanity of the industrial and social order, historians were consciously searching for an alternative past to redeem the future, and for many that past lay with the hitherto uncharted accomplishments of women distinct from those of men. Maternalist theory was built on Darwinian ideas and on anthropological enthusiasm. Citing Charles Darwin, Ernst Heinrich Haeckel, Edward Westermarck, John F. McLennan, and others, Eliza Burt Gamble's *Evolution of Women* declared that the first sex differentiation in the human species "appears in the male as extreme egoism or selfishness, and in the female [as] altruism or care for other individuals outside the self."⁵¹ A woman's ethical and human concerns came to constitute the explanatory and justificatory principle behind the contradictions in her historical role. In *The Lady* (1910), Emily Putnam (1865–1944) found a paradox in the ill treatment accorded most women in classical history and literature existing side by side with a male literature favorable to women and a "cult of the Mother" that predominated over other religious rituals. Putnam traced these practices to an earlier civilization, matrilineal if not matriarchal, and found further remnants of strong women in Homeric characters—for example, Naussika, daughter of Arete.⁵² Emblematic of much of this thinking, Jane Harrison (1850–1928), in her study of the goddess Themis, hypothesized (in a way reminiscent of Johann Jacob Bachofen) that, even if a full-blown matriarchy had

⁴⁷ De Mongellaz, *De l'influence des femmes*, 1: vii.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Mathilde Bourdon, *Histoire de Marie Stuart* (Paris, 1853), *Saint Jeanne de Valois, fondatrice des Annonciades* (Lille, 1851), *La Bienheureuse Marguerite-Marie Alacoque* (Lille, 1865), *Sainte Geneviève, patronne de Paris* (Lille, 1852), and *Sainte Radegonde, reine des Francs* (Lille, 1853).

⁴⁹ For one discussion of the heroic approach, see Bonnie Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class* (Princeton, 1981), 187–213.

⁵⁰ Cartwright, *Beatrice d'Este* (London, 1899), v–vi.

⁵¹ Gamble, *Evolution of Women*, (New York, 1894), 12–13.

⁵² Putnam, *The Lady* (New York, 1910), 3–38.

never existed, all evidence suggested the presence in the ancient world of a feminine culture of justice and pacifism interwoven with and rivaling warlike institutions.⁵³ Similarly, in women like d'Este, Cartwright saw "kindly and generous, human and lovable" characteristics mixed with the usual Renaissance "new-found joy in life, that intoxicating rapture in the actual sense of existence, that was the heritage of her generation."⁵⁴ In this way the maternalist side of feminist ideology found its way into the writing of history and remained a force that induced works emphasizing women as healers, nurturers, or pacifists.

A renewed fascination in the late nineteenth century with archives, inscriptions, manuscripts, and other primary evidence inspired the first flush of maternalist and matriarchal investigation. This new interest in sources and methods, from women based in universities, fortified the male historical tradition for the most part, and one group, including Mary Bateson (1865–1906) and Lucy Toulmin Smith (1838–1911), devoted their efforts to editing texts, particularly from the medieval and Renaissance periods.⁵⁵ The availability of documents drew them especially to legal and constitutional history, and this in itself continued a tradition stretching from de Lézardiére to Helen Maud Cam (1885–1968). In general, this work had little explicitly feminist purpose, except that increasing reliance on law was juxtaposed to the rule of force and superior physical power. Macaulay's idea of a "march to freedom," based on the study of constitutionalism, had implicit value for and connections to the history of women. Occasionally a woman scholar used state papers, parliamentary writs, and other manuscript sources to demonstrate the ancient rights of women—for example, Charlotte Carmichael Stopes's (1841–1929) *British Freewomen: Their Historical Privilege* (1894). Yet the regular use of documents in academic research for similar ends was long in coming. Some university professors encouraged and protected women scholars (Frederic William Maitland and Bateson or Gilbert Murray and Harrison),⁵⁶ but, for most women, historical research was of necessity a gentlewomanly pursuit. Although many women were now trained in universities, few found employment there. As a result, some women offered their research skills to state bureaucracies, which sponsored studies of employment, housing, social organizations, child welfare, and the like.⁵⁷ Such

⁵³ A separate feminine culture, in particular, is the thesis of Harrison's *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of the Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1912). A polymath like many women scholars, Harrison did translations from French and Russian, wrote essays, and produced influential classical studies. See her *Alpha and Omega* (London, 1915).

⁵⁴ Cartwright, *Beatrice d'Este*, vi–vii.

⁵⁵ See Mary Bateson, ed., *Borough Customs*, 2 vols. (London, 1904–06), *A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564* (Westminster, 1893), *George Ashby's Poems* (London, 1899), and *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, 4 vols. (London, 1899–1923); Thomas Pelham-Holles Newcastle, *A Narrative of the Changes in the Ministry, 1765–1767*, ed. Mary Bateson (London, 1898); and Bateson, *Medieval England* (London, 1903). Also see Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed., *English Gilds: The Original Ordinances* (London, 1870); Richard Kyngeston, *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land Made by Henry Earl of Derby*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (Westminster, 1894); and John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols. (London, 1906–1910).

⁵⁶ See Jessie Stewart, *Jane Ellen Harrison: A Portrait from Letters* (London, 1959); Helen Cam, ed., *Selected Historical Essays of F. W. Maitland* (Cambridge, 1957), 277–78; and C. H. S. Fifoot, *Frederic William Maitland: A Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 246–49, 277–78.

⁵⁷ For a biographical sketch of Helen Woodbury, labor historian and government official, see Frederick Olson, "Helen Laura Sumner Woodbury," in Edward T. James *et al.*, eds., *Notable American Women*, 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1971): 650–52. Woodbury exemplifies this type of career.

endeavors were relevant to the cause of women in that these social scientists believed in the potential contribution of institutional research to public policy, particularly as it affected women.

In the field of Renaissance and medieval history another branch of research led straight to the study of culture by historians (both inside and outside the academy) who explicitly saw this field as not only rich in material about women but also appropriate to women authors and readers. Vernon Lee (1856–1935), Ady, Waters, Margaret Oliphant (1828–97), and Janet Ross (1842–1927) all figured prominently in the historical version of the “feminization of culture.” Exploring the churches and palaces of the ancient city-states, these women found a luxuriant artistic past in need of restoration. In some ways their work parallels and even duplicates the concerns of archaeologically and anthropologically minded scholars. An early example is Oliphant’s *Makers of Florence*; by writing of artists and poets, she showed that “there still went on, in strange serenity, another life in the very heart of the warlike city.”⁵⁸

The cult of beauty had special force for men and women alike as a proposed antidote to the ugliness and inhumanity of late nineteenth-century industrial society. But the affinity of women scholars for art and cultural history was as old as the century itself, although the terrain had shifted from generation to generation. In contrast to Austin’s involvement in German culture, her daughter, Lucie Duff Gordon (1821–69), became interested in the exoticism of the Near East. In the third generation her granddaughter, Janet Ross, in addition to translating, joined the ranks of women scholars writing about Pisa, Florence, Venice, and Milan.⁵⁹ The transition was clearly seen in the single lifetime of Jameson whose first attachment was to Germany—its poets, artists, and their views on women—and then to Italy, where she worked to connect folklore and myth with religious artwork, most notably depictions of the Madonna (later the saints and Christ) in statuary, windows, mosaics, and paintings.⁶⁰ From the first, however, Jameson took de Staël as her model in such intellectual peregrinations.

The notion of “serenity . . . in the very heart of the warlike city” aroused in these culturally oriented scholars an interest in women, family, and social life. In *The Queen of the Adriatic* (1893), an American, Clara Erskine Clement Waters, described Venice’s festivals, palaces, archives, treasures, schools, and women, but also its political structure and its decline and fall. By 1904 Waters had compiled a detailed dictionary of women artists from the seventh to the twentieth centuries.⁶¹ Ross’s *Florentine Palaces* (1905) is a social as well as an architectural history of buildings whose outer façades and interior events (among men, women, and generations of children) receive full accounting. Like “maternalism,” women’s connection to

⁵⁸ Oliphant, *Makers of Florence* (London, 1881), xiv.

⁵⁹ Ross, *Three Generations of English Women: The Fourth Generation* (New York, 1912).

⁶⁰ Gardiner Macpherson, *Memoirs of the Life of Anna Jameson* (Boston, 1878).

⁶¹ Clara Erskine Clement Waters, *Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D.* (Boston, 1904). Also see her *The Eternal City, Rome: Its Religions, Monuments, Literature, and Art* (Boston, 1896), *A Handbook of Legendary and Mythological Art* (Boston, 1881), *Heroines of the Bible in Art* (Boston, 1900), *Naples, the City of Parthenope* (Boston, 1894), and *Saints in Art* (Boston, 1907). Other historians of women artists include Ellen Creathorne Clayton, Elizabeth Ellet, Frances Gerard, and Laura Ragg.

culture constituted an organizing principle for writing an alter-history and offered a clear demonstration of the value of a richer description of civilization, of the totality of an experience that included women.

No one followed these diverse yet connected paths more intensely than the peripatetic Vernon Lee. She began her career with an intellectual history of Italy in the eighteenth century and subsequently worked in an extraordinary variety of genres—novels, essays, histories, biographies, drama, and treatises on aesthetics. She captured the private experience of a brother and sister in the *Sturm und Drang* period of German history in *Ottolie* (1884), a novel that some have called her best and that was quickly followed with a biography of the Countess of Albany (1885) for the “Eminent Women” series. After “this brilliant account” Lee produced treatises on aesthetics in which she developed a theory of empathy. For her the value of a work of art lay less in its objective attributes—form, color, and line—than in the subjective feelings it aroused in the observer. Strewing the cultural world with essays on John Ruskin, Lev Tolstoi, and Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, with books on music and poetry, and with collections of supernatural stories, she extended her endeavors to works on women and pacifism. As part of a laudatory preface to Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s *Women and Economics*, Lee led a spirited attack on ideas of “the eternal Women” as proposed by Jules Michelet, Alexander Dumas, and others. A pacifist during World War I, she wrote “The Ballet of Nations,” a drama later republished with additions and explanations as *Satan the Waster* (1920).⁶²

The cultural and biographical focus of Lee’s works and their pacifistic and multidisciplinary contours were characteristic generally of women’s scholarship through the *belle époque* and World War I. The eccentricity of topic—lost or unorthodox women, pacifism, maternal and cultural traditions—intersected with a questioning of conventional sources. While many women in the universities continued their annotations of manuscripts and their pursuit of political history, economic history as it developed began to attract women, as did a more sophisticated and suddenly self-conscious social history. Even before World War I, Lucy Maynard Salmon began questioning the many orthodoxies of historical research, especially the focus on politics and the use of sources found in public archives. According to Salmon this orientation resulted in a history of “one dimension . . . long written in the flat.”⁶³ To change matters, Salmon pursued what can only be called an unappreciated quest of the most heterodox character. “We do not feel that your ‘History in a Backyard’ has enough specific gravity for the *Yale Review*,” wrote an assistant editor in 1912.⁶⁴ Despite such lack of encouragement, Salmon had her work on source material found in backyards, in kitchens, on “Main Street,” and in cookbooks printed privately or in Vassar College magazines. “So original” were most of her unpublished explorations in the field that Edward P. Cheney supported their posthumous printing by Oxford University Press.⁶⁵ An extensive

⁶² On Vernon Lee, see Peter Gunn, *Vernon Lee: Violet Paget, 1856–1935* (London, 1964).

⁶³ Salmon, *Historical Material*, 242.

⁶⁴ Henry Canby to Salmon, March 1, 1912, Vassar College Archives, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., Lucy Maynard Salmon Papers, box 10.

⁶⁵ Salmon, *Historical Material*, vii. Also see Salmon, *Why Is History Rewritten*, xi–xiii.

manuscript on the fan as a clue to social history still remains in the archives as testimony to the imaginative nonconformity of this historian.⁶⁶ As her *Historical Material* amply shows, Salmon made progress toward a theoretical articulation of the heterodox position within the historical academy.

Beard's work in the early 1930s served to consolidate all aspects of this position by announcing the normalization of past heterodoxy—including biographies of women, studies of social life and customs, and expansion of historical narrative "to include all culture." In *On Understanding Women* (1931) and *America through Women's Eyes* (1933), Beard explained that heterodoxy ought to determine the writing of history. Seeing the past from a male perspective, the so-called masters of historical orthodoxy had excluded women's activities and accomplishments from the story by defining history as the record of politics and economics. "Fragmenters," she called them, because men had willfully distorted history by ignoring hundreds of books written by women about women's past. Although Beard believed that "everything depends upon the historian—his locus in time and space, the mere detail of birth, affiliations of class, and the predilections of sheer uncritical emotion," she demanded that historians cease splintering and distorting the record. As a corrective to fragmentation, Beard showed quite self-consciously how differently history looked when seen through women's eyes. Her predecessors in women's history became her witnesses to a different record of the past in which women were not only authors of deeds but also authors of histories.⁶⁷ In these two works of the 1930s (and not in *Woman As Force in History*) Beard achieved a great historical breakthrough, a breakthrough that was above all historiographical and hermeneutical in nature.

BEARD'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE FEMALE INTERPRETER of history and her recognition of a female tradition in historical narration closed an epoch that had evolved over two centuries. The themes of this epoch were recapitulated when the history of women received a new impetus in the late 1960s. Although women's scholarship on the history of women continued unabated through the post-World War II period—notably in the work of Margaret Hewitt, Ivy Pinchbeck, Olive Banks, Aileen Kraditor, Eleanor Flexner, and Gerda Lerner—it reached a new level of intensity in the 1970s. If the intensity was new, the genres themselves were not. Once again, translations and republications were much in evidence, yielding editions of documents such as *Not in God's Image* (1973), by Lauro Martines and Julia O'Faolain, *Victorian Women* (1981), by Erna Hellerstein, Leslie Hume, and Karen Offen, *Women from the Greeks to the French Revolution* (1980), by Susan Bell, *European Women* (1980), by Eleanor Reimer and John Fout, and *Women, the Family, and Freedom* (1983), by Bell and Offen. In addition, European publishing houses such as the Librairie des Femmes and Fischer undertook the translation of classics

⁶⁶ Salmon, "Fans," MS notes, Vassar College Archives, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., Lucy Maynard Salmon Papers, box 13, 50–51.

⁶⁷ Beard, *On Understanding Women*, and *America through Women's Eyes* (New York, 1933). Also see Ann J. Lane, ed., *Mary Ritter Beard: A Sourcebook* (New York, 1977); and Bonnie G. Smith, "Seeing Mary Beard," *Feminist Studies* (forthcoming).

in the history of women and in women's literature, and published the new cultural criticism by contemporary feminists.⁶⁸

Biographies celebrated anew the deeds of worthy women, many of whom were familiar (de Staël, Wollstonecraft, Catherine the Great), and rescued others from neglect (Gilman, Alexandra Kollontai, Eleanor Marx). Works like *Socialist Women*, *Seven Women*, *Three Victorian Women Who Changed Their World*, *Beyond Their Sex*, and a reprint of *Victorian Lady Travellers* continued the prosopographical genre,⁶⁹ while series like "Mémoire des Femmes" collected lives and works—in this case of Arnim, Hélène Brion, Maria Deraismes, Emma Goldman, Paule Minck, Nelly Roussel, and others.⁷⁰ While such works, written mostly by trained historians, perpetuated the woman worthy approach, others, like June Sochen's *Herstory* and Sarah Pomeroy's influential *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves*, featured important women as narrative links in national and universal histories of women. Some authors apologized for this heuristic: in spite of good intentions Elise Boulding inadvertently found herself "slipping into big-name history. . . . These names had to be put back in the record."⁷¹

Boulding's ambivalent feelings toward prominent women replicated older patterns of distrust. Intensified ideological scrutiny raised questions about the credentials of some former heroines. Florence Nightingale became simultaneously the founder and *bête noire* of modern nursing; feminists of preceding generations—Emmeline Pankhurst, for example—were now seen as too bourgeois; Rosa Luxemburg, too antifeminist. Even the once sacrosanct de Pisan metamorphosed into a hack writer and court toady.⁷² By the late 1970s historians had devised tests of loyalty to gender, race, and class. As in the nineteenth century, the prominent woman caused consternation among scholars to whom oppression was the principle theme of the history of woman; her historic visibility either undermined that theme or testified to her lack of feminist or other virtues. Under these conditions the old

⁶⁸ The Librairie des Femmes and Fischer publish, in a way unmatched in the United States, translations of classics by Emma Goldman, Virginia Woolf, Alexandra Kollontai, and others and translations of contemporary authors such as Juliet Mitchell, Elena Belotti, Ti-Grace Atkinson, Susan Brownmiller, and Ann Cornelisen. Anthologies have continued to play an important role in women's studies. See, for example, Joan Goulianos, ed., *By a Woman Writ: Literature from Six Centuries by and about Women* (Baltimore, 1973); Marv Helen Washington, ed., *Midnight Birds: Stories of Contemporary Black Women Writers* (Garden City, N.Y., 1980); Mary R. Mahl and Helene Koon, eds., *The Female Spectator: English Women Writers before 1800* (Old Westbury, N.Y., 1977); Temira Pachmuss, ed., *Women Writers in Russian Modernism: An Anthology* (Urbana, Ill., 1978); Louise Bernikow, ed., *The World Split Open: Four Centuries of Women Poets in England and America, 1552–1950* (New York, 1974); and Lee R. Edwards and Arlyn Diamond, eds., *American Voices, American Women* (New York, 1973).

⁶⁹ Marilyn Boxer and Jean Quataert, eds., *Socialist Women: European Socialist Feminism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (New York, 1978); Judith Nies, *Seven Women: Portraits from the American Radical Tradition* (New York, 1977); Nancy Boyd, *Three Victorian Women Who Changed Their World: Josephine Butler, Octavia Hill, Florence Nightingale* (London, 1982); Dorothy Middleton, *Victorian Lady Travellers* (Chicago, 1982); and Labalme, ed., *Beyond Their Sex*.

⁷⁰ Mugette Bourchardeau and Odile Krakovitch edit this series, which is published by Éditions Syros.

⁷¹ Boulding, *The Underside of History* (New York, 1976). Boulding is a worthy successor to the universal history tradition.

⁷² On Pankhurst, for example, see Sheila Rowbotham, *Women, Resistance, and Revolution* (New York, 1972), 85; and Sheila Delaney, review of Enid McLeod's *The Order of the Rose: The Life and Times of Christine de Pisan*, in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* [hereafter, *Signs*], 3 (1978): 700–01. For a rebuttal of Delaney's interpretation, see Susan Groag Bell, comment on Delaney's review of McLeod's *Order of the Rose*, *ibid.*, 4 (1979): 592–93. For an analysis of contemporary revisionism and compromise, see Elaine Showalter, "Florence Nightingale's Feminist Complaint: Women, Religion, and Suggestions for Thought," *ibid.*, 6 (1981): 395–412.

question—which women actually merit historical treatment?—remained germane. Which women were truly worthy?

The answer is virtually the same as it was for the antifeminist Elizabeth Ellet a century ago: those who “bore their part in the struggles,” who displayed “endurance of hardships.”⁷³ Contemporary women historians still search for the women Ellet sought, the ones “not usually noticed among those whose names live in historical remembrance.” Moreover, once a social group finds its historian, it becomes less eligible for consideration. The pages of scholarly journals about women abound in calls for more attention to the ignored—lesbians, blacks, chicanas, and others—who remain oppressed, in part from neglect by women historians.⁷⁴ Indeed the contemporary woman historian serves her subject matter in much the same way that Jameson served hers, by finding in women “a presence, a power” that can be demonstrated historically. Without a historian any group remains oppressed, living in “silence,” “bonds,” and “suffering,” until that moment when, as in Whig history, a historical narrative reveals its existential struggle for liberation. In all of this, the wrong kind of woman worthy—a woman of privilege, for example—can be embarrassing. Sharing many traits with Whig history of the past or working-class and black history today, the history of women maintains its affinity, however weakened, with an epic or romantic tradition.

Ambivalence about heroines has particularly affected the quality of political narrative built along the lines of *The History of Woman Suffrage* (1881). One example, however, of the way in which political history has profited from the mistrust of traditional heroines is *One Hand Tied behind Us*, by Jill Liddington and Jill Norris, which significantly diminishes the importance of the Women’s Social and Political Union by revealing a powerful working-class suffragism in England.⁷⁵ But changing ideological standards continue to create difficulties: for example, Wollstonecraft, who is now seen as too conservative; Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had alliances with the racist George Train; Carrie Chapman Catt, Alice Paul, and virtually all white suffragists of the twentieth century, who behaved offensively toward black suffragists.⁷⁶ Were this not sufficiently confusing, historians of women’s political past have recently called into question the works of women historians who are not Whiggish in their writings—that is, those who do not explicitly or exclusively write the political history of women’s struggle for freedom.

This criticism has fallen particularly on authors who carry on the tradition of social and cultural history described here—for example, the recovery of “lost” women artists, especially those of artistic renown who lived unorthodox lives (as was generally the case). Yet such efforts have continued. Historians have investigated various unappreciated (because unorthodox) cultural achievements of women—quilts, embroidery, paintings of mothers and children.⁷⁷ They have also revived the

⁷³ Ellet, *Pioneer Women of the West* (Philadelphia, n.d.), v.

⁷⁴ See, for example, the editorial in *Signs*, 8 (1982): 2.

⁷⁵ Liddington and Norris, *One Hand Tied behind Us* (London, 1978).

⁷⁶ See, for example, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, “Discontented Black Feminists: Prelude and Postscript to the Passage of the Nineteenth Amendment,” in Lois Scharf and Joan M. Jensen, eds., *Decades of Discontent: The Women’s Movement, 1920–1940* (Westport, Conn., 1983), 261–78.

⁷⁷ Among the many recent histories of women artists, see Danielle Digne, *Rosa Bonheur ou l’insolence* (Paris,

earlier interest in women as healers, nurturers, or pacifists with biographies of women like Bertha von Suttner, works on women's medical activities, continuing explorations of evidence on goddesses or "the goddess," and intellectual histories emphasizing maternalist lines of thought (for example, Jean Bethke Elshtain's *Public Man, Private Woman*).⁷⁸ Finally, cultural historians have begun to look at "women-identified" women, at women's networks, women's friendships, and women's romances as examples of a historical world apart, one in some cases more enlightened than that of men. Although part of the "underside" or "world apart" historical trend of the 1970s, Boulding's *Underside of History* has come closest to reconciling maternalism, the woman worthy, and the history of oppressed groups by postulating that invisibility and oppression actually fostered in women those good qualities generally played down in dominant political groups and male institutions. Thus, once in positions of leadership, many minor queens—Jeanne of Navarre, for example—were able to approach public policy dilemmas from an "underside" perspective that allowed creative decisions and pacifism.⁷⁹

Such a theory amounts to recapitulation of half-forgotten nineteenth-century themes, and so does the methodological heterodoxy found in some social history. Although unaware of the long female tradition in which they work, many social historians have declared their field the locus classicus for information about women and gender. Here, it is believed, women and men are found together in work place, university, protest movements, and family life, and therefore the issue of gender can be seen in all its complexity as men and women interact. Pursued in ever more informative and analytical ways, studies of kinship, fertility, household technology, friendships, networks, and working lives promise to keep the field vital. The profession as a whole often finds such works more congenial because they link women's experience with pre-established models or schools of thought. Although often challenging canons and conclusions, studies of working-class women, for example, fit into general discussions of labor history. Fertility statistics, too, can be linked with public reproductive policy, economic cycles, and verifiable material conditions such as famine and war. Many outstanding works on prostitution—among them Judith Walkowitz's *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, Alain Corbin's *Les Filles de noce*, and Ruth Rosen's *The Lost Sisterhood*—can use the chronology of

1980); Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, *Women Artists, 1550–1950* (New York, 1979); Anthea Callen, *Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement, 1870–1914* (New York, 1979); Donna Bachman, *Women Artists: An Historical, Contemporary, and Feminist Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J., 1978); Elsa Fine, *Women and Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors* (Montclair, N.J., 1978); Karen Peterson, *Women Artists* (New York, 1976); and Rozsika Parker, *Old Mistresses* (New York, 1981).

⁷⁸ See, among many, Beatrix Kempf, *Women for Peace: The Life of Bertha von Suttner*, trans. R. W. Last (London, 1972); Muriel Joy Hughes, *Women Healers in Medieval Life and Literature* (New York, 1943); Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman* (Princeton, 1981); Carolyn Marchant, *The Death of Nature* (New York, 1980), esp. chap. 11; Judy Litoff, *American Midwives, 1860 to the Present* (Westport, Conn., 1978); Sharon Heyob, *The Cult of Isis among Women in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden, 1975); Abby Weinbaum, *The War against the Amazons* (New York, 1983); Judith Ochshorn, *The Female Experience and the Nature of the Divine* (Bloomington, Ind., 1981); and Janet Wilson James, ed., *Women in American Religion* (Philadelphia, 1980). The "maternalist" approach further parallels the Whig interpretation in its search for origins and its emphasis on an "original" corruption or destruction of women's position. This may account for the particular vitality in studies of ancient history by Sarah Pomeroy, Marilyn Arthur, Mary Lafferty, and others.

⁷⁹ Boulding, *Underside of History*, 538.

governmental and reformist interest in prostitutes.⁸⁰ Likewise, Susan Strasser's study of household work depends on the pace of innovation in domestic goods.⁸¹ In short, the social history of women today has developed conventional connections to public time (the business cycle or strike), to market terms of analysis (production and exchange), and to public policy (regulation, protective legislation, or the struggle against it). Nonetheless, to the extent that it inserts women's experience into traditional narrative and raises explicitly the question of gender as pertinent to that narrative, this history still remains at several removes from professional orthodoxy.

Some work in social history seems even further removed. Attempts to overcome resistance to conventions of the craft, which develop from the public nature of history or from provincial ideas about what belongs in history books, have produced new lines of narrative (à la de Genlis or Earle), new periodization, and a variety of new insights. Most of this experimental or nontraditional form results from the attempt to write about events that have not been written about before, though most were at least touched on in the nineteenth century. This writing about women centers on the domestic interior, the cycles of women's work lives within cycles of productive development, and interclass and other relationships among women, to name a few topics. That this kind of social history has deep roots in the past is illustrated by *Women's Work in the Industrial Revolution* (1930), a transitional classic between old and new women's histories. Ignoring slogans about the ignominy of women factory operatives, Pinchbeck examined and compared different kinds of women's work and found that women factory workers fared better than domestics, needleworkers, homeworkers, or idle middle-class women. Moreover, Pinchbeck saw the relative isolation of women from the advances of the industrial world as generating much of feminist ideology. In this same tradition, Louise Tilly and Joan Scott have examined cycles of women's work lives in relation to their familial experience and the changing nature of the family within the general economy.⁸² Such history alters the nature of questions asked of historical data and seeks, for example, not reasons why women did not unionize or become socialist but rather the content of their work lives and political thought. Instead of trying to prove that housework was better or more degrading than other kinds of labor done by men, historians ask what light the investigation of domestic or work life may cast on mentalities, social behavior, and political questions.

Although increasingly popular, such a reading of the past is still professionally suspect, as is the departure from traditional narrative that follows familiar chronology in familiar settings like parliaments and stock exchanges. Some critics brand this kind of history as "uterine" or claim that it is not history at all but "herstory"—a modernized version of the former charge of triviality or chattiness.⁸³ Others contend that opening the private world to narrative or recounting the past

⁸⁰ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (New York, 1980); Corbin, *Les Filles de noce* (Paris, 1978); and Rosen, *The Last Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918* (Baltimore, 1982).

⁸¹ Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York, 1982).

⁸² Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York, 1978).

⁸³ See, for example, Norman Hampson's discussion of one "uterine interpretation of history" in *The London Review of Books*, 4 (1982).

from a private perspective amounts to complicity with modern states that use knowledge as a means of social control. Recently a writer suggested that feminist scholarship will merely provide more information about women for bureaucrats.⁸⁴ Finally, from within the ranks has come criticism that women's history tends to ignore issues of power and is too sanguine. From this point of view *Liberty's Daughters* is compared invidiously with *Women of the Republic*, and *True Love and Perfect Union* with *Feminism and Suffrage*.⁸⁵ This debate or its close analogue has reverberated through women's history for two hundred years. At issue is whether women's history is to establish a new orthodoxy parallel to a "Whig history," in which the sole purpose of the historian is to discover oppression and chart the progress of liberty.

MARY BEARD TRIED TO ESTABLISH the history of women as an orthodox undertaking within the profession in a quite different way by allowing for many points of view, multiple voices, and varying perspectives from which the past might be told. Because she accepted heterodoxy, she would today, one suspects, sympathize with the aim of *Liberty's Daughters* to describe the evaluation of women's roles from a domestic perspective in the Revolutionary period as well as the effort of *Women of the Republic* to describe institutional developments—legal change, political rights (or lack thereof), and educational reform. For Beard, history looked different according to the refraction of the historical lens, the position of the observer. Just these variations determined the amount of space any incident received in a narrative, the form of narrative itself, and even the theoretical model on which its analysis was based. In the mid-nineteenth century another singular historical mind, that of Caroline Dall, had expressed the need for "many observers," and one suspects that Dall would today appreciate the interior view of an evolving feminist ideology expressed in *True Love and Perfect Union* and the focus on the struggle of an organized women's movement in *Feminism and Suffrage*.⁸⁶ After all, Dall herself wrote both a history of the struggles of women against legal handicaps and an intellectual genealogy of Wollstonecraft's and Fuller's works.⁸⁷ Without a knowledge of historiography, it is difficult to appreciate fully the interpretive innovations of Dall and Beard. Understanding the constantly shifting terrain of women's

⁸⁴ See, especially, Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1979); and Peggy Kamuf, "Replacing Feminist Criticism," *Diacritics*, 12 (1982): 42–47.

⁸⁵ Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800* (Boston, 1980); Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980); William R. Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society* (New York, 1980); and Ellen Dubois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848–1869* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1978). See Joan Hoff-Wilson, review of Norton's *Liberty's Daughters* and Kerber's *Women of the Republic*, in *Signs*, 7 (1982): 880–86. For a review of the comparative positions, see Nancy Cott, review of Leach's *True Love and Perfect Union* and Dolores Hayden's *The Grand Domestic Revolution*, in *The New York Review of Books*, March 17, 1983, pp. 36–40. In addition, note, as an example, Dubois's critique of historians who do not focus on power and struggle in writing women's history: see "Politics and Culture in Women's History: A Symposium," *Feminist Studies*, 6 (1980): 28–34. This issue also contains responses to Dubois by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Gerda Lerner.

⁸⁶ Caroline Dall, "Woman's Right to Labor"; or, *Low Wages and Hard Work* (Boston, 1860), ix.

⁸⁷ See Dall, *Women's Rights under the Law* (Boston, 1860), and "'The Great Lawsuit': Mary Astell, Mary Wollstonecraft, Margaret Fuller," in *Historical Pictures Retouched*, 249–64.

scholarship (one need but consult any of her bibliographies), Beard wanted a continued interpretive and methodological challenge to the “masters” of positivism, the arbiters of “facts.”⁸⁸ In all the calls for a new positivism or a new orthodoxy, historians have yet to reach the sophisticated and self-conscious position of Beard, who saw multiple genres, methodological experimentation, and the insertion of women into historical narrative as a challenge to the privileged position of male-centered scholarship. Beard’s purpose was to open up the past to continuing interrogation from many standpoints and not to confine it to an encased orthodoxy. Without a knowledge of women’s historiography and the guidance of Beard’s scholarly vision, women’s history will remain a foreign country, peopled more variously and developed with greater endeavor than most of us realize. We ought to know more about, perhaps even follow, the trails of these forgotten pioneers in the history of women.

⁸⁸ Lillian Symes claimed that facts are all displays of self-interest and that each person has a favorite set of facts to serve any particular end; Beard, “The Great Fact-Finding Farce,” in *America through Women’s Eyes*, 480–98.

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

KEITH THOMAS. *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility*. New York: Pantheon. 1983. Pp. 425. \$19.95.

This book originated in the Trevelyan Lectures, and its subject is highly appropriate. G. M. Trevelyan was a founder of the National Trust, a lover of the out-of-doors, a vigorous defender of rural amenities; the book tells of the changing attitudes to nature in the years between 1500 and 1800 without which, as Keith Thomas puts it, "Trevelyan's passion to preserve wild scenery and his faith in the healing powers of unexploited nature would have been inconceivable" (p. 15).

Thomas's theme, as he rightly emphasizes, is one that deserves far more serious treatment than historians have yet given it. It is the vast theme of how a closer study of the natural world unsettled the human race's conviction of its uniqueness; and of how, as a result, there has grown up a fondness for animals, and increasing desire to reduce their suffering, and in general an increasing appreciation of the mysterious complexity and beauty of nature as exhibited not only in animal life but in flowers and trees. Confining his study to English sources, Thomas traces this growing stream of thought in literature, in science and theology, and in the ordinary utterances of ordinary people. "The early modern period," he concludes, "had thus generated feelings which would make it increasingly hard for men to come to terms with the uncompromising methods by which the dominance of their species had been secured. On the one hand they saw an incalculable increase in the comfort and physical well-being or welfare of human beings; and on the other hand they perceived a ruthless exploitation of other forms of animal life. There was thus a growing conflict between the new sensibility and the material foundation of human society" (pp. 302-03).

To this reviewer's way of thinking, Thomas chronicles a vastly beneficial movement. One is therefore reluctant to question or to criticize. Still,

one must wonder about the book's sense of proportion: is the stream it traces seen in proper relation to the landscape? Thomas pays tribute to a scarce and scarcely known work by Dix Harwood, *Love for Animals and How It Developed in Great Britain*. Written in 1928, this book had to be privately published, a hint perhaps that the stream of thought that Thomas traces had not become so broad and deep as he supposes. Can it be called even yet *the* modern sensibility, as the subtitle has it, when every garden shop is full of biocides and the slaughter of wild and semidomesticated animals is still a flourishing sport? For most people the changing perception of nature has probably meant little more than being kind to household pets, thereby shunting out of mind larger imperatives about the natural world. In other words, Thomas seems reluctant to face the cruelty and indifference that is still ingrained in Western philosophy and religion. Only in the last ten years have philosophers, notably Peter Singer and Mary Midgley, raised the treatment of animals as a serious moral issue.

Making too great a claim for the early modern period, Thomas ends with a dilemma too stark: on the one hand, man's material needs; on the other, the new sensibility. This is to obscure the range of actual situations that confronts us. At one end of the range we do need to practice agriculture and to protect crops. At the other end, we have no need to wear fur coats, to have weed-free lawns, to eat white veal, or to blind rabbits to test cosmetics. In between are more morally complex situations. We face not a dilemma so much as a range of moral problems that we are only beginning to sort out.

It is not fitting, however, to end this review on a querulous note. If Thomas tells the story of a new sensibility not yet so dominant as it ought to be, he tells his story splendidly. He ranges widely, and on almost every page he produces a quotation or anecdote illuminating some unexplored feature of man's encounter with nature. He not only outlines intellectual arguments but also describes vulgar errors. He traces attitudes not only to animals but also to flowers and trees. There are insights into school-

boy sports, women as gardeners, the psychology of pet owners, plant breeding by working people, and the growth of the seed trade. As in his first book, Thomas proves himself a first-class historian of ideas. Trevelyan the historian could take pleasure in this work as surely as Trevelyan the lover of nature.

DAVID SPRING
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O. H. K. SPATE. *The Pacific since Magellan*. Volume 2, *Monopolists and Freebooters*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 426. \$59.50.

The clearly stated theme of *Monopolists and Freebooters* is that, concerning the international struggle for supremacy in the Pacific, "the good old rule sufficeth them, the simple plan, that they should take, who have the power, and they should keep who can." For the casual reader, this broad picture of the Pacific Ocean area will be difficult to absorb fully and hard to place in perspective. Even for the specialist, some understanding is lost unless O. H. K. Spate's first volume, *The Pacific Since Magellan: The Spanish Lake*, is available or its contents known, for at times the reader of this new volume feels that essential Spanish background information is unaccountably neglected.

Spate's broad interests reflect unique multicultural research competence. Due to such diversity, it is difficult to review with complete fairness such disparate material. He begins with the "Dutch Irruption" and ranges from the Celebes to California, from Australia to Alaska, from Japan to Juan Fernández, and many points between. Intrusive Dutch, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, British, and French participants, as well as local ethnic elements, parade across the pages plying their professions as pirates, traders, explorers, diplomats, military conquerors, missionaries, and administrators.

The Golden Century of the Netherlands is followed by treatment of the Asiatic trade wars and the ramifications thereof. Spate brings out, in interesting detail, trading methods and practices in the extreme western Pacific. A concurrent result was the dispelling of old geographical errors and the filling in of the world map. Another substantial section deals with early European efforts to exploit the potential of Japan as a trading partner. Spate writes of the Portuguese dominance, the bungled Sebastián Vizcaíno mission sent from New Spain, the growing influence of Will Adams, and the interdecade domestic struggle for power, the final result of which was the nearly total closure of Japan to alien influences.

America's Pacific coast is treated in its role as a target for earlier and later pirates, drawn by pearl fisheries, commercial shipping lanes, and largely

undefended coastal towns susceptible to being captured, sacked, and sometimes even ransomed. Almost no area was safe from the buccaneers, the sea dogs, or the privateers, though nearly always the Spanish losses were greater than the gains of their opponents. Spain was in the envied position of having been there first, a sitting target for latecomers eager to share supposed wealth. The piratical activities of both English and Dutch, intensive explorations in the partially open Spanish Lake of the Pacific, and the attractiveness of Panama are well treated. Biography of some of these interlopers is provided, particularly Dampier, Anson, and Dalrymple. Jacob Roggoveen's Dutch voyage to the South Pacific, including his discovery of Easter Island, is teamed with the Russian achievements of Bering and Chirikov in the far North Pacific.

By design, this many-sided book attempts to treat the Pacific as a whole. Yet that immense area's diversity and the varied intentions of the actors on that watery stage make it more convenient to concentrate on particular regions and focus on particular national groups. The result is kaleidoscopic, but seldom dull. The writing is good, at times even lyrical, but not always easy to follow. Political geography and economic history are supported by many well-chosen illustrations that enhance the text, but there is little effort at primary research, as the author customarily uses published contemporary accounts rather than manuscript sources. Notwithstanding this preference, much of his interpretation is fresh.

On the negative side, Spate's footnotes are numerous but abbreviated by using surname and initials at first mention, and surname and short title elsewhere. For lack of a formal bibliography, the reader must backtrack fervently to find even the original inchoate citation. An attempt is made to explain this and other divergent usages, but the rationale is hardly convincing.

The most evident weakness is that of balance. Spate's predilection for some topics makes for extended treatment using plentiful sources. Concerning other areas, particularly the Pacific coast of North America, the bibliography is surprisingly weak for a person of his obvious research capability. It is precisely concerning that geographical area that error creeps in. For example, an obscure 1915 book is cited as a reference that California's Mission San Antonio is "now a ruin hidden away in the coast ranges." Actually, it was fully restored in the late 1940s. Another, and oft-repeated, error is that of calling the tip of Baja California Cape San Lucar rather than San Lucas, a reflection of frequent weakness in dealing with Hispanic material. Such errors result from the book's exceedingly wide range of topics, its broad geographical sweep, and the long time span involved, for Spate is most

ambitious in his coverage, packing into a single volume what might otherwise have been the contents of a series.

DONALD C. CUTTER
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NEAL WOOD. *The Politics of Locke's Philosophy: A Social Study of "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding."* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 241. \$26.50.

Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* has usually been read as a technical philosophical treatise. But the *Essay* is, according to Neal Wood, also a political document. Writing in the spirit if not the letter of Marx, Wood links the *Essay* to the economic, social, and political structure of seventeenth-century England.

England was an agricultural, aristocratic society in the process of becoming a modern bourgeois society. Wood describes the new capitalist modes of appropriating surplus value, analyzes the changing class structure, and finds the beginnings of a proletariat and a bourgeoisie. The old aristocratic ideal was a "warrior-ethic" whose values were liberality, hospitality, pride, courage, honor and glory, idleness, prodigality, and pleasure. The new bourgeois ideal was a "work-ethic"—practical-minded and commonsensical, self-directed, tolerant, industrious, thrifty, calculating, and prudent. The new Lockean gentleman won his social position by ability rather than birth. The new ideal was very attractive to educated men of low birth struggling to rise through industrial and professional work—the men who would eventually sever the traditional bonds of society and establish the new economic system of industrial capitalism. Locke himself was bourgeois.

Wood's last chapter shows how the social outlook and the philosophic doctrine are linked. The rejection of innate ideas, the elaboration of a sensational epistemology and psychology, the insistence that our knowledge can be probable but not certain led directly to ideas of social equality, individualism, tolerance, liberty, and rational calculation. The philosophic doctrine is an integral part of the social outlook. Wood's analysis here is somewhat thin, but not incredible.

Wood concludes with a strong commendation of Locke's common-sense philosophizing, which was intended to help ordinary men in their practical affairs. Those critics who think that classic philosophy is a superior intellectual activity because it is confined to the realm of "pure thought" strip philosophy of meaning for the problems of the actual world and dehumanize it. "The great philosophy of the past has usually been a very human endeavor directed to very human problems." "Whatever claim

to universality a philosophic treatise may have, it is in part a tract for the times." "*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* is just such a work" (pp. 181–82).

Wood will be scorned by those present-day historians who concentrate on minutiae and deny that there are any large patterns or that concepts such as class and capitalism have any use in historical investigations. But common-sense readers will find Wood's book enlightening and convincing.

RICHARD SCHLATTER
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J. R. POLE. *The Gift of Government: Political Responsibility from the English Restoration to American Independence.* (Richard B. Russell Lectures, number 1.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 185. \$16.00.

On the assumption that we cannot understand the economic activities of a community, its social structure, expectations, and sanctions without entering into the politics of these phenomena, J. R. Pole addresses himself to an analysis of two ideas in England and colonial America: the purpose of government and the accountability of rulers to those they rule. Based on secondary and published primary sources, his essays are selective and suggestive rather than definitive. Nor do they represent views in all sections of America. In his treatment of political authority from divine right to utilitarianism, Pole argues that monarchical government in England in the seventeenth century was limited to the defense of the realm, relations with foreign powers, the monarch's revenue, and, through these, the wealth of the kingdom. But surely parliamentary statutes and the decisions of the royal judges attest to much more, to concerns over the welfare of subjects as well? In examining the ideas in America during the Restoration, Pole treats almost exclusively Puritan ministers and politicians. He sees a shift following the Restoration from a theory of government sustained in part by some form of divine right with a mission to maintain a given religious system to one in which government acquires a more troublesome burden. As theology lost its pride of place in the responsibilities of government, public officials did not cease to be concerned with maintaining a moral order, but no theological power could check the advance of the politics of interest as ideas concerning benevolence reached America from Britain. According to the Scottish philosopher, Francis Hutcheson, for example, the only test of a government was its ability to promote the prosperity of the community. Colonial writing, too, registered a new assumption: the duty of government to promote the happiness of the people. But was concern

over the welfare of the community altogether lacking earlier in England, in America, or even in New England?

The most innovative portions of this book deal with the idea of the responsibility of elected representatives to their constituents and of how people became informed of what their representatives in legislatures said and how they voted on issues in an era when official secrecy surrounded debates and proceedings of assemblies. Reports and division lists were sporadic and unofficial. In Britain they were a reflection of opposition tactics, not of principle. After the emergence of the competitive newspaper press and the turbulence of the late 1760s in London, parliamentary privacy slowly became a losing cause, increasingly undermined by opposition MPs. In America, with very few exceptions, colonial assemblies gave repeated evidence of resentment of unauthorized reporting, so that one critic under the pseudonym of *Americanus* could ask the freeholders of Massachusetts how they could be truly represented if they did not know the sentiments of the delegates they chose. During periodic quarrels with governors, the provincial assemblymen asserted that the people had a right to know—an argument that served the representatives in a moment of need—yet they gave their own right to control information superior consideration. To gather support against Britain after 1763, assemblies in Massachusetts and Virginia opened their galleries to the public—evidence, according to Pole, of a transformation by which representatives were held accountable to the populace. The constitutions of the new states ordained that assembly journals be accessible to public inspection, and it became customary to admit the public to debates. Yet, when the Continental Congress decided to keep its deliberations secret, the decision aroused neither surprise nor any significant complaint. The policy was also followed by the convention in Philadelphia in 1787 and by the first Senate two years later. Had it been otherwise we might be much better informed as to the meaning of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

J. M. SOSIN
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Lincoln*

THEODORE S. HAMEROW. *The Birth of a New Europe: State and Society in the Nineteenth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 447. \$29.95.

Theodore S. Hamerow has written sixteen informed, judicious chapters emphasizing, in his own words, "those revolutionary changes that . . . affected all the nations of the Continent" and that "have not been sufficiently studied in the context of the

period and area as a whole" (p. xi). The book falls into four parts: economic, social, political, and international. Each part in turn has four chapters, each of which takes up a well-defined topic of general importance—"The Rise of Industrialism," "The Spread of Learning," "The Functions of Government," "The Pattern of Diplomacy," and the like. What holds the whole together, insofar as it does cohere, is the familiar notion that "the industrial revolution profoundly altered the structure of society, the nature of politics, and the system of relations among states. The emphasis of many historians . . . on national history has tended to obscure a process of transformation that was international in scope. My purpose is to draw attention to that process" (p. xiii).

Successive chapters teem with information, and on disputed points Hamerow presents brief summaries of rival points of view. He has collected a fine array of apt and telling quotes from men of the age with which he brightens up the statistics and other information that burden too many of his pages and make much of the book dull reading. The essays derive from the classroom and may have been aimed at students who can, indeed, learn a great deal about nineteenth-century Europe from these pages.

There are some defects nonetheless. Both the Balkans and Scandinavia are almost entirely bypassed, for example. Colonial wars are omitted from the chapter on warfare; and as the subtitle makes clear, intellectual and cultural history are likewise absent. No doubt Hamerow's definition of his subject explains these facts. A more telling criticism is that his parallel essays leave the reader with no firm sense of European history as a whole. The habit of dividing the Continent into national compartments, that he set out to correct, is not really improved by dividing the same seamless whole into thematic compartments, which is what he has done.

Effective synthesis requires a finer analytical approach than Hamerow brings to the task. He assumes, instead of shows, that economic change is basic to society and politics. His chapters fail to portray real life, bedded in the matrices of space and time that define what human beings do and think and feel. Instead we have sixteen parallel lines extending from 1815 to 1914—a warp on which Hamerow may someday perhaps begin to weave a tapestry that would do more justice to the complex interconnectednesses of European history.

WILLIAM H. MCNEILL
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STEPHEN KERN. *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1983. Pp. 372. \$25.00.

Stephen Kern has written a most unusual and inventive book on space and time in Europe from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Earlier treatments of topics such as this relied on two methodologies: (1) a traditional history of ideas that traces the concept or image of space and time as presented by leading intellectuals and artists, or (2) a history of sensibility that reduces the concepts of space and time to a matter of perception, a subjective state that in turn is determined by changing ratios of the five senses. Kern rejects both methods and instead analyses the interaction of technological novelties and cultural phenomena. Thus, the introduction of the telegraph and telephone is explored in relation to cubism, the sinking of the *Titanic*, Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*, Mahler's music, and the causes of World War I.

This hodgepodge of seemingly unrelated historical bits does cohere, however, and very nicely. For through the examination of the interaction between technology and culture, Kern discerns an important thread of sense: a profound reorientation of time and space. The fascination with speed and size that led to the *Titanic*'s destruction is not unrelated to the diplomacy through telegraph and telephone in July 1914 that contributed to the disaster of total war. In Kern's words, "The arrogance, the lack of safety precautions, the reliance on technology, the simultaneity of events, the worldwide attention, the loss of life all evoke the sinking of the *Titanic* as a simile for the outbreak of the war" (p. 268). New technologies eroded the old certainties and hierarchies of Europe as surely as the war destroyed its traditional politics.

Kern divides the discussion of time into the categories of past, present, future, and speed; his categories for analyzing space are form, distance, and direction. Although these divisions are certainly arbitrary, they serve their purpose well, allowing Kern to probe the fundamental reorientations that were taking place. Certainly the telegraph, telephone, microphones, bicycles, and the rest of the new technologies altered beyond recognition the familiar pattern of European life. The *fin de siècle* was, of course, only one moment in a long history that continues to wipe away the limitations that held for millennia. Although that period may hold a special importance, Kern's book only reminds us how much work remains to be done, especially on the more recent period.

Kern makes a valiant effort to avoid the temptation of monocausality that his topic often suggests. He does not want to argue that all is explained by the force of technological change. He points out, for instance, that the creation of uniform public time made possible by the perfection of the clock was countered by a new sense of interior time (see Bergson) that in no way can be reduced to new technologies. And yet his perspective does not delin-

cate sharply enough the other side of the coin: the force of culture on technology, the ways in which cultural forms dictate and shape the introduction and spread of new techniques. There is no space here to develop this point properly, but it is safe to say the mediations of culture and technology are reciprocal and complex.

In sum, Kern has written a most valuable and inventive book, one that will surely be consulted as a model for future study on the large area of the relation of culture and technology.

MARK POSTER
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Irvine

EZRA MENDELSON. *The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 300. \$27.50.

This carefully crafted and important book by Ezra Mendelsohn deals with the twilight of Jewish history in Europe. The author begins by sketching the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century background and by marking out the three broad categories within post-1918 European Jewry: the Westerners (including the Germans); the Soviet Jews isolated behind the new Russian frontiers; and the East Europeans. These last were of course the most "Jewish" because they were neither compelled by force to abandon their old culture, as the Soviet Jews were nor allowed to abandon it, as were the Jews of the West. Mendelsohn devotes chapters to Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and the three Baltic states. In each he presents basic data about the country and its Jews, sketches the development of Jewish political and cultural life in the early interwar period, and then describes the evolution of Jewish-gentile relations up to 1940. The chapter on Poland is almost double the length of those on the Danubian countries; the Baltic chapters are essentially an appendix to it. There is no coverage of the Sephardim in the Balkans nor—a bit regrettably—of the Viennese.

Mendelsohn's success in penetrating the confusion of interwar Eastern Europe derives, I think, above all from his sharp eye for typology. Some historians have found their way through the incoherent mass of the subject matter by focusing on the underlying peasant base of all the region's societies (H. Seton-Watson), on one or two major political trends (Macartney and Palmer), on the process of economic modernization (Rothschild), or on a "unity of Fate" (Halecki); but all have had their troubles with excessive detail. Mendelsohn might easily have bogged down completely because the Jewish communities he discusses were not only as radically different from each other as their host countries

were but also were in most cases radically factionalized as well. He escapes by identifying archetypes—not just the religiously orthodox, the Westernizers, and the Zionists but also the Jews who were courted by host politicians and those who were scorned, the Jews who established schools taught in “Jewish languages” and those who educated their children in local gentile tongues, and the Jews who turned to Jewish nationalism because of persecution and those who turned to it because assimilation was too puzzling. Mendelsohn builds up the structure of his study through rigorous comparison and contrast of these and other types of Jewish community. Once in a while he stuns his reader a bit as, for example, when he states that “in this sense postwar Bessarabia may be compared to . . . Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia, the Polish *Kresy*, Bukovina and Transylvania” (p. 192). Overall, however, one is filled with admiration for the perception that behind the kaleidoscopic appearances there was a unity of development—the paradoxical flowering of a “native” Jewish culture in eastern Poland, Bessarabia, and Lithuania at the very time when modern education, economic stagnation, and the flame-like spread of anti-Semitism were threatening East European Jewry’s very existence.

Although Mendelsohn avoids specific discussion of the Holocaust, one of his central concerns is necessarily the East European contribution to it. Here, in particular, he shows his maturity as a historian. He scorns the temptation to cast facile verdicts, whether against the Poles for their antisemitism and against Admiral Horthy for his unequal treatment of the Jews, or in favor of the Czechs because of their philosemitic record under Masaryk and in favor of the Zionists because in the end they were “proved right.” He leaves no doubt about where he stands but acknowledges the harsh truth that in the era and region he studies a straight and narrow path existed for neither Jew nor gentile. Eastern Europe was then free. Freedom, like justice, turned out to be blind.

This attractively produced book contains extensive footnotes and a bibliography of works in English, the Slavic, Hebrew, French, and German languages. It is a first-class contribution to the literature on modern Europe.

WILLIAM MCCAGG
Michigan State University

ANCIENT

STUART PIGGOTT. *The Earliest Wheeled Transport: From the Atlantic Coast to the Caspian Sea*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1983. Pp. 272. \$34.95.

Where and in what context wheels were first used remains unknown, but we are gradually getting a better idea of the prehistory of wheeled vehicles. The publication by M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* (1979) was a valuable compendium for that part of the world. Now Stuart Piggott, a British prehistorian, presents the results of his long study of the evidence from Europe and adjoining parts of the Soviet Union as far as the Caspian Sea, and from the earliest appearances down to Roman times. Most of the reconstruction is based on archaeological finds of buried vehicles, but rock art representations, clay and metal models, and, for the later periods, textual evidence are also exploited.

Piggott is inclined, like Littauer and Crouwel, to think that wheeled vehicles originated in Mesopotamia at the end of the fourth millennium B.C. These wagons and carts had solid wooden wheels and were drawn by oxen; possibly their origins are to be found in the ox-drawn sledges and ploughs of slightly earlier times. Presumably the vehicles developed and spread to satisfy a need for a means of bulk transport of goods, especially agrarian products, although there was undoubtedly an element of social status and prestige involved as well. Within five centuries they are found from Mesopotamia to Transcaucasia and into central and northern Europe. Piggott favors, by and large, an east-west diffusion model to explain the distribution although he does not entirely rule out local inventions. The earliest vehicles were made by stone or stone-and-copper using groups. Later, in the Early Bronze Age (ca. 2000 B.C.) a technological revolution occurred with the appearance of light, fast chariots with two spoked wheels, drawn by horses and used for, among other things, warfare, hunting, and ceremony. Spoked wheels were then adopted in Europe for wagons as well although the archaic disc-wheeled ones continued to be used. The chariot developed in the eastern Mediterranean in a context of literate, highly civilized states with a professional warrior class, and in the more barbarian parts of Europe was a powerful status symbol in the local hierarchical societies. Most of those recovered come from high-status graves, and were perhaps symbolic vehicles to bear the dead to another world. By Early Iron Age times, ca. 700 B.C. in Europe, vehicle building had attained a highly professional level of competence involving craftsmen in wood and metal for the trappings (bits, harness, yokes) as well as for the vehicles themselves.

This volume is deliberately offered as a contribution to the history of technology and should go some way to fill the gap, lamented by Moses Finley and others, between that subdiscipline and economic history. Although highly technical in places, it is clearly written, well illustrated, and fully docu-

mented. A chronological table might however have been helpful to readers not familiar with the system of periodization used by European prehistorians. Now we need a similar treatment of wheeled vehicles in India and the Far East.

PHILIP E. L. SMITH
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GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN *et al.* *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 1958–1975*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1983. Pp. xxxv, 466. \$45.00.

The Harvard-Cornell archaeological exploration of Sardis is one of the major undertakings of its kind in the second half of the twentieth century. In progress for two-and-a-half decades the excavation of Sardis has been described in annual reports and in several monographs concerned with special aspects of the finds. Nevertheless, the outsider, whether layman or professional, not involved in the dig or unable to visit the site has found it difficult to keep abreast of developments and formulate more than a general impression of what has been accomplished. In consequence the present volume is most welcome since it supplies a synthesis, summation, and interpretation of stage one (1958–75), the first phase of the excavation that has explored and identified the principal remains on the site and thus set the course for subsequent work there.

Because of its long history, extending a full millennium from the Lydian period to the destruction of the Byzantine city in 616 A.D., the excavators have had to deal not with one but several different eras and cultures that were not always represented in stratified areas but instead scattered through other regions of the ancient town as the civic center shifted from age to age. In short, Sardis was long-lived and ultimately spread out over more than two hundred acres. Another twenty-five years of excavation might not exhaust its usefulness for archaeological research.

The present volume, monumental in the best sense of the word, is divided into eleven chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 describe the city and its environment, topography and ecology, economic activity, resources, and regional settlement patterns from past to present and then discuss prehistoric and protohistoric periods from the early Bronze to the early Iron Age. Chapters 4 and 5 are devoted to the Lydian epoch and include excavation sectors, graves and cemeteries, society and culture. Chapter 6 records some phases of the Persian period while Chapter 7 is concerned with the Hellenistic age: urban and architectural developments, the Artemis sanctuary, private buildings, burial customs, and religious life. Eight, entitled "Roman and Late Antique,"

concentrates on the bath-gymnasium complex and the adjacent Byzantine shops. The title of chapter 9 is self-explanatory: "The Synagogue and the Jewish Community." Chapter 10 is called "Christianity: Churches and Cemeteries," and chapter 11 is a general assessment of the results of stage one.

Other features of this volume are two extensive bibliographies. One cites works primarily concerned with Sardis as well as listing monographs in progress or projected; the other is a general bibliography enumerating publications relating to other excavations, specialized archaeological research problems, linguistics, and so forth. In addition there are 164 pages of illustrative material providing maps, plans, reconstructions, and photographs.

George M. A. Hanfmann and his collaborators have produced a valuable, even indispensable, compendium for anyone seriously interested in archaeology in general and Sardis in particular. Opinions may vary as to the most important results of the first stage, but certainly the discovery of the Lydian town (denied the Princeton expedition of 1910–14), the Lydian gold-working installations, the palace site on the acropolis, and the synagogue along with the bath-gymnasium complex will top most lists. Furthermore, the Harvard-Cornell excavations command attention because they display present-day archaeology at its best with its interdisciplinary scope and wide-ranging topics selected for study. On the negative side there is little to be said. The positioning of footnotes for all eleven chapters at the back is awkward. A few of the photographs are too dark to be useful, and some of the plans are not easily intelligible.

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H. H. SCULLARD. *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*. (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1982. Pp. 288. \$29.50.

"Rites are easier to reconstruct than religious ideas" writes H. H. Scullard (p. 11) in the preface of his work, which is neither a revision of older, indispensable handbooks nor an alternate to them. It is a rather disappointing account of rituals and ceremonies in the later Republic, not unlike the "Ordo" of feast days published annually by Roman Catholic Church authorities for use in liturgical functions in conjunction with the church's Sacramentary and Lectionary.

The introductory section (pp. 13–48) is a brief survey of the institutionalized Roman state cult, followed by a chronological list of Roman feast days (pp. 51–212, including 16 pages of illustrations). The author explains origins and meanings, pinpoints controversial interpretations, and presents

scholarly conclusions. Emphasis is on external, ceremonial elements, shrines, temples, and historical events connected with the feasts. A third section covers other occasions: triumphs, funerals, and political meetings (pp. 243–88). The appendixes include two maps with locations of temples and shrines, an exceedingly brief bibliography, limited notes, a list of ancient calendars, dates of temple foundations, and an adequate index.

The work is a summary of older handbooks' conclusions. Results of more recent research rarely appear in the text and notes, only one incorrectly quoted article (notes 82, 157, 277) from, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt I* [ANRW], and very few from the last volumes of *Paulys Real-Enzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* [RE]. It is especially regrettable that the author's single-minded concentration on rites and ceremonies could allow discussion neither of the variegated meanings of the Latin term *religio*, different from the English term religion, nor of these meanings' implications in the continuous syncretistic changes in Roman cultic practices, and the well-documented messianic and eschatological expectations of the "average Roman" whose belief Scullard cannot fathom (p. 32). Although he deals prudently with controversial issues and contradictory evidence, it is inevitable that in a work of this caliber controversies will remain. For example priests were not magistrates (p. 28), priestly and magisterial functions were carefully separated; there is no evidence for a good *Terminus* (p. 79); there were eleven, not eight days marked with the symbol EN (p. 45); this symbol does not mean *endotercissus*, rather *enterkaissos* (p. 66; *RE* Supp. 1168,29); *Penates* is derived from *penes* and not *penus* (pp. 17,65,148; *ANRW* II.17,1,356). Within the chronological framework the following feasts, or dedications could have been mentioned: Jupiter Liber, September 1; Nymphae in campo, perhaps January 11; Mars in campo, September 23; *Penates* in Velia, possibly December 14; with dates unknown: possibly Bona Dea in Aventino; Minerva by Pompey; Luna in Palatio; Mefitis in Esquilino, and Clementia Caesaris. Misprints are few and negligible; there are two insignificant errors in dates: Veii's fall occurred in 394 (p. 62) and M. Claudius Marcellus' *spolia opima* in 221 (p. 194).

The book is well organized, written in a highly polished style. Unfortunately, it might become an outdated sourcebook to nonlingual students of Roman society.

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JOHN H. D'ARMS. *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1981. Pp. xviii, 201. \$20.00.

John H. D'Arms offers the reader a well-written and sophisticated analysis of an interesting issue, the "location" in Roman society of those engaged in commerce and trade. The subject is a difficult and elusive one. The current Cambridge orthodoxy, elaborated by historians of the stature of A. H. M. Jones and M. I. Finley, is that commerce and trade were relatively unimportant in the Roman economy and were carried on by men outside the elite. The elite drew their income from property (mainly rural, but also urban) and, to a lesser extent, from interest on loans. D'Arms's book is a reaction against this orthodoxy, arguing the thesis that, although social values may have discouraged senators and equites from dirtying their hands in business in a direct, personal way, the acquisitive instinct motivated them to seek a cut of the profits by indirect or covert participation in nonagricultural business activities (for example, through freedmen partners and agents).

The sophistication of D'Arms's discussion derives from his use of comparative evidence and his exploitation of archaeological discoveries. Comparative studies are effectively adduced to show that moralistic prescriptions against "trafficking" do not preclude elites from participation in trade and commerce. Rather, their involvement is kept out of the public eye. D'Arms stresses that this very fact makes it difficult for the historian today to uncover the involvement, but he believes that he can do so, particularly with the aid of recent archaeological studies.

The author's use of archaeological finds is at times ingenious and certainly too intricate to evaluate adequately in a short review. The trouble with artifacts is that they rarely give decisive proof of the sort of social organization that D'Arms is trying to elucidate. For example, one finds in the home town of a praetorian prefect a statue base bearing an inscription to the effect that this base was transported on the praetorian prefect's instructions. But does this prove that his wealth was in part "derived from the marble trade," as D'Arms deduces (p. 158)? Or was it simply a matter of the second most powerful man in the empire, who emphasizes in the inscription his kinship with the emperor, using his influence or wealth to have a gift shipped to his *patria*?

Similarly, the literary evidence is often so imprecise as to leave open the possibility of legitimate deductions other than those offered by D'Arms. Two examples come to mind from his lengthy discussion of the senatorial family, the Sestii (pp. 55 and following). Their name appears on large numbers of wine amphorae found in Gaul. They were clearly involved in the production of the amphorae and probably the wine. The critical question is: were they involved in the trade? D'Arms answers "yes" on the basis of two Ciceronian passages, one adduced

to show that Sestius made a (business) trip to Marseilles and the second cited to show that Sestius owned ships. If the reader looks up these passages, he will find that the trip was made to visit a dying, exiled father-in-law, and the second passage may well refer to warships (*dicrota*) during the civil war, not cargo ships.

In sum, the reader may come away from this book feeling that he has been introduced to a wealth of tantalizing information, but that firm conclusions about the extent of the Roman elite's involvement in trade and commerce remain elusive.

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KEITH HOPKINS. *Death and Renewal*. (Sociological Studies in Roman History, number 2.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xx, 276. \$39.50.

Two thirds of this book are given over to an essay in two parts (Roman Republic and Empire) by Keith Hopkins and G. P. Burton. It seems fair to focus on this essay, partly because of its bulk but mostly because of its unusual approach. That is statistical, enucleated in thirty-odd tables. They are based very largely on other scholars' compilations of the raw data, but they are treated in novel ways and discussed in great detail. The authors have in effect taken the present state of Who's Who (Roman) and subjected it to sociological analysis. The angle of attack is no doubt Hopkins's choice, since he has in the past often displayed its possibilities. Here, the results are set forth with clarity and plain intelligence, on every page. They give us a senatorial elite far less sealed off and self-perpetuating than has always been supposed.

That is the authors' chief finding. In arriving at it, they subject the data to minute inspection. They ask what proportion of the elite lived long enough to qualify for high office, or had enough money, or even wanted to compete for it? What proportion were descended from consuls or praetors, over how many generations, or had consular or praetorian descendants, in how many degrees of descent? How many sons did they have, and what effect was felt from adoptions versus proscriptions, from the opening up of suffect consulships or the harrying of the senate by bad emperors? How much better chance at continued membership in the senate, or at a praetorship or consulship, did a descendant of many consuls have over someone of various degrees or lesser distinction? These and many other questions are themselves accompanied by probing discussion of the statistical assumptions involved.

The whole essay is tightly written, reasonable, and convincing. I except only the explanations offered

for the diminishing eagerness among descendants of the elite themselves to seek office under the Principate. A short review is not the place to argue that matter. There remains, however, a more fundamental difficulty, regarding the usefulness of the authors' results. Is the book on a good subject? Clearly, we gain by knowing more about any cadre of, let us say, five hundred to a thousand adult males. But what if they were nailsmiths? No one would much value knowledge of them. The elite, on the other hand, are worth studying—because of their political power (and the authors are not interested in the economic or cultural role of the elite). It is not easy, however, to see what events or even what known patterns of behavior in Roman political history can be better understood, now, thanks to this book, than could be understood before.

The remainder of the book consists of an essay on gladiatorial combat by Hopkins alone and another, by himself and M. Letts, on burials, mourning, epitaphs, immortality, wills, infanticide, and legacy hunting. The former essay necessarily appears incomplete and superficial measured against George Ville's recent book on the subject (1981); the latter covers too many disconnected topics in too unfocused a way; but both have a characteristic vitality, trenchancy, and, at points, irreverence. For example, a quotation (p. 218 n. 24) on Hades as seen by an ancient satirist, for example, depicting some deceased and descending philosopher: "Good God, what pretensions he carries, what humbug, competitiveness . . . a lot of fuss about nothing and split hairs' . . . Not much changes," says Hopkins, "in the world of scholarship."

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ZWI YAVETZ. *Julius Caesar and His Public Image*. Translated from the German. (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press or Thames and Hudson, London. 1983. Pp. 286. \$25.00.

Yet another book on Caesar. This one, with its emphasis on image and its focus on the latter years of the dictator's life—it is both less and more than a biography—well repays the reading. Zwi Yavetz's concern with image was apparent in his earlier book, *Plebs and Princeps* (1969); one of its chapters contained the embryo of this volume. In 1972, in the Loeb lecture at Harvard (included in an appendix), he examined the philological aspects of the question.

In this volume, Yavetz concerns himself with Caesar's image not only in his time but also in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The modern scholars whose views are summarized are predomi-

nantly German (for many German intellectuals of the last century, Caesar was a hero, the kind of leader that a prostrate and divided Germany needed). Yavetz first discusses "Caesarism" and then attempts to classify more recent Caesarian scholars as "minimalist," "revisionist," or "skeptics." The bibliography of this first and most interesting chapter includes works never given much notice among English-speaking scholars. Intended "for the educated reader, not the specialist" (note 229), it is a useful survey. A separate index of authors adds to its value. Next, three chapters review thirty-eight *leges* and other measures attributed to Caesar. The summary treatment here will provide students convenient starting-points for further study. Yavetz presents generally well-balanced judgments.

In the following chapter, "An Interim Statement," Yavetz asserts (p. 179) that "the real picture emerges" when one asks of the measures, *cui bono*; the conclusion? Caesar was not a revolutionary. That "real picture" may seem belied by Caesar's assumption of the title Perpetual Dictator, emphasized in usual fashion by Yavetz as a reason for his loss of support, but for him it is not real evidence that Caesar wanted kingship. Through rumor and open attack he suffered damage and distortion to his real image; he was "unable to avoid the impression that he put through his moderate policies by ruthless force" (p. 213).

It will not be difficult to criticize when so many matters are surveyed. Yavetz's bibliographic footnotes, though valuable, omit appropriate reference at times to English-language works even when they are cited elsewhere (especially, Lily R. Taylor and Ronald Syme). Some facts may be wrong: did Achaea have its own governor under Caesar (p. 110)? Relevant evidence is sometimes left out: he correctly says (p. 110) that Caesar never emphasized his title, *pontifex maximus*, in his works; yet both gold and silver coins of 47–46 B.C. emphasize his priestly offices, and one, Crawford 467, has the specific inscription, PONT MAX. This same coin, with Ceres on the obverse and a "D" on the reverse, usually taken to mean *donativum*, should have been brought into the discussion of the grain distributions of 46 B.C. (p. 156). He does not always exhibit thorough research: in reviewing Caesar's arrangements regarding debt he does not seem to understand the nature of the credit collapse at Rome; yet he refers to Tacitus, *Annals* VI. 16—when at VI. 17 Tacitus describes the collapse.

Yavetz's views are always tenable and well reasoned. This is a useful book that scholars will want to acquire and to recommend to advanced undergraduates and beginning graduate students.

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HENRIK LÖHKEN *Ordines Dignitatum: Untersuchungen zur formalen Konstituierung der spätantiken Führungsschicht*. (Kölner historische Abhandlungen, number 30.) Cologne: Böhlau. 1982. Pp. x, 166. DM 62.

The manner by which members of the Roman aristocracy distinguished themselves from the lower orders and defined their relationship to one another within their rank is one of the fundamental features of the imperial social order. Henrik Löhken, though not breaking any new ground, is well aware that the formal definition of status we find in the late Roman legal sources, especially in the *Codex Theodosianus*, represents the culmination of a process that began in the Republic. His subject, indeed, is not the characteristics of the developed system of the late fourth and fifth centuries, but, rather, its *formale Konstituierung* especially in the late third and early fourth centuries (372 is the terminal date); how, he asks, did this formal system of rank come into being and how did it function?

The aristocratic struggle for *dignitas* and *honor* was always the dynamic factor of Roman politics. The transition to the principate allowed one man to monopolize these qualities and, at the same time, to secure his control over the ruling class through the allocation of the appropriate offices and prestige. In other words, Löhken argues, the emperor secured his position by controlling the admission to and promotion within the governing class (*Führungsschicht*). The senate, however, did not offer a sufficient reservoir of personnel to satisfy the increasing needs of governance. The emperors turned then to the equestrian order (and to their own households) and, in doing so, freed themselves from the constraints of their nominal membership in the senate and their adherence to the senatorial system of values.

Diocletian and Constantine introduced new institutions (more provinces, more governors, a traveling court that was geographically and increasingly ideologically distant from the traditional one), which significantly increased the number of individuals with *honor* and *dignitas*, that is, institutions which served to enlarge the governing class. These reforms, Löhken continues, created the necessity to define formally the relationship between the various officials. The more formal the system became, the more successfully the emperors were able to use their authority to admit and to promote as a vehicle for solidifying their power. For its part, the aristocracy tolerated the situation because its superior position in respect to other groups was defined and guaranteed and because the relations between the various groups within the class were regulated.

The major difficulty associated with this book is its style. The author, especially in the first third and largely theoretical portion of his book, can hardly

write a sentence without qualifying it in so many ways that one is often in doubt what exactly is being claimed. The excessive use of the hyphen/dash to mark these qualifications is particularly annoying. The argument itself suffers for two reasons. First, there is an underlying and unstated conception that the formalization of the system was, for structural reasons, inevitable. Second, and a consequence, the evolution is described *in vacuo* with only the most minimal reference to the political and military problems facing the empire and to the attempts to regulate all aspects of life.

Nonetheless, the perspective of the author, though limited, is a legitimate one and his contribution noteworthy.

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ANNE K. G. KRISTENSEN. *Tacitus' germanische Gefolgschaft*. (Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser, number 50, part 5.) Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters; distributed by Munksgaard, Copenhagen. 1983. Pp. 93. 100.00 KR.

The information that Tacitus's *Germania* offers on the German retinue (*comitatus*) is as precious as its interpretation is difficult. Anne K. G. Kristensen, although fully conversant with the differing views of other scholars, believes that it is possible to throw light on the subject by concentrating exclusively on Tacitus's text. The core of her argument is based on two propositions: (1) the *principes* and *comites* mentioned in 12.3 ("eliguntur in isdem conciliis et principes qui iura per pagos uicosque reddunt; centeni singulis ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt") are identical with those discussed at length in c. 13f. Therefore, since the *principes* and *comites* of 12.3 are chosen in public assemblies, the same is true of those described in the following chapters. (2) The infantry of 6.3 ("ex omni iuuentute delectos . . . centeni ex singulis pagis"), who combine with cavalry to form an elite fighting force, are identical with the *comites* ("centeni singulis ex plebe") of 12.3. From this Kristensen concludes that "the retinue as presented by Tacitus belongs to the sphere of public law (*res publica*), and not as generally supposed to that of private law."

Neither of the above propositions is free from difficulties. (1) Although 12.3 probably indicates that the *centeni comites* are appointed by public assemblies, *eliguntur . . . et principes*—correctly interpreted by Kristensen—means "are chosen from among those who are already *principes*," not "are chosen as *principes*"; the passage cannot therefore be used as evidence that appointment of a *princeps* was itself a matter for the state. Further, though the *centeni ex plebe comites* of 12.3 may not have been

groups of exactly one hundred—any more than were the *centumviri* of Roman courts—these formally and publicly constituted bodies seem incompatible with the concept of *comitatus* contained in cc. 13 and 14, which seems to envisage retinues ranging from the quite small to the very large, according to the personal magnetism of the individual *principes*. (2) The infantry of 6.3 are selected from the whole of the young men of the people; that does not sound as though choice was restricted to the relatively few *comites* who gathered around a *princeps*.

By a careful analysis of Tacitus's text Kristensen has produced a clear-cut and coherent picture of the German retinue, which will stimulate thought, even where it does not fully convince. If the reviewer remains sceptical, that is partly because experience has taught him that in Tacitus things are rarely simple; but, in fairness, let Tacitus have the last word—*ex ingenio suo quisque demat uel addat fidem* (*Germania* 3.3).

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WILLIAM S. HANSON and GORDON S. MAXWELL. *Rome's North West Frontier: The Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 247. \$30.00.

STEPHEN JOHNSON. *Late Roman Fortifications*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble. 1983. Pp. 315. \$60.00.

There was a time not so long ago when the national boundary between England and Scotland separated the two great Roman mural frontiers, the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and their archaeology and history treated in isolation from each other. Happily all that has changed first with the notable book by David Breeze, *The Northern Frontier of Roman Britain* (1982), which takes the northern frontier of Britain as a single series of problems. This more recent book by William S. Hanson and Gordon S. Maxwell has the same concept but with the added dimension of the native Britons. Almost all studies on Roman Britain have tended to be heavily biased toward the classical evidence and virtually ignored the enemy in opposition. This unfortunate *lacuna* is now filled by the first chapter with a coherent and sympathetic account of the tribes that occupied the southern part of Caledonia—their defenses and tribal organization.

Precisely why Pius embarked on the major advance in A.D. 142 and the abandonment of Hadrian's Wall has always been a difficult problem. An interesting parallel is drawn here with Claudius, who had a serious need to identify himself with his frontier army. Pius, it is suggested, may have had the same motive and this would accord with an earlier idea that the military concerns had to be

appeared. The attraction of an expansion of trade may have been another factor often overlooked. The last decade has seen much excavation and research on this frontier and this book presents a clear and thoughtful account of the new conclusions and their implications (chapters 5 and 6), with a particularly useful set of fort plans. One could question the gap posed between phase 1 and 2 in A.D. 158 when the coin issues indicate a building program under Verus that could have required redeployment of troops in other parts of the province.

The natives are brought back again into the narrative with a chapter entitled "Life on the Wall" in which the relationship between the frontier troops and the locals is considered, a touch adding warmth and humanity to this study. The book is excellently produced and written with clarity and understanding. It gives an exemplary survey of the present evidence in an eminently readable, well-illustrated form and is strongly recommended to students and the interested public.

The book by Stephen Johnson is the result of many years of research and extensive travel all over Europe studying late Roman defenses. Johnson's splendid and highly informative book reveals the enormous effort made by the Roman government and its cities to protect the citizens from the great barbarian invasions across the frontiers. It involved a great change in military strategy since in the first and much of the second century the army had been on the offensive. Hadrian had consolidated the frontier and brought prosperity to those areas but, by the mid-century, Marcus Aurelius had to cope with a massive breakthrough in the upper Danube, which almost brought an end to the empire. The pragmatic Romans learnt their lesson and adapted to the changed conditions by embarking on this program of strengthening city defenses in those areas most affected.

The results of this new policy are clearly demonstrated and profusely illustrated with plans and a small but excellent set of photographs. This is the first attempt to encompass the defences of the whole empire in a single volume from the lower Danube to the Atlantic. But the author is also concerned with the historical development as well as the change in tactics and use of static artillery. One could wish at times for more detail in this fascinating story but, under pressure of space, a difficult choice had to be made and the balance has been maintained. One can compare the reactions in the different parts of the empire from the growth of the Saxon Shore defenses of Britain to massively fortified towns along the Danube and the small *burgi* protecting the road network. Unfortunately the poor standard of excavation in some areas leaves many problems unresolved, but Johnson has clearly digested a great

mass of evidence and writes with the confidence of having seen many of the sites and the frontier terrain. A significant addition is the inclusion of hill-top fortresses with late defenses (chapter 10) a strikingly widespread phenomenon, as shown in figures 87 and 88 and the 182 examples listed in appendix 3.

The main weakness of this book is the lack of a description of the changes made in the Roman army to deal with the new defense strategy and a full understanding of the intricate historical sequences. But it is perhaps asking too much for both the archaeological and the historical evidence to be encompassed with full understanding. As it stands this book is a remarkable addition to the literature of this difficult period and will clearly remain a key handbook for a long time.

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ROBERT L. HOHLFELDER, editor. *City, Town, and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era*. (Byzantine Series, number 1.) Boulder: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press. 1982. Pp. viii, 209. \$22.50.

This book, consisting of nine studies by different authors on aspects of life in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean between the third and the sixth centuries, opens with Barry Baldwin's evaluation of Byzantine culture during this period, which ranges over several of the imperial provinces and the capital, bringing to light sundry little-known but most revealing details. The remaining essays focus on local and regional history. Such is the nature of the early Byzantine empire, that, despite its extraordinary internal diversity, a coherent perspective, which acquires its validity from accumulated particulars, can indeed be arrived at in this fashion, although the priorities and interests of the contributors could hardly be more different from each other. Nonetheless, one would welcome a more explicit coordination of the nine studies. The thematic coherence of "city, town, and countryside" and the question of change within this framework, which is addressed directly or indirectly by all the contributors, would then emerge more clearly.

The period under discussion witnessed the emergence of Christianity as the state religion. This process was, largely, the product of imperial legislation and of planning from the capital. Eric M. Meyers's study of the material culture of four Galilean towns of Jewish inhabitants illustrates the manner in which—however indirectly—this change in policy affected those towns in bringing to an end a period of quiet prosperity. A more explicit example

of the detrimental effect of religious intolerance is provided in Kenneth Holum's study of the Samaritans, willing and prosperous imperial subjects who were forced into revolt by Christian policies. An analogous case involving pagans, based on archaeological evidence, is brought forward by Robert L. Hohlfelder. But, we are not dealing with a period of simple decline: as witness, for Palestine, Robert L. Vann's study of street construction in Caesarea, for Cilicia, James Russell's study of domestic utensils in Anemurium, and for Greece, Timothy Gregory's analysis of urban fortifications. In Greece, barbarian invasion was a reality, but until the sixth century, defenses held.

Why not beyond that time? This much discussed question is addressed in the two essays by John Eadie and Frank E. Wozniak on the frontier provinces of Pannonia and Illyricum respectively. Wozniak outlines the frontier defenses, both human and architectural, of Illyricum (where more use could have been made of archaeology). Eadie, elegantly combining archaeological and other evidence, describes the cumulative, destructive effect of a sequence of barbarian invasions on Sirmium and vicinity, which brought to an end that fragile but essential symbiosis of town and country that characterized the ancient and late antique world.

The book is an invitation to ponder once again those tensions between the old and the new, between town and country, which lie at the root of our understanding of early Byzantium. *Plus ça change?* The book shows, and it is worth showing, that this is a frivolous question.

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JENÖ FITZ. *L'administration des provinces pannoniennes sous le Bas-Empire romain*. (Collection Latomus, number 181.) Brussels: Latomus. 1983. Pp. 111. 500 F.

One of the *duces* of Pannonian studies over the last two decades, Jenö Fitz offers in this monograph not only an inventory of administrative changes during the fourth century but also a distinctive interpretation of the last period of security before the abandonment of the Pannonian provinces. In less than a hundred pages he considers the division of the provinces of Pannonia Inferior (Pannonia II, Valeria) and Superior (Pannonia I, Savia) under the tetrarchy; the definitive separation of the civil and military administrations under Constantine; the creation of an economic ministry to oversee provincial finances, commerce, imperial arms factories, and textile mills; and the demilitarization of the frontier zone. The reforms imposed by the tetrarchs and Constantine, he concludes, were the primary cause of the collapse at the beginning of the fifth century,

for they diminished the Pannonian influence in imperial councils and destroyed the "sentiment of solidarity" that had evolved during the third century.

That the central government ultimately disclaimed responsibility for the defense of Pannonia and withdrew regular army units stationed in the frontier garrisons is clear. But was this decision the inevitable result of tetrarchic reforms? As late as 396–97 the western government attempted to protect the province by dispatching the senator Flavius Lupus to Pannonia II to conduct a special levy that would ensure the restoration of town walls (p. 74). This mission, and the letter issued by the eastern emperors in 396 (*CTh* 15. 1. 34) that inspired it (which Fitz does not cite), reveals more clearly than the *Notitia Dignitatum* (which figures prominently in Fitz's account) the desperate condition of the Pannonian provinces around A.D. 400. The decision to withdraw from Pannonia, and from other frontier provinces as well, is far more likely to have resulted from a pragmatic analysis of costs and benefits than the central government's disvaluation of the Pannonian contribution or structural defects introduced by the tetrarchic reforms.

There is nonetheless much to praise. Fitz's survey of the successive reorganizations of the prefecture of Illyricum and his list of subordinate officials in the Pannonian provinces under the prefect's command supplement, and occasionally correct, entries in *PLRE* I and narratives in the standard handbooks. Although Fitz sometimes accepts dubious statements in hagiographic texts—on which see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (1982)—his assemblage of literary, epigraphic, and legal data on administrative developments is instructive and will be consulted by historians interested in the region and its fate during the later empire.

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MEDIEVAL

P. H. SAWYER. *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe, A.D. 700–1100*. New York: Methuen. 1982. Pp. x, 182. \$15.95.

P. H. Sawyer is perhaps best known for his highly regarded *Age of the Vikings* (2d ed., 1971), which established him as one of the foremost specialists on the Vikings. The present work, as the author makes clear in the preface, is intended as a general synthesis based primarily on recent research, which will stimulate further discussion. Sawyer has more than succeeded in this goal. Based on an impressive

mastery of current scholarship, *Kings and Vikings* is a first-rate survey of Viking history that raises many basic questions about our understanding of the Viking Age.

In ten compact, well-written chapters, the author provides a brief overview of the period, questions the veracity of the sagas and other "primary" sources first recorded in the post-Viking era, and critically examines the various primary sources from the Viking Age, including the numismatic and archaeological evidence. He also discusses Scandinavian society, reviews Scandinavian relations with other parts of Europe prior to the Viking Age, describes the Viking raids in various parts of Western Europe and their settlements there, traces Viking activities in the eastern Baltic and Russia, and analyzes the Vikings' paganism and their conversion to Christianity. Sawyer concludes with a short evaluation of the main changes that took place in Scandinavia from 700 through 1100. The text is enhanced by sixteen plates, nineteen figures, and a superb bibliography, which focuses on recent scholarship. All in all, Sawyer has written a perceptive and provocative synthesis that will be welcomed by both scholars and students for some time.

At the same time, any work of such broad scope and modest length, which critically examines traditional views, will invariably raise questions. For example, Sawyer believes that the thousands of Islamic dirhams taken from Russia to Scandinavia in the ninth and tenth centuries were the product of plunder and tribute rather than an active trade between Scandinavia and Russia (pp. 124–26). His argument, however, rests primarily on the paucity of Scandinavian imports found in Russia that could have been used to pay for these dirhams. No primary sources confirming his hypothesis are cited. Furthermore, the author does accept the existence of "an active trade between Kiev and Constantinople in the tenth century" (p. 122) even though there are few Byzantine finds from Russia that could have been used to pay for the Russian exports to Constantinople. There is no question that many interpretations in *Kings and Vikings* will stimulate discussion.

The author's scepticism regarding the sagas and other twelfth-century sources also seems excessive. Certainly, Sawyer is correct that in such sources "contemporary preoccupations affected the interpretation of the past" (p. 17) and that elements of fantasy are found in these later sources. But the accuracy of many events recorded in these later sources is confirmed by independent sources from the Viking Age itself. It thus seems unreasonable to dismiss almost all later sources simply because some parts appear unreliable.

Chapters 6 and 7, which deal with Viking activities in Western Europe, are excellent as far as they

go but need further elaboration. The former, for example, examines how Viking raiders moved back and forth between England, Ireland, and France depending on local resistance, which often was quite effective. But the chapter does not go beyond the early tenth century, and this useful approach, unfortunately, was not applied to the eastern Baltic and Russia. Chapter 7 contains a good analysis of what Scandinavian place-names can tell us about Viking settlement, but the chapter ends rather abruptly, focuses almost entirely on toponymy, and ignores Ireland. The author should be strongly encouraged to expand his discussion of these and other points in a revised, larger edition.

These questions and others that could be raised if space permitted are not intended to detract from the high overall quality of *Kings and Vikings*. Sawyer has written an erudite and stimulating study that will take its place among the other fine recent works of Anglo-Celtic scholarship on the Vikings.

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ROBERT E. LERNER. *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 249. \$32.50.

Robert E. Lerner's new book is one of the most spellbinding studies I have read in a long time. Lerner as usual combines his mastery of the subject, superb research skills, and an exciting writing style to bring a little-known subject to life. In an attempt to understand the typical, the commonplace in prophetic ideas, he follows the 400-year life cycle and fortune of one short, popular, pseudonymous prophecy that circulated Europe in scores of copies and numerous mutations from around 1240 to the dawn of the Enlightenment.

This book is both a detective story (one is impressed with Lerner's insatiable search for manuscripts) and a study in medieval intellectual history. Lerner clearly shows how deeply imprinted were eschatological patterns of thought on the medieval mind and how continuously the meaning of prophecy persisted into the early modern era of European history.

The origins of the Cedar of Lebanon vision are obscure. But through intensive archival research, Lerner speculates that the first text appeared around 1240 in a collection of documents prepared at the Benedictine monastery of Ottobeuren in Swabia. These documents were compiled to report fully on the Mongol advances into Eastern Europe.

The vision, in its original form, was a reaction to the Mongol invasion into Hungary.

The author of the original written version of the prophecy is unknown. According to legend, a monk celebrating mass in a Cistercian cloister saw a disembodied hand write out the prophecy above the altar. It was a short prophecy of less than one hundred words, vague and obscure; but Lerner applies his vast knowledge of eschatological thought to the text in order to analyze its meaning to the medieval mind.

By the thirteenth century the Mongols were no longer a threat. Instead, European attention was turned to a new crisis, the loss of the last strongholds in the Holy Lands. Out of the literature produced to explain this new catastrophe, one writer (unknown) dusted off and renovated the Cistercian vision to fit these new circumstances. Lerner details how this writer meticulously remodeled the Cedar of Lebanon vision to fit current events (for example, he now places the miracle of the writing hand in the Cistercian monastery of Belmont near Tripoli).

This revised prophecy was remarkably popular. Within a decade, copies appeared all through northern Europe and the prophecy began to appear in scholarly collections. Lerner attributes its appearance into these circles by its initial inclusion in John of Paris's treatise *De Antichristo*. John's works were subsequently reproduced by Nicholas of Strassburg, whose collected writings on the Antichrist were repeatedly duplicated and recopied all over Western Europe. Lerner displays the fine eye of the detective as he follows the mutations of the Tripoli text imbedded in larger transcriptions of Nicholas's collection. Copiers of Nicholas's works had no qualms about changing the tiny Tripoli text to conform to their own contemporary events.

For four centuries, the "moving hand" seemed to speak to diverse men of new events. From the Mongol invasion to the fall of the Holy Lands, to the Black Death and finally to the protestant Reformation, the Cedar of Lebanon vision was easily changed to present a relevance to the times.

Lerner poses important questions and suggests believable answers. To understand the so-called popular mind calls for speculation based on superior scholarship. Lerner, a master of his subject, speculates wisely, but his deductions can be and probably will be challenged. For example, Lerner explains that the Cedar of Lebanon vision was popular for so long simply because it had the right mixture of obscurity and clarity so that its eschatology always remained relevant. Such speculation, of course, calls for comparative studies with other prophecies that were unsuccessful. Lerner's explanation for the final disappearance of the prophecy is shallow when compared to the detail of the rest of his study. The prophecy, he says, finally suffered

the fate of all medieval prophecies. That is, around 1700, the European mind abandoned prophecy in general as a part of the "demystification of the world and emancipation from the past" (p. 181).

This is an important book for anyone who wishes to understand better the late medieval mind, who is fascinated by popular history, and for those who study the history of eschatology. It is also a book to be enjoyed by the serious scholar as well as by the general reader as it offers stimulating insights into the human mentality.

DELNO C. WEST

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ANGELA M. LUCAS. *Women in the Middle Ages: Religion, Marriage, and Letters*. New York: St. Martin's. 1983. Pp. xvi, 214. \$25.00.

Angela M. Lucas's book is a study of religion, marriage, and letters in England and, more particularly, a study of opinion on the place of women in religion and their role in marriage. In all three sections of the book the author assumes that women reacted to and against inherited wisdom on their proper roles. The author makes her position clear from the first sentence: "Woman is first mentioned in the Bible in Gen. 1:26-7" (p. 3). Her clear inference is that all these matters were arranged well before the Middle Ages began. Women responded to what was preordained and external.

The author relies on medieval sources—ecclesiastical authorities, chronicles, visitation records, and law. Beyond this her major sources are late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century studies of medieval women. Although she uses Lina Eckenstein's classic study of monastic women to good purpose, Doris Stenton and Eileen Power would have been quick to advise Lucas to investigate beyond their own texts and consult the more recent literature on Englishwomen in the Middle Ages. The author's interpretations often suffer from being both dated and too general. For example, Lucas's assertion that "wife capture, though not mentioned by Tacitus, must have existed" (p. 62) might have pleased John Ferguson MacLennan when he presented his patriarchal theories in the late nineteenth century but would probably find few adherents today. In her discussion of marriage, "probably," "must," and "should have" fill the gaps in the sources. She also relies heavily on late nineteenth-century presumptions about anthropological development that are no longer widely respected, yet in the middle section on marriage she ignores one early work that might have helped—Bertha Phillpott's study of kindred and clan in the Barbarian law codes. None of the more recent works, even those cited in the bibliography, has significantly influenced her interpretation.

The author views the claustration of women in convents as a social evil in the Middle Ages, but she has neglected to specify in which portion of the Middle Ages that held true. Her chapter on the later Middle Ages begins with the tenth century, and claustration is seen as a problem for unmarried women through subsequent centuries, at least until the fifteenth century. The most reliable recent literature suggests that the relegation of women to nunneries did not become a problem until the fourteenth century, when the first significant group of unmarried women in Europe has been identified. There are isolated examples prior to the fourteenth century of women punished by being sent to monasteries. Perhaps the author's reliance on anecdote allowed the general development of the fourteenth century to be shared generally with the entire five hundred-year span addressed in chapters 4 and 5.

Perhaps the greatest weakness in her interpretation is that Lucas has accepted the judgments of her medieval ecclesiastical authorities. Stating that medieval women "were like all women, daughters of Eve and could thus respond to the descendants of Adam when so tempted" (p. 56) places her in the position of judge rather than historian. The same is true when she speaks of high-born ladies' housework as a "great burden" (p. 132). The most recent literature on the great houses of medieval England suggests that men still performed most domestic tasks such as cooking and cleaning in such households. The great burden was management, the sort of work that persons of high status sought. There are interesting anecdotes and details in this work, but the interpretation is inconsistent and lacks the benefit of the most recent work of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic.

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STEVEN P. MARRONE. *William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste: New Ideas of Truth in the Early Thirteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 318. \$32.50.

According to Steven P. Marrone, in his treatise *Magisterium divinale ac sapientiale* William of Auvergne proposed "to defend all of truth against the errors of 'impious philosophers' and he said he would do so without making any appeal to Christian faith or the authority of divine revelation, relying only on the way of natural reason and logical proof" (p. 28). Thus, bravely, does the early thirteenth century renew the ancient struggle with the dilemma of the Christian philosopher who seeks to establish reliable criteria for truth, while acknowledging man's innate inability to solve this problem

without divine aid. Marrone's thesis is that the conventional historical approach to this subject is wrong. It assumes that the doctrine of divine illumination was the traditional doctrine that guided medieval thinkers and from which flowed a "continuous philosophical debate over the issue of truth" (p. 8). Marrone emphasizes instead that the nature of the philosophical problem changed continually and that historians have failed to appreciate the dramatic developments in epistemology during the thirteenth century.

Marrone presents a detailed account of these developments in the work of two early thirteenth-century figures—William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste. The author points out that in his later work Grosseteste takes on the task of formulating a specific set of criteria for establishing what Marrone calls the "scientific ideal of knowledge" (p. 145). The author often uses "science" to mean natural science rather than the thirteenth-century translation of *scientia*, simply knowledge. The confusion that occasionally results obscures Marrone's aim, which is to emphasize connections between an interest in natural philosophy (especially by Grosseteste) and a concurrent interest in or impulse toward intellectual system-building.

Marrone says that "the history of the problem of truth in the later Middle Ages is . . . the story of a process of intellectual inquiry and debate by which thinkers came to understand the nature of the new problem that faced them as they attempted to cut themselves free from the old patterns of thought . . ." (p. 16). What Marrone seems to be doing, however, is charting the course of the journey from the old logic that held sway until the late twelfth century to the new logic that replaced it in the West after Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* became widely available in Latin translation. This course, in my estimation, is little more than a fusing of earlier Aristotelian epistemology and logic with his later theories and the addition of some Stoic and Boethian contributions. Aristotle's inferential schema of deductive logic and the ancient Stoic logic of propositions (simple and compound) do not, as Marrone would have it, in themselves result in any significant progress in epistemological or dialectical thought. The discussion of the new interest in induction is more significant.

Marrone's book increases our understanding of the great shift in intellectual attitude that took place toward the end of the twelfth century. The earlier mood of optimistic trust in an expanding rational awareness of all aspects of human experience gave way to something quite different. With few exceptions, the thinkers writing in the succeeding period concentrated their energies on a newly felt need to devise thought systems. The former interest in open inquiry and empirical forays into many kinds of

endeavor was replaced by massive cataloging of information, brilliant efforts to form syntheses of opposing ideas, attempts to harmonize disparate intellectual trends and, above all, by the creation of philosophical systems that, by combining Christian doctrine with dialectic, could mold patterns of thought into cognitive shapes that would provide men with as much solace and certainty as possible.

Marrone deals with this important moment of discontinuity in the history of ideas and his book fills a significant need for medievalists concerned with a subject of enduring interest. His lively book should help release us from the thralldom in which we have been held for so long by the subject of scholastic metaphysics, thereby setting us free to assess more effectively the textual material of these intellectual movements. We will be better able to place such material in the broader context of social and political structures and thus come to a deeper understanding of its relation to the entire medieval experience.

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CLARISSA W. ATKINSON. *Mystic and Pilgrim: The Book and the World of Margery Kempe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1983. Pp. 241. \$19.95.

Clarissa W. Atkinson's authoritative interpretation of the life of Margery Kempe puts forth two significant theses—the first more convincingly than the second. Atkinson claims that Kempe was not an anomaly or a maniac but a participant in a well-established tradition of Christian mysticism. She also believes that Kempe and women like her signal the emergence in the late Middle Ages of a new form of female holiness.

Margery Kempe had solid middle-class origins. Her father, John Burnham, was mayor of King's Lynn and a member of parliament. She married John Kempe in 1393 and became the mother of fourteen children before she convinced him to join her in a vow of celibacy (ca. 1413). The birth of her first child was a trauma and led to a serious illness from which she was delivered by a visitation from Christ. Thereafter she enjoyed a steady stream of mystical experiences (for example, visions, odors, musical sounds) that led her to believe she had a special spiritual vocation. She received the "gift of tears" and through her visible sorrow she was called to be a mirror in which the world contemplated the horror of sin and found motive for repentance.

Her world and ours has found much about Margery Kempe that evokes not repentance but horror. She screamed and rolled on the ground at the sight of a crucifix. She disrupted services and

had to be forbidden to attend church. She believed that Christ permitted her to finger the flesh of his toes, and she rejected "wedding to the Godhead" because she did not want to lose the warm love relationship she enjoyed with the human Christ. Her contemporaries wondered if she was afflicted with epilepsy; ours have suspected her of being psychotic.

Atkinson argues very convincingly that Margery Kempe was an exceptional English figure but not unusual in light of the activities of Continental female ecstasies. The author places Kempe in a tradition of affective mysticism that originated with Anselm and continued with Bernard and the Franciscans. Inspirations for her behavior are found in Birgitta of Sweden, Julian of Norwich, Angela of Foligno, and Dorothea of Montau. The context Atkinson provides for Kempe's book makes it much easier for a modern reader to approach its subject with sympathy and respect.

But Atkinson argues that Margery Kempe was not just a representative of an old tradition. The author considers her an originator of a new female role, "a new phenomenon in the history of Christianity: holy women who were wives and mothers . . ." (p. 219). Atkinson sees Kempe's vocation as a departure from the ancient tradition in which "virginity had been a major component of holiness for Christian women" (p. 219). Kempe might have disagreed with Atkinson. She assumed the white dress of the virgin and was delighted when God revealed to her that she was still a maiden in her soul. She found the practice of female sexuality (with husband or children) to be incompatible with Christian calling. Margery Kempe seems very consistent with the common medieval assumption that a woman achieves religious authority only by denying the powers unique to her gender. The heroines of the plays of Hroswitha of Gandersheim (particularly the matron, Sapientia), who spring from a much earlier Christian tradition, would have been at home in the company of Margery Kempe.

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JULIET VALE. *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and Its Context, 1270–1350*. Woodbridge: Boydell; distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, Totowa, N.J. 1982. Pp. 207. \$49.50.

MICHAEL PACKE. *King Edward III*. Edited by L. C. B. SEAMAN. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1983. Pp. ix, 318. \$24.95.

Michael Packe's bold raid into the fourteenth century makes for a good read, but not a sustaining one.

According to his publishers, the author has attempted to provide the only full account of the reign of Edward III "from its violent beginnings . . . to his . . . solitary death," and they are essentially correct. Strange to say, there is no full scale modern biography of Edward III—nor of Edward II, nor of Edward I—comparable to those recently published on Henry II and John. There are, of course, many books and articles on aspects of the period, but few of them appear in Packe's bibliography. His book is more a life than a life and times of this great king, and in it Packe recounts Edward's life with considerable skill.

Errors that indicate lack of familiarity with the underpinnings of fourteenth-century society abound in this book. Calling the papal curia "the Vatican" (p. 19) is entirely too modern; a kingdom *was* different from an ordinary feudal holding (p. 20); Scots were not all clansmen—east of the Highland Line they lived in lordships, English-style, like their English neighbors, so Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale should not be scolded for "perfidiously using his unwarranted command of English" (p. 98). Lack of familiarity with the usages of feudalism hurts Packe's narrative, as does his insistence on comparing the Normandy campaign of 1346 with Overlord. One last cavil—Cokayne is not Cockayne.

Even so, the biography hangs together well and is well written. It does deal too much with episodes at the expense of careful explanation of complicated developments and institutions. For example, Edward's descent on France was certainly more than an attempt to gain the goodwill of his vassals. It would seem that Packe's knowledge of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (he wrote a *Life of John Stuart Mill*, *The Bombs of Orsini*, *Bommen voor Napoleon*, and *First Airborne*) is fuller than of the fourteenth.

L. C. B. Seaman, who finished the book after Packe's death, has left his mark. In his first book he reinterpreted some cardinal points of nineteenth-century history in a delightful way. In this one he follows much the same pattern, subjecting the old evidence to a self-confident logic and arriving at compelling conclusions. Packe had completed the section on the seduction of the "countess of Salisbury" by the time of his death, but these 18 pages (out of a chapter of 109) read like vintage Seaman. The episode is immediately convincing but ultimately unsatisfactory.

Juliet Vale's monograph could hardly be less like Packe's book than it is. She has explained certain aspects of the close connections between England and the Continent in the reign of Edward III, particularly the connections between Rhenish comital courts and the English court as seen in war, diplomacy, and chivalry. While Packe approaches

his great topic with scant help from those who have gone before, Vale bases her narrow topic on extensive documentation—almost twenty pages of bibliography to Packe's three and a half for a much longer book. Vale's purpose is clearly stated: to explain English chivalric custom at the time of Edward III in terms of general European development, as a purposeful, natural one descending from grandfather, from mother, and from wife, as well as from Edward's own inclination.

Literary remains of tournaments of northern France and Flanders in the thirteenth century provide most interesting precedents for the tournaments of Edward III. In both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Arthurian legend was important for chivalric societies. England, the host country, so to speak, held an especially revered position, although the English knights went abroad to great *fêtes* and tournaments as normally as would any other northern knights of the time. Somewhat more surprising is the view that northern French and Flemish townsmen enjoying *festes* similar to knightly tournaments, with the *haute bourgeoisie* on equal terms with aristocratic neighbors. Just as Lille and Tournai produced armigerous patricians, so too did London. Once again, English society appears as part of the general northern European development.

The connections between Flemish chivalric society and the English court were many, but Philippa of Hainault and Jean Froissart provided the most direct links. At the very center, the king himself led the way. Edward, his queen, and even his mother in her nunnery supported the arts, knew Arthurian classics, read books, and participated fully in the cultural life of the time. Beneath them, English noble society was also far from being culturally inactive.

With all this, Vale explains how Edward institutionalized chivalry in the Order of the Garter. Starting with the tradition of mock war in the tournament and the superposition of Arthurian form on the ceremony of the tournament, the king created a permanent body of tourneyers. What had existed ephemerally before was made permanent in the new Order. Edward's invention came about because of one added element—his claim to France and the consequent smashing success of the Crecy campaign. Add to this a need to accommodate dissidents of the political crisis of the 1340s and the complex explanation becomes clear. Altogether this is a learned and illuminating monograph.

Appendixes and the bibliography add significantly to the book's value. Scholars old and new will likely find themselves pricked to action after studying them.

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JEAN RICHARD. *Saint Louis: Roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre Sainte*. Paris: Fayard. 1983. Pp. 638. 120 fr.

Jean Richard's book on Louis IX of France emphasizes the ruler himself rather than royal administration or political relations with the nobility and the church, the normal approach in biographies of medieval rulers. He has found it possible to do so because of the abundance of personal testimony that has survived from people who knew and, in most cases, admired the great king. Divided into four parts, the book treats Louis's life roughly in chronological order, although the author jumps backward and forward in time in the different parts. In part 1 Richard considers the period before the Crusade of 1248–54. The second part concerns the planning and execution of the Crusade. Part 3 treats the reformist policies after the Crusade (1254–70). And part 4 details the preparations and execution of the Crusade of 1270. There is a short discussion of sources, which will be of more value to novices than specialists. There are a number of maps, genealogies, and other aids for those otherwise unfamiliar with the nuances of French medieval history.

Since 1970, the seventh centenary of the death of Louis IX on crusade, there has been an outpouring of scholarship on his reign. Several major works have treated, among other disparate themes, royal administration in his time as well as manuscript illumination in and around the court circle. Any new study of St. Louis must, to justify its existence, summarize and incorporate this research as well as add significantly to some less-explored or less-understood aspect of the king's life and reign. For all the quibbling that one might do about this or that point in Richard's study (his perfunctory treatment of Jewish policy, his relative indifference to artistic patronage), it seems to me that he succeeds on both grounds. He has conscientiously tried to cover the many serious studies by both French and English and American scholars on St. Louis; and even if he has paid surprisingly little attention to some works (for example, J. R. Strayer's *Administration of Normandy under Saint Louis* [1932] is not cited in the bibliography), he has made good use of others by Maurice Powicke, Charles Wood, Quentin Griffiths, to name a few.

Besides his incorporation of much of the wide range of existing scholarship, Richard has made a notable contribution of his own. He has brought to those sections of the book on the Crusades (pp. 213–54, 451–574) his profound knowledge of diplomacy and warfare in and around the Holy Land. Here Richard's important earlier contributions have been fitted into a coherent picture of Louis's reign.

His argument is not new: the Crusade was the centerpiece of Louis IX's life. The image of the king as a saint owed its genesis to his crusading zeal and to the penitential effect that the failure of the Crusade of 1248–54 had on him in reshaping his rule. What is new is the detail and the nuance of his portrait of the king in his diplomatic relations and in the Holy Land and the setting off of that portrait against a magisterial summary of politics in the Mongol, Muslim, and Christian Near East. Richard makes the most convincing case I have ever read that a Mongol-Frankish alliance against the Muslims came very close to fulfillment in the 1260s and only foundered because neither side could accept the formalities involved in an alliance that, given Mongol claims, would inevitably have required some conventional acknowledgment by the Franks of their temporal inferiority. These pages (501–12) are brilliant.

Richard also makes a strong case for rejecting Charles of Anjou's responsibility for diverting Louis's last Crusade away from the obvious target, Egypt, to Tunis. But if he uses circumstantial evidence to exonerate Louis's brother Charles, whose main interests were certainly elsewhere, he does not provide a persuasive alternative explanation. His argument, that Louis was captivated by the idea that the Tunisian emir would convert if only a Christian army was on his doorstep to urge him on, does not quite fit my image of the king. But no matter: Richard's book is a welcome and important contribution to the history of the thirteenth century.

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CLAUDE CAHEN. *Orient et occident au temps des croisades*. (Collection Historique.) Paris: Aubier Montaigne. 1983. Pp. 302. 98 fr.

Professor of Islamic history at the Sorbonne and the author of numerous other books and articles on the Muslims, Turks, and Crusades, Claude Cahen is an internationally recognized expert on events and developments in the Middle East during the medieval period and is well qualified to write this book on the Crusades.

Many books have been published on this topic, but, unfortunately, most of them are of poor quality. According to Cahen, many scholars attribute to the crusading movement an influence and prestige beyond its true historical impact, portraying only dramatic highlights and overlooking the steady growth and development of the political, economic, and cultural relations between Europe and the Middle East. Cahen's volume was designed to be more than just another descriptive account of heroic knights in battle; his purpose, as stated in the introduction, was to look beyond the military events

to the true nature of the contact and relationship between Christian Europe and the Muslim Middle East. His intention was to place the Crusades in the larger perspective of the changing balance of power in the Mediterranean world between approximately 1100 and 1300, of the internal changes taking place within Christian and Muslim societies, and especially of the ongoing growth of trade and commerce between the two. The book was designed to be a work of synthesis—to unite and integrate the political, economic, social and cultural evolution of ideas and events in the context of the reciprocal interaction of East and West at the time of the Crusades.

This study does not fulfill all of the promises and goals stated in the introduction. This reader expected and eagerly awaited the type of overall synthesis he had been led to believe would follow. Instead of a general overview, the book is rather specific and organized in the traditional format of most narrative histories of the Crusades. Yet the first ten chapters are presented chronologically while the last seven are organized topically (that is, Saladin, crusader institutions, armies, and so forth). This sudden shift in format and coverage is unexpected and confusing; it tends to make the volume appear somewhat disjointed even though Cahen's emphasis on the growing trade and commercial contact between Christian Europe and the Muslim Middle East does tend to act as a unifying thread throughout the book. Overall, this volume does not fulfill its promise of presenting a true synthesis. Cahen enumerates many general observations on the Crusades, but little of what he offers is new or unique. Much of what he says has been standard in textbooks and lectures for years—that is, that most cultural and intellectual exchange took place in Spain and Sicily rather than in the Crusader states; that East-West trade existed before and continued after the Crusades; that the Christian West had an impact on the Muslim Middle East as well as vice versa; that some view the Crusades as an early example of imperialism and colonialism; that some compare the Crusader states to modern Israel; and so on. In short, this reader was somewhat disappointed since this study did not deliver the concise summary and/or synthesis of Cahen's personal views, interpretations, and insights on the Crusades promised.

In terms of scholarly apparatus, however, this volume is beyond reproach. It contains thirty pages of illuminating documents (in French translation) in addition to thirty pages of footnotes. The eight-page bibliography was designed to be specific and select; indeed, the first few pages serve as a valuable bibliographical essay. Cahen's use and handling of his sources and his knowledge of all the pertinent scholarly literature is exemplary.

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UTA-RENAME BLUMENTHAL, editor. *Carolingian Essays*. (Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies.) Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1983. Pp. x, 249. \$25.95.

The majority of these six essays on discrete topics in Carolingian intellectual life was originally given in lecture form. They must have been difficult to absorb at one hearing. Their erudition, complexity, and scholarly apparatus are justification enough for their publication in this collection edited by Uta-Renate Blumenthal. Beyond this, however, the book may be taken as a whole, and as such, it reveals much about the preoccupations of historians today confronting the Carolingian renaissance.

The first theme that cuts across the essays is, of course, the question of the quality and nature of that renaissance. John J. Contreni's essay proposes to help historians "appreciate better the work of Carolingian masters, who, with an exception or two, have generally been passed over as second-rate compilers" (p. 74). His study illuminates the reasons—often pedagogical—for the precise ways in which Carolingian masters studied and commented on the Bible. Equally appreciative is Donald A. Bullough's essay, which discusses the texts that reveal Alcuin's reading, method, and outlook at different phases of his life. Bullough's Alcuin not only drew on his sources but transformed them, "responding to new opportunities and new stimuli" (p. 13). Similarly, Eduard Jauneau's John Scottus Eriugena "painfully and often poorly translated [Greek patristic sources, yet created] a sophisticated set of philosophical speculations inspired by them" (p. 139). Dominic J. O'Meara's essay demonstrates how John Scottus reconciled *kataphatic* and *apophatic* theology in a most fruitful manner, opening up new ways to "speak about God."

A second issue that recurs in these articles is the role of Irish learning. Roger E. Reynolds argues for the widespread influence of the *Collectio hibernensis* on Carolingian canonical and liturgical manuscripts. Jauneau, however, contrasts the early "Irish" writings of John Scottus with his work under the influence of "Carolingian culture." Contreni takes a middle position, arguing that by Scottus's time, Irish forms of scholarship had been utterly assimilated into Carolingian culture.

The most important theme uniting the essays is the primacy of the manuscript. Bullough argues against Alcuin's authorship of the *De imagine Dei* (contra John Marenbon). Reynolds systematically lists his texts. We begin to sense the joy of the hunt. Jauneau's heaven is seeing a hitherto lost manuscript of a translation by John Scottus. And the last essay of the book invites the reader to enter the pursuit. Susan A. Keefe asks for further manuscripts to supplement her inventory of baptismal expositions. Her handlist and introductory remarks

suggest new directions for scholars of Carolingian intellectual history, away from the famous writers, toward anonymous, but perhaps more characteristic ones, and also toward the use of texts such as baptismal tracts to understand the ways Carolingians defined themselves and their society. Her careful assemblage of manuscripts is both a fitting end to this book of carefully wrought essays and a promise of what one hopes will be among the topics of a future series of Mellon lectures.

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HOWARD KAMINSKY. *Simon de Cramaud and the Great Schism*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 369. \$30.00.

The link between politics and religion in the late medieval world could not be better portrayed than in this study. Others have emphasized the spiritual and theological implications of the Great Schism. Howard Kaminsky illuminates the political motives and actions that were involved by focusing attention on one country, France, and on one man, Simon de Cramaud, and by treating him, regardless of his ecclesiastical titles, as a practitioner of *Realpolitik*. Cramaud spent his life as a man of action with little concern for abstract theories and so was most fitted for solving the problem of his time. The church had come to dire straits because of the way it functioned and because of the way people perceived it. Cramaud took this situation and used it in the way he knew best.

Kaminsky presents the popular view of the late medieval church and the Great Schism, circling back to it several times: the papacy was a source of patronage rather than the leader of a spiritual body; ecclesiastical office was an entity with revenues attached to it; the end of the Schism meant princely control of the church; French support made the Schism, but once French interests shifted, the Schism could be ended.

Cramaud came out of a world of conflict and shifting interests; he was literally a careerist in the later medieval world. Throughout his life personal interests dominated his actions, and these included grabbing titles, revenues, and property. As a careerist he played the game of estate-gathering by coercion and purchase, but he also tried to build up family ties to protect the future. In the end he failed, as there was no one in his family whom he trusted to carry on the good fight.

Cramaud saw the Schism from a special perspective: Did resolution of the Schism have to include the answer to the question of which pope was really legitimate? If not, then what way was most expedient in ending it? These were straightforward political questions, and working for his master, the duke

of Berry, Cramaud could begin to deal with the problem. He could be sure in treating the Avignon cardinals that they had greater loyalty to France than to the pope because they sought to protect their benefices in France.

A series of meetings were scheduled, prepared for, and carefully orchestrated and choreographed by Cramaud in the 1390s and after, when he was in the forefront of leadership. Expediency indicated that the Avignon pope should yield his position as a first step toward unity; noncompliance led to the withdrawal of obedience by France. In this way Cramaud hoped to see a nonjuridical solution (cession) of a political problem by political pressure. He was not concerned about form and legitimacy but was direct, systematic, and ruthless in gaining his purpose. Cramaud's mentality is reflected in his treatises, which are functional and not theoretical; he searched for texts and arguments to support his case and omitted all else. He wrote to justify what he was doing. Cramaud held to his goal and saw the victory of his ideas at the councils of Pisa (1409) and Constance (1414–18). His argument for public utility over right or private good won out, and he held off the extremists in getting a workable solution while protecting his own place and career in a shifting political world.

The author gives us an interesting story and a provocative thesis. When a divided church was no longer profitable, the French could and really did end the Schism, and it was Cramaud who was the motivating force in French policy that worked to end it. This view can only be tested by the evidence supplied by other studies on the role of Sigismund, the Italian cities and families, and other princes caught up in the game of power politics and special interests in the name of God. One may occasionally disagree with Kaminsky, but in all it is a well-presented and well-argued thesis. No one studying these problems in the future will be able to ignore this book.

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ALBERT RIGAUDIÈRE. *Saint-Flour ville d'Auvergne au bas Moyen Age: Étude d'histoire administrative et financière*. In two volumes. (Publications de l'Université de Rouen.) Paris: Universitaires de France. 1982. Pp. 547; 558–1012. 450 fr.

BERNARD CHEVALIER. *Les bonnes villes de France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle*. (Collection Historique.) Paris: Aubier Montaigne. 1982. Pp. 345. 130 fr.

Largely because of the preponderant influence of the *Annales* approach to history, rural and regional studies have occupied the forefront of French his-

toriography during the last generation. Advances in urban history, by comparison, have seemed fewer and far less dramatic. Aside from the majestic studies on Metz and Toulouse published in the early 1950s, the field lacked the solid and comprehensive tomes of the kind being generated on *la terre et les hommes*. All that changed in the 1970s with a burst of publications on late medieval urban development. From the voluminous town records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries came exceptionally detailed studies on demographic movements, fiscal and administrative policies, and social history quite unlike the constitutional and legal studies that used to pass for urban history. Recent monographs are available on towns throughout France, from regional centers such as Poitiers, Tours, and Reims to smaller towns such as Périgueux, Mâcon, and Saint-Flour. A brief summary of that scholarship first appeared in Jacques Rossiaud's chapter in the *Histoire de la France urbaine*, volume 2 (1981), but here Bernard Chevalier, author of *Tours, ville royale: 1356–1520*, presents a more original and useful synthesis.

Chevalier begins with the problem of definition: How did contemporaries identify what we would understand as urban centers? He finds that the term *bon*, originally applied to fortifications, acquired new meaning in the course of the thirteenth century as it was extended (for the first time in 1222) to certain towns in order to distinguish them from more rural centers. When Philip IV, in a moment of political expediency, summoned representatives of the *bonnes villes* of his realm to discuss his financial needs, he not only established the identity of the most important urban centers but also acknowledged them as the fourth power of the realm beside the king, the church, and the nobility. Chevalier argues that the destruction of the nobility at the battle of Poitiers and the ensuing collapse of royal government permitted the *bonnes villes* to emerge as the political, administrative, and fiscal centers of the kingdom, and that between 1350 and 1500 they created the first authentically urban (bourgeois) culture in France. No longer divided internally among several seignorial jurisdictions as they had been earlier, they became cohesive, self-governing entities whose massive walls separated them from the countryside. Preoccupied by internal administrative and fiscal questions (to which we owe their careful record keeping), the townsmen devoted most of their energies toward improving life within the walls: public works programs yielded clock towers, town halls, defense and road works, while private investment later rehabilitated or replaced the housing stock destroyed or abandoned in the fourteenth century. In sum, a distinctly urban style of life became possible in the fourteenth century, and by the fifteenth most towns had lost their medieval character and appearance.

Chevalier is quite correct to emphasize the emergence of towns as a national force in the fourteenth century, although several aspects of the internal evolution of urban society merit further research and discussion. For instance, he surely overrates the role of town walls in molding an urban character. Walled towns were not original to the fourteenth century, and it is not at all self-evident that they severed familial and economic ties between townsmen and the countryside, even amid the insecurities of that time. Also, the disappearance of medieval "patrician" families and their replacement by new "bourgeois" families in the late fourteenth century seems a sleight of hand. Certainly many old wealthy families faded while new ones rose to prominence, often by different routes such as law and royal service, but prosopographical studies have yet to demonstrate the wholesale displacement of ruling families by a new elite. Nevertheless, Chevalier offers the best introduction and bibliographical guide to a rapidly growing field.

Typical of the recent monographs is Albert Rigaudière's study of Saint-Flour, a 1971 thesis already widely known and cited. It is based primarily on a series of remarkable fiscal records (1376–1467) and municipal deliberations (from 1453) that depict in minute detail the public life of one of the six *bonnes villes* in Upper Auvergne. Originally the site of a tenth-century Cluniac priory, Saint-Flour acquired an urban flavor only in the early fourteenth century when it attained a population of about 6,000, acquired independence from the bishop, and erected its first public monuments. Like most towns Saint-Flour lost half of its population to the plague, but unlike the larger towns it escaped serious social unrest. As a frontier fortress between French and English forces, it suffered from the afflictions of war, and after the Peace of Brétigny it was ravaged by private companies and the Tuchins. Yet through it all the consuls managed the town's affairs in virtual independence until the 1420s, when Charles VII began to subordinate the *bonnes villes* to direct royal authority.

Rigaudière's chief contributions are a lengthy exposé of the daily operations of town government and a meticulous analysis of the town's finances. As 4,500 pages of tax records attest, taxation was the pivot around which public life revolved. The wine tax was the preferred, and most efficient, tax; together with the *gabelle* it furnished 85 percent of the town's income. Public works and administrative expenses consumed half of those revenues; the remainder fed the constant flow of ambassadors and messengers who represented the town to outsiders, especially the king, the duke of Berry (who held Upper Auvergne in apanage), the estates of Auvergne, and the towns with which Saint-Flourians traded. Despite widespread participation by the wealthiest families in the consulship, only 19 families

consistently furnished the majority of the consuls. And the old merchant families—dealers in cloth, wine, and metal—remained the elite of wealth and local power through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It is impossible to summarize the extraordinary richness of information unearthed by Rigaudière; suffice it to say that the determined reader (the long, close analyses require perseverance) will acquire an incomparable sense of how a small and remote (but not isolated) town actually functioned during the 200 years of independence between ecclesiastical and royal subjugation. This study shows how far we have come from the arid disputes over communes and consulates, but it also serves as a reminder that generalizations drawn from the great regional centers cannot be applied uniformly to all towns.

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MODERN EUROPE

CHARLES B. SCHMITT. *Aristotle and the Renaissance*. (Martin Classical Lectures, number 27.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, for Oberlin College. 1983. Pp. viii, 187. \$18.50.

The juxtaposition of "Aristotle" and "The Renaissance" in the title of a book might seem odd or even downright perverse. Was it not the Renaissance humanists who led the charge against the sway of Aristotle? And was it not Plato who inspired the poets and artists of the Renaissance? Yet Charles B. Schmitt reminds us, in this thorough and readable review of the Renaissance material, that Aristotle too enjoyed a rebirth of sorts. Perhaps, in the light of the long history of medieval Aristotelianism, it would be more accurate to say that the study of Aristotle took on a new (Greek) tone. Obviously, Schmitt hopes that the study of Renaissance Aristotelianism—so long denigrated and neglected—may also take on a new tone in light of his work and that of Charles H. Lohr, F. Edward Cranz, and others.

Earlier historians of philosophy, such as Jacob Brucker, who were closer in time and spirit to the Renaissance, gave considerable attention to Achilini, Cesalpino, Keckermann, Nifo, Pomponazzi, and their like. They did not perceive a sharp discontinuity in the philosophical tradition. The triumph of the "Moderns" in the seventeenth century, reflecting the new physics, occasioned the drastic break in the historiography of philosophy. But the study of Aristotle continued from the fourteenth until the seventeenth century and even after, resulting in a profusion of critical texts, commentaries, outlines, tables, Latin and vernacular translations,

and textbooks. Those who have not explored this literature will be astonished at the array of materials marshalled by Schmitt. To a certain extent, this appearance of prodigious activity is misleading; some of the commentaries that received their first printed editions were medieval, and the addition of a preface by a Renaissance editor hardly constitutes a major contribution to Aristotelian philosophizing.

There were, however, scholars of considerable philosophical talents, such as Giulio Pace or Francesco Vimercato, who advanced our understanding of Aristotle's philosophy. They had a firm command of the Greek language and they knew the Greek commentators as well as anyone before or since. Thus they were able to take advantage of that other neglected period in the history of Aristotelian philosophy, the Hellenistic era (extended to reach to Philoponus in the sixth century). It was surely no accident that the scholar-scientists of Alexandria were appreciated for their genuine merits at a time when careful scholarship and scientific discovery were again beginning to flourish. Could it be that both periods have been the victims of a prejudice that refuses to concede that precise scholarship is not inimical to scientific advance—and indeed may even promote it? We are beginning to see the restoration of the Alexandrian period to its proper height in the scale of philosophical achievement: perhaps we shall see a similar restoration of Renaissance Aristotelianism. Schmitt's study should help to promote that movement. A very useful feature of his book is its rich and timely store of references to contemporary scholarship.

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H. C. DARBY. *The Changing Fenland*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xv, 267. \$49.50.

OLIVER RACKHAM. *Ancient Woodland: Its History, Vegetation, and Uses in England*. Baltimore: Edward Arnold. 1980. Pp. xii, 402. \$115.00.

In *Fresh Fields* John Burroughs wrote that "to see England . . . is to see the most perfect bit of garden-lawn . . . the history of two thousand years written in grass and verdure, and in the lines of the landscape" (p. 39). The English have become adept at deciphering the history of these lineaments in earthworks and old buildings but, until recently, have seen little history in "grass and verdure." One of the surprising features of the study of English landscape history in its great phase from about 1935 to 1965 is that none of the contributors seems to have been a naturalist. Biological indicators of landscape change, their implications for past economic activity involv-

ing the exploitation of plants and animals, and the implications of landscape changes and remnants for the present pattern of flora and fauna in so extensively man-made and man-remade a scene were mostly passed over. These matters were not systematically drawn together in the case of woodlands until an article by Colin R. Tubbs in 1964 and his *The New Forest: An Ecological History* in 1968.

Subsequent development of such studies has been as fascinating as the immensely varied nooks and crannies of the English countryside with which they concern themselves. Historically minded biologists have made more of the running than historians. Whereas biologists and conservationists showed close to no awareness of the connections between their specialties and man's activities in even a long-settled country like England until Tubbs led the way in the 1960s, now Oliver Rackham from the Botany School at Cambridge has expanded our understanding of woodland history by a further order of magnitude.

Rackham's book is loving, with a deep respect for the proper management of woods where he can demonstrate that individual coppice stools (tree bases from which the wands have been repeatedly cut, that is to say, cropped) are up to 700 years old. His viewpoint is that of an ecologist keen to see preserved the diverse botanical complexes of English woodlands. Nine chapters on species or families of trees, or, rather, woods in which they predominate, are preceded by chapters on aspects of ecology, early history, and management and uses of woods and wood-pasture. These are prefaced in turn by discussions of sources and methods—ecological appraisal of the under story; examinations of earthworks within woods, timbers in datable old buildings, ancient documentary descriptions and maps; and listening to oral testimony. R. H. Tawney said that the historian needs stout boots; the forest historian à la Rackham needs tough hands, for he stresses the importance of personal experience of managing woodland. Since both historical ecology and ecological history have remained underdeveloped in the United States, this book could serve as a reference manual for transferring the techniques of the historical study of the biological landscape across the Atlantic. It is a monumental work, an elaboration of Rackham's *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (1976).

Historians, if concerned in the slightest, have tended to treat English woodland as a static resource, hence the fabricated "timber famine" of the seventeenth century. But coppicing means that woods have been cropped rotationally for centuries. What competes with forestry is agriculture, which wants the land. Industrial usage has actually preserved ancient woodland as the source of wood as a crop. Rackham has some points to make about the

economic history of timber. One is that the initially uneven distribution of woodland and wood from trees of different species required trade—so much for any conception of medieval local self-sufficiency. But Rackham is a little down on economic explanation and these aspects are subordinated to woodland ecology. In other words, ecological history—as opposed to historical ecology—has not developed much. Is this because scientists can get funds to study nature but historians are still under pressure to study man directly?

H. C. Darby's book on the fens of eastern England is an extension and rewrite of his previous standard historical geographies on the region and, as such, will be agreeably familiar. The middle five chapters appeared in an earlier form in his *The Draining of the Fens* (1956). They are now prefaced by a chapter on the Middle Ages akin to his *The Medieval Fenland* (1940), and followed by a chapter on the drainage efforts of the twentieth century. This well-illustrated book is a continuous narrative of the efforts to drain swampland by whatever technology was possible at a given date and ward off the effects of sudden flood on reclaimed farmland. The impression comes across very strongly of continual effort, further testimony to the manufacture of the present landscape of England through varied and superimposed uses of the soil over a long, long period.

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E. W. IVES. *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England: Thomas Kebell, a Case Study*. (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xxx, 536. \$79.50.

This is a study of the common lawyers and their world at the end of the fifteenth century. It features in particular the career of Thomas Kebell of Humberstone, Leicestershire, sergeant-at-law and a notable pleader of that period. There are chapters devoted to the organization of the contemporary legal profession, Kebell's legal practice, relations between the common lawyers and the crown, and the place of lawyers in society and their professional rewards. It is an agreeable blend of legal and social history.

Kebell is remembered primarily because of his frequent appearances in the Year Books. To some degree he came to prominence, as E. W. Ives points out, through sheer good fortune. Sergeants-at-law had a monopoly of pleading in the court of common pleas, yet from 1490 to 1494, because of promotions to the bench, only Kebell and one other were available to do so. Furthermore, for six terms from April 1494 Kebell was left as the sole pleader in a

court renowned for providing the greatest financial rewards for the lawyer. Another reason for his many mentions in the Year Books was probably his resourceful, almost cavalier, attitude to the private law when pleading his clients' cases. In an age when the land law and the rules of inheritance were very complex and perhaps not in accord with what society wanted, Kebell demonstrated great mastery of procedure and mental agility wherewith to advance his clients' causes and appealed frequently, where he had no good precedent with which to buttress his arguments, simply to "reason" and to "right." If Ives has interpreted the Year Books correctly, the judges showed great tolerance toward these appeals to natural law. Their generosity is perhaps to be explained in part by the cohesiveness of the common lawyers, which in turn was probably brought about by the nature of their training, the conditions of their work, and by intermarriage. Another reason, Ives argues, was the fluid nature of the law at that time: "novel claims could thus be put forward with some chance of success" (p. 419). This in turn stemmed from there being "no doctrine of binding precedent" (p. 158). There was a distinct reluctance on the part of both justices and counsel to interpret statutes narrowly, and there seems to have been a lack of agreement as to arguments used in similar cases in the past. Personal memories of these were sometimes preferred to written reports. Thus, most important in deciding cases at this time, Ives suggests, were what might be called the general principles of private law. It all suggests a grave shortage of law books, and this appears to be confirmed by Kebell himself being in possession of only five at the time of his death. There was, however, a great benefit in this flexibility, for it allowed the common law to continue to flourish when challenged by new courts in the sixteenth century.

Ives refers only very briefly to the criminal law of the time, and the efforts made by Henry VII to deal with the problems of public order. This is probably because his major source, the Year Books, have little to say on such matters. The touch is less sure here; there is a lack of necessary background. He has much more to say, and to good effect, about the devices and tactics utilized by the crown, from the end of the fifteenth century, to put pressure on the lawyers to reinterpret the law so that it might enjoy, in full, all the old feudal obligations of society at large.

An area where Ives is particularly instructive is that of the career prospects and the wealth of the common lawyers. The profession of law provided an "acceptable level of success" but no "glittering prizes" (p. 328). Kebell, who as a sergeant-at-law must have earned about £300 a year, was a keen purchaser of land, even land of disputed title, and

seems to have used much of it for sheep farming. The law was considered a good choice of career for the eldest son of a landed family, but if he made a success of it he would not expect his son or grandson to do likewise; they were to be country gentlemen. Hence, a family's connection with the legal profession rarely lasted beyond two generations; lawyers were therefore never a caste.

The very considerable value of this book to the historian is not in doubt. The arrangement of the various topics treated could perhaps be improved, and Ives, it seems to me, may have been over-impressed by some of the Year Book comments. It would surely have been useful to have had some explanation of the state of the land law when Kebell was practicing, and some insight given into the dynamics of litigation. Otherwise the author deserves our commendation.

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CHARLES B. SCHMITT. *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Ideas, number 5.) Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 303. \$35.00.

In *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England*, Charles B. Schmitt of the Warburg Institute, author of essays and three previous books about the Renaissance intellectual milieu, expands earlier indications that England participated in a revival of Aristotelianism for the security of its structure. Schmitt shows the role of Case (d. 1600) in this revival, his association with the reestablished Oxford Press, and the extent of his influence through "some forty editions" (p. 3) published until 1629 in England and 1625 in Germany. The images that emerge reflect a practical teacher and a traditional but revitalized university.

The first chapter demonstrates that logic bridges the periods before 1525, between 1525 and 1575, and after 1575. To prove that Aristotelianism prospered more than Ramism after the 1580s, Schmitt cites one of his eight appendixes, a list of English logics from 1480 to 1620. It omits, however, five printings of Dudley Fenner's Ramist *The Artes of Logike and Rethorike* in 1584 and 1588. From 1594 the editions do favor Schmitt's argument.

Nevertheless, the grounds of this perennial debate must be widened to include a new audience. For example, with an appendix for *The Order of House-holde, Described Methodically*, the Puritan Fenner directed his logic toward a nonacademic audience. Furthermore, Ramist influence on elementary studies, widespread use of Ramist logic by other Puritans such as John Udall to facilitate discussion at home, and later adaptation in spirituality and litera-

ture augment the scope of Ramism beyond numbers of editions and borrowings by Aristotelians. Schmitt's other wide-ranging evidence, however, certainly establishes Aristotle's influence at Oxford after humanism and early religious reform.

Chapters 2 and 3 investigate Case's life and associations, depicting him as tutor, consultant, and, later, author of two primers and six treatises concerning Aristotelian topics and one treatise about music, all in Latin. (One appendix cautiously rejects attribution to Case of an English treatise about music.) A philosopher and doctor of medicine interested in alchemy, university drama, and music, Case enjoyed friendships in educational, literary, medical, and theological circles. Schmitt's evidence shows nothing of the Catholicism that Wilbur Samuel Howell attributes to Case in an attempt to find a Catholic and Aristotelian almost endorsing Peter Ramus. This nuanced position revises the author's earlier qualified repetition of Anthony à Wood's attribution of Catholicism to Case. (In fact, Case's letter to the readers of his logic satirized Ramus as a solitary Phaeton endangering the chariot of knowledge and as born from Jove and Minerva with more wisdom than all the ancients.)

The eclectic sources documented in chapters 4 and 5 show that Case drew extensively but selectively on Catholic commentaries and Continental scholarship. Schmitt correctly remarks that humanism influenced Case's logic. Indeed, Case divided "invention" into rhetoric, whose end is action or desire, and dialectic (*Summa veterum interpretum*, p. 203). As in *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, Schmitt remarks that Case's numerous tables were teaching devices, here suggesting "manuscript representations of the so-called Tree of Porphyry" (p. 145) as their origin.

Walter J. Ong traces the use of dichotomies to Parisian scholastics interested in Boethius and Porphyry. By the time of Rudolph Agricola, and of Ramus and Case, whom he influenced, mnemonic tables illustrated a teacher's simplification of academic knowledge rather than the struggle of a medieval metaphysician to dichotomize being and nonbeing.

Finally, Schmitt emphasizes Case's importance as a philosopher of ethics and politics and explains the topical nature of his political and natural philosophy in discussions of Machiavelli and alchemy. This neglected educator's dialogue with scholarship exemplifies both the conservation and originality that Ong and Elizabeth Eisenstein argue typography stimulated. To teach, John Case availed himself of both a tradition secured in print and modern ideas circulating in books.

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WARREN W. WOODEN. *John Foxe*. (Twayne's English Authors Series, number 345.) Boston: Twayne. 1983. Pp. 144.

For over one hundred years—from the Elizabethan period to the Enlightenment—John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* stood near the top of the English best seller list. Only the Bible commanded a greater reading public. Yet today this once enormously popular and influential work is rarely read or discussed. Warren W. Wooden notes that it is "perhaps a sad certification that his [Foxe's] popularity with the English reading public has waned to its lowest point." Foxe has sunk from his zenith as "King Sun" to a nearly forgotten commoner.

Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* served to bolster the Protestant cause in England by making saints out of the over three hundred Protestants who were burned at the stake under Mary Tudor in sixteenth-century England. Through his martyrology Foxe became one of the most important figures in the early modern period. Thus there is a need for a critical, comprehensive study of the man and his works. Although Wooden's study is clearly written and has a compact organization, it is neither critical nor comprehensive. This is a book that need not have been written. It serves no scholarly purpose. Wooden's work, in fact, pales behind other earlier twentieth-century studies on John Foxe by James Bowling Mozley, Viggo Norsok Olsen, and William Haller. Although these books were far from comprehensive at least they were somewhat objective.

John Foxe harkens back to an earlier period in English scholarship—a period of heroes and villains depending on one's religious persuasion. What is needed is not another one-sided study of Foxe. Many earlier English Protestants uncritically praised Foxe for his attacks on the evil papists; similarly, many earlier opponents of Protestantism attacked Foxe with hostile religious invectives. What is needed today is a comprehensive but critical and balanced study of Foxe. Foxe and his writings must be seen warts and all. Unfortunately, what emerges in Wooden's book is but another hagiography of the great sixteenth-century hagiographer. Although there is a modicum of references to secondary materials, these references are extremely one-sided, used to strengthen the "objectivity" of Foxe. Moreover, Wooden might have examined the extensive materials of the Foxian manuscripts in the Lansdowne and Harleian collections at the British Library to check the veracity of Foxe. Foxe does not always tell both sides of a tale.

Wooden's work is intended as an "introductory study." But, for whom is this work intended? One worries about the audience. Is Wooden's study fodder for more generations of Protestant school-

boys to bolster their anti-Catholicism? Perhaps John Foxe and his strident pro-Protestantism deserve to be hidden on library shelves covered with the tolerant dust of centuries. Perhaps it is a sign of health rather than a "sad certification" that the English reading public has abandoned John Foxe.

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SIBYLLE SCHÜLER. *Die Klostersäkularisation in Kent, 1535–1558*. (Sammlung Schöningh zur Geschichte und Gegenwart, number 77447.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1980. Pp. 164. DM 29.

This fine monograph makes an important contribution to our understanding of the events and consequences of a complex process. By concentration on a single county, Sibylle Schüler again shows the direction of so much recent English Reformation research, in which the local character of studies has provided a depth and solidity not native to either the first or second generation of such studies. But in this, as in so much else, the present work achieves a clarity of concept and mastery of archival materials impossible for earlier students who worked on a national scale. The current work is also notable for its disposition to tackle certain questions of theory and what must be called ideology.

The organization of the monograph is straightforward. A brief introduction frames the inquiry with reference to certain positions familiar in the literature: what reformers hoped might be the use of the profits of the dissolution, the degree to which the crown was motivated by concerns of state building, the impact of the events on the distribution of property and power in Kent, and whether the displaced monks and nuns and others affected by the transfers of land and other assets proceeded down a road to pauperization. The five substantial chapters that follow are topical: monastic life in Kent before the Reformation, the pre-1530s monastic economy, precedents for secularization, the expropriation process itself, and the consequences in economy and society of the actual dispersal of estates and appurtenances in the immediate aftermath of the dissolution. The brief concluding section returns to the questions framed in the introduction while also reflecting on them in a wider context.

Everywhere Schüler makes effective use of the manuscript materials in the Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library, the Kent Archives Office at Maidstone, and the major London collections at Lambeth Palace, the Public Record Office, and the British Library. Here she supports by results the general thesis that the history of the Reformation in England on a national scale will require rewriting

because of local studies, a position most clearly argued by Felicity Heal and Rosemary O'Day in the introductions to their important collections of essays published in 1976 and 1977.

What Schüler has found supports in detail F. R. H. Du Boulay's contention that before the dissolution initiative in the monastic economies had passed to lay rentier groups. There is also support for the showings of Peter Clark and M. L. Zell about the thoroughly conservative character of the political economy of the county before the 1530s. This is an important finding turned to good use in the conclusions, where Schüler states that the dissolution was, in its effects on local society, far from revolutionary in the history of the landed classes: "*die Säkularisation war also nicht Bedingungsrahmen für den Aufstieg dieser Gruppen in die 'gentry'*. So gilt, in ganzen gesehen, auch für Kent that the effects on local society were far from revolutionary." This conclusion she supports in part through a series of tabular appendixes carefully keyed to published and manuscript sources and devoted to values and recipients of monastic estates.

Another important feature of her conclusions is how firmly she places her results in the context of recent Reformation research in both England and on the Continent. This facilitates her reconsideration of Christopher Hill's important and seminal work on the economic problems of the church and what remained disappointed in the hopes of the Reformers who had to wait until Queen Anne's Bounty for a general consolidation of the basis of parish livings. On a related point Schüler employs the notion of absolutism in treating the crown's motives for the dissolution, and this does not seem helpful. The research of Christopher Kitching may be compared with Schüler's to throw a different light on how much land the crown managed to retain in hand. And the degree to which Schüler discounts Marx's immiseration thesis (p. 10) has to be compared with the work of Zell, which she cites without fully accounting for it.

But these are points of interpretation, and the fine work done by Schüler establishes the legitimacy of her own point of view in debated questions. She has demonstrated that the church in Kent was weakened by the dissolution and that the already strong lay invaders of ecclesiastical property and privilege were made stronger in their influence over the clergy and their livings and churches. If the events of the dissolution gave no impetus to merchants and yeomen moving upward on the social ladder, this was because both the statutes of dissolution and their administration in Kent served well the needs of those already in power there.

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ROBERT E. RODES, JR. *Lay Authority and Reformation in the English Church: Edward I to the Civil War*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1982. Pp. xii, 319. \$25.00.

Lay encroachment on the functions and authority of the church is a recurring theme in recent studies of the Reformation. Robert E. Rodes, Jr. writes as a common lawyer, working very largely from parliamentary statutes and the Year Books. His ecclesiastical sources are mostly those available in print, especially episcopal visitation records. This book, a sequel to the author's *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England* (1977), begins by providing a useful survey of the working accommodation between state and church in England in the later Middle Ages. This situation he describes as "Erastian" in the sense that society regarded state and church as twin institutions cooperating in the task of building a Christian commonwealth—a view of the aspirations of late medieval secular power with which not everyone will agree.

Rodes's somewhat brief summary of the legal changes that accompanied the English Reformation from Henry VIII to the Elizabethan settlement hardly does justice to the "toings and froings" of those years. The church, he argues, was not so much transformed as "updated." The monasteries, he implies, were dissolved by Henry VIII because they were no longer living up to the intentions of their founders. This was indeed the impression that the relevant statutes were intended to convey, but the facts are more complicated. Rodes rightly points out that none of the statutes actually deconsecrated monastic buildings or property. He might have added that no religious community was actually dissolved: they were simply relieved of their endowments. A good many of the author's conjectures about how things worked out in practice—this being the subject of his third and best section—are not far out of line with the conclusions of recent research based on the records of actual parishes and of the church courts, but he would have been helped considerably had he made use of the wealth of recent findings by such scholars as Claire Cross, Felicity Heal, Margaret Bowker, Rosemary O'Day, Christopher Haigh, John Baker, and, especially on the church courts, those of Ralph Houlbrooke.

Like them, in fact, Rodes does not regard the English Reformation as a revolution, and he attributes the success of the Elizabethan settlement not only to the failure of the extremists to cause real disruption but also to apathy, a lack of spirituality, at the parish level. He also reminds us of the extent to which, as for instance in its recognition of certain immunities to tithe, the post-Reformation English church exerted itself to keep the papal rules. As a common lawyer, Rodes could hardly conclude with-

out a section linking the Reformation with the writings of Chief Justice Coke, but it is as a work of reference to the part played by the English common law in implementing the Reformation that his work will be found most useful by nonspecialists.

JOYCE YOUNGS

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CAROLINE M. HIBBARD. *Charles I and the Popish Plot*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 342. \$28.00.

PAULINE GREGG. *King Charles I*. London: J. M. Dent; distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, Totowa, N.J. 1981. Pp. 496. \$24.95.

Over the years since 1649, arguments as to whether King Charles I was a tyrant or a martyr have given way to more broad-ranging but nevertheless vigorous debates about the origins of the English Civil War. The two books reviewed here turn our attention back to the king and force us to reevaluate his role in the events of his reign.

Caroline M. Hibbard's *Charles I and the Popish Plot*, which had its origin in her doctoral dissertation, relies on extensive research in manuscript sources. In addition to collections in English repositories, Hibbard has used material from the Vatican Library and Archives, which has been ignored by most others working in the field. By examining what she calls political antipopery and court Catholicism in an international context, she significantly expands our perspective on developments in England during the critical years between 1637 and 1642. The choice of these years is understandable from the standpoint of practicality, but the selection of a longer time span might have made it easier to assess the significance of popish plotting.

Even within these bounds, Hibbard has laid out a difficult task for herself. She is concerned not only with the impact of popery on the rule of King Charles I but also with the intricate maneuverings of both popish plotters and those who were trying to counter them. Her account of the mission of George Con, the Scot who was papal agent in England from 1636 until 1639, is particularly useful. Con's success in building good relationships with Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria and in strengthening the ties among Catholics at court did not go unnoticed. His origins made him visible evidence to anyone who wished to see it that the papists were at the root of the troubles in Scotland. If it had been more widely known that the new oath given to the peers at York in 1639 owed something to Con and Arundel's concerns about the dilemma of Catholics confronted by the oath of allegiance, there might have been even more anxiety about the king's popish connections.

Hibbard treats effectively the interplay between fact and fabrication. Antipopery had a basis in actuality—there was popish plotting and official leniency toward Catholics. But the most vocal anti-papists were not necessarily the people who were best informed. Ambitious Englishmen saw that they might skillfully wield opposition to Catholicism for their own political purposes. There is ample evidence that fears of popery exercised a powerful force, yet it is difficult to determine just how powerful that force was. Should we believe what the Catholics themselves say in regard to subjects' concerns about a popish threat? Hibbard relies heavily on these Catholic sources. Englishmen, as she indicates, attacked Laudian innovations as a prelude to popery. Opponents of the Archbishop of Canterbury's ecclesiastical policies probably feared Laudianism on these grounds, but the politically savvy knew that, apart from associating Laudianism with popery, they had few means by which they might safely express their concerns about developments within the Church of England. Hibbard's work thus makes it necessary for us to look again at attitudes toward Laud and his regime. From her study we must turn to reconsider the relationship between court and country and the connection between international, national, and local affairs.

Hibbard's work also suggests that it is time to reexamine King Charles himself. The king, through his own lack of interest in the details of doctrinal dispute and his affection for the queen, became associated with the attempt to return England to Rome. He may have been the victim of his policies in this regard, but Hibbard maintains that he was not "weak" and "vacillating" in response to the political challenges he encountered between 1637 and 1642 (p. 227). There is much in her view of Charles that is compatible with the portrait drawn by Pauline Gregg.

Gregg's biography of Charles I presents the king as a devout, disciplined, sensitive, and intelligent man, who loved his wife and children. Having overcome ill health and physical disability when he was a child, he had an appetite for action. Far more of what happened during his reign should be attributed to his interests and concerns than previous scholars have believed, but Charles's responsibility for the problems of his kingdom was limited. Gregg believes that his misfortune was that he became king at a time when kingship in England required extraordinary perception and leadership. These were qualities that he lacked.

Gregg examines the king in relation to his times. She discusses both his experiences and his feelings. Although eschewing psychoanalysis or the jargon associated with it, she nevertheless addresses some of the questions that psychological studies might raise. Her sympathetic interest in the king works

with her smoothly flowing prose to make the book pleasant reading. She carries the reader through both the relatively quiet years of Charles's youth and the turbulence of the 1640s. The result is admirable.

Historians of early Stuart England may nevertheless wish that Gregg had undertaken more extensive research and had written a more explicitly scholarly biography. She seems not to have incorporated into her text some of the recent work that she cites in her bibliography. Those who wish to trace particular points may find themselves frustrated by the brief references and loose system of notes. In places she follows Gardiner or other well-known sources very closely, but she has given us a readable and generally sound biography of Charles.

Neither Gregg's book nor Hibbard's should dramatically alter the long-ranging debate about the origins of the Civil War, but both may affect that debate through the broader questions their work raises.

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PATRICK COLLINSON. *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559–1625*. (The Ford Lectures, 1979.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1982. Pp. xiv, 297. \$39.95.

Since the early 1960s when my *Anglican and Puritan* (1964) emphasized the profound differences between Anglican and Puritan and Charles George and Katherine George in their *The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation, 1570–1640* (1961) stressed the unanimity of Protestant purpose and anti-Catholicism in the Elizabethan and early Stuart church, historians have tended to lean one way or the other. Patrick Collinson sides with the Georges. He concentrates on the unanimity of the Elizabethan and Jacobean church, urging that the Caroline picture was sullied by apocalypticism and Laudianism. This turbidity was absent earlier, and the long-standing tension between Puritans and formalists was creative, not explosive. The orthodoxy of the church was Calvinist in points of soteriology but not polity; thus the ideological strains within the church should not be overdrawn ahead of time. The book is a protest against historians' professional deformation, seeing events in the light of later developments. It is a fair point.

The title of these revised Ford Lectures is taken from William Chillingworth's famous apologetic, anti-Catholic work of 1638, *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation*. One might expect, then, extensive discussions of the grounds of faith or beliefs and doctrines. Not so. Collinson celebrates the church as an institution. Here is documented the administrative work of the church, its day-to-day

vicissitudes and activities, its social roles, and its discipline and leadership in communities at the grass-roots level. A wonderful array of allusion and scholarship is drawn together to illustrate the complexity and the diversity of its runnings.

The bishops, we are reminded, for the most part were not the proud, fawning sycophants of John Bastwick's imagination, nor Henry Burton's caterpillars instead of pillars and anti-Christian mushrumps, nor John Milton's canary-sucking swan-eating prelates. They were well-meaning apostles, diligent preachers and visitors, and often critics—tactful and circumspect—of the crown. However revolutionary the Puritan potential, it seems that when Puritans managed to become ascendant by forging alliances with local magistrates they could prove a powerful conservative moral force. We are given glimpses of the underworld of excommunicated and contumacious folk never reunited to the church. Like many others, Collinson sees the social impulse of separatism as a longing for community. He points out instances of outright voluntarism, quasi-separatism, and even limited voluntarism within the established fabric, suggesting a skein of desire consisting of many kinds of fiber.

The combination lectures of the Jacobean period, it is argued, were the robust heir of the old forbidden prophesyings, and the collusion of local church and civil authorities in their support tells against too easy a categorization of Puritan lecturers as an alienated breed. Here as elsewhere Collinson is at pains to demonstrate the integration of diverse strands of religious practice into everyday life.

Not only are the Ford Lectures a celebration of the church, they are a celebration of scholarship and especially English scholars in the field of ecclesiastical history. A sense of the collegiality of researchers in the subject shines through; and it is heartening to witness the unshaken conviction of the worth of diligent historical research, for elsewhere in the world the usefulness and purposes of history are cast in dismal doubt.

Collinson creates a rich tapestry with masterful touches. His work is at times reminiscent of the best of *Annales* history. As with *Annales* history there is a static quality behind the vivid vignettes and diverting contrarities, and there is the characteristic hint that when change comes it will come as a rupture, sudden and unportended. The work is redolent too of the religious veneration for documentary evidence of how institutions actually worked that marks G. R. Elton's "school" at Cambridge. There is a parallel between Elton's political and Collinson's ecclesiastical history beyond this. Elton, busy demolishing John Neale's notion of a Puritan "choir" in the Elizabethan House of Commons (and perhaps all Neale's wicked errors), concentrates on the concert of energies needed to accomplish so much

political business in the period; likewise Collinson is at pains to tone down the drama of the religious opposition. In different ways then a new ecumenical spirit is being breathed into the past.

In all this, however, there is no sense that anyone believed that the church—in worship, polity, doctrine, and discipline—was in the long view *the* force that rectified history. Commenting on a squabble between Bishop Freke and his officers and the Puritan preachers of Bury St. Edmunds, Collinson states "The complex details can be reduced to one basic issue: was the church in west Suffolk to be controlled by the gentry and their clerical allies or by the bishop?" (p. 161). What matters is who is to be master, as Humpty Dumpty said to Alice: the perspective is political. There is no recognition that power is purposive and that purposes are metaphysical.

It is hard to penetrate the believing heart with an administrative focus; it is perhaps too easy to presume a working unanimity when an institution, with all its vagaries and local variations, seems to be working. Collinson's views may well be disputed, but the book itself, its erudition, and the hopeful vision behind it of decency, ecumenism, and capacious moderation will long be admired.

JOHN F. H. NEW
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BARBARA J. SHAPIRO. *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of the Relationships between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law and Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 347. \$35.00.

In the course of the seventeenth century, various English Protestants decided absolutely and irrevocably to designate certain ideas as probably true. Barbara J. Shapiro's new book examines this unacknowledged paradox in a variety of intellectual contexts: natural philosophy, law, history, religion, literature, and language. "This book is intellectual history in a traditional sense" (p. 13), by a historian of enormous learning and meticulous scholarship, who, as she says, has embraced a methodological approach and a subject at once "traditional" and, as she does not say, frequently controversial. This method has been assessed by a growing number of historians as yielding a less probable description of the historical past because, unlike more recent method, it is based on an artificial separation of intellectual activity from its social or material context and even, in this book, from its rhetorical expression.

Because this is a major work in its genre, it rewards reading both for what it tells us about the strengths and weaknesses of its methodology—one

increasingly rare in English language historiography—and, of course, for what it does and does not reveal about the past. As a taxonomy of seventeenth-century ideas about the certainty or validity of beliefs, values, or knowledge (particularly as these ideas are found in the writings of Bacon, Boyle, Chillingworth, Hale, Locke, Newton, Sprat, and Tillotson), this book fulfills one criterion long established for its genre: to classify and explicate ideas purposefully selected as relevant to a theme. Yet in this book there is a discernible break with one aspect of that philological tradition as it is most commonly found, for example, in the earliest issues of the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. In Shapiro's explications of texts the quotations are invariably short, even truncated; gone are those fulsome passages filled with polemical thrusts against one's enemies, those violent denunciations of opposing religious beliefs, moral values, and political creeds so dear to that highly controversial century. These denunciations spring at the reader from the pages of works by Cudworth, Sprat, Hale, Tillotson, or Glanvill, as well as from the writings of their many enemies. Sometimes Shapiro tells us that there were indeed enemies; she does mention Hobbes, atheists, and Catholics. But in her reading of the seekers after a reasonable and probable consensus, the ungodly and heretical serve solely as foils, minor obstacles in the path to probability and rational Christianity. As a result, the brilliant polemic of seventeenth-century religious and natural philosophical language is muted. The reader encounters no tortured exhortations or admonitions and little of the dogmatic certainty that prompted an apologist like Sir Matthew Hale to claim: "this plain and evident discovery [of the divine creation of the mechanical universe] renders all these excogitated Hypotheses of these Philosophical Enthusiasts [that is, Epicurus, Descartes, and Aristotle] vain and ridiculous, without any great help of Rhetorical Flourishes or Logical Confutations" (*The Primitive Origination of Mankind* [1687]).

One of the major pitfalls of the philological method as employed by Shapiro comes from its very need to explicate and thereby order a text; the disorderly, the "irrational," and the a priori assumptions can be irretrievably lost. In an otherwise splendidly lucid discussion of the emergence of historical writing based on probable knowledge about the past, Shapiro omits any discussion of seventeenth-century millenarianism, commonplace though it was among latitudinarian Protestants. Likewise, one of the major historiographical achievements of the late seventeenth century, the emergence of ideologically motivated Whig and Tory political narratives, also goes unmentioned. Do church historians like Gilbert Burnet provide "an excellent example both of the goal of impartiality and the inability to achieve it" (p. 147), as Shapiro

claims? Or is it, rather, as philosophers such as Wittgenstein tell us, that skeptical statements, and hence probability, can only be uttered within a context of certainty? In the seventeenth century the context of controversy made probability possible, and one cannot be understood historically without the other. Burnet could only assert the desirability of evidence impartially collected because he possessed no desire to achieve "impartiality."

This methodological tendency to ignore ideas seemingly "irrational" leads to serious difficulties when Shapiro bravely turns her attention to the phenomenon of witchcraft prosecution and its gradual decline in the later seventeenth century. Suddenly, most of the proponents of probability turn out to have believed in witches and advocated their certain, rather than probable, demise based on less than impartial evidence coming to hand from (what are to us) highly improbable sources. Only Locke comes out of this thicket of spirits and familiars with his liberal reputation largely undamaged, while Boyle's admonition to search for "unbiased men" in these witch matters is quoted with no mention of his enthusiasm for the magical cures of Valentine Greatrakes, the Irish stroker.

Nonetheless, this book stands as a useful general introduction to liberal Protestant thought in seventeenth-century England. It would be more useful to students, however, if dates and authors were given more freely in the text since the footnotes are placed at the back of the book. For the real flavor of these intellectual developments students should also be encouraged to read the primary sources for themselves, but not without first acknowledging that their way has been made easier by the integrative approach adopted in this book.

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MICHAEL HUNTER. *Science and Society in Restoration England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1981. Pp. xii, 233. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$12.95.

Anyone who is interested in the seventeenth century, or in the development of science, or in the relations of science to society, will learn much from Michael Hunter's book. Whereas many have attempted to deal with the Restoration period in terms of its intellectual accomplishments, its institutions, and its great men, Hunter attempts to assess the nature of the scientific community that was emerging in seventeenth-century England and its relation to its social matrix. One of the attractive features of the book is his discussion of the nature of the seventeenth-century scientific community. In particular, he deals with the problem of the "occu-

pational structure" of those who may be considered scientific innovators. He finds that approximately one-third were doctors, and that about a quarter were professional scientists. The latter category includes academics who held chairs in scientific subjects and employees who held new positions created by the scientific establishment, such as John Flamsteed in the new Greenwich Observatory and Robert Hooke in the Royal Society. Hunter stresses the overlap between what he calls "real" and "amateur" scientists, or "real" and "amateur" science, by differentiating between individuals who were true "scientists" like Isaac Newton, Robert Boyle, or Hooke, and those who collected information or who gathered nature's oddities (shells, figured stones, and so on), the latter type fitting in well with the proclaimed aims of a Baconian science that required vast collections of facts and artifacts of nature.

Two of the most interesting chapters in the book deal respectively with "utility and its problems" and "politics and reforms." Everyone is aware that Restoration scientists "were obsessed by the usefulness of their studies," but care must be taken not to overstress the extreme statements that application would provide the true test of the new science. There was, as Hunter quite rightly points out, a "predominantly explanatory problem-solving tradition deriving from Galileo." Many readers are aware that even Newton did not eschew pointing out occasionally in his *Principia* the "potential relevance of some theorems . . . to practical needs." Hunter warns us, however, that "these applications were peripheral," that the "primary inspiration" of Newton's program was "intellectual rather than utilitarian." Newton himself was quite clear on this point. "I consider philosophy rather than arts," he said emphatically, "and write not concerning manual but natural powers."

One would wish that the author had not devoted himself so exclusively to Bacon as the instaurator of the doctrine of utility. Descartes, who was widely read in England, also stated clearly and unambiguously (in part 6 of his *Discourse on Method*) that the applications of advances in science would yield practical applications, notably in the work of artisans and in medicine, and would render mankind "lord and possessors of nature." Descartes's *Discourse on Method* was available in England in Latin and French editions, together with the three scientific works for which it was written as a preface. Additionally, this tract was translated into English and printed separately in London in 1649.

In the discussion of "politics and reform," Hunter deals with the question: "Can the new science in seventeenth-century England be associated with any particular religious or political ideology?" Hunter's very perceptive discussion of this topic concludes

that oversimplified answers simply will not do. He masterfully displays the limitations of the thesis that "Puritanism was especially conducive to the rise of science in early modern England." With regard to politics, he leans heavily on the work on Charles Webster, who showed that "the active nucleus of the Royal Society in its earliest years was divided almost evenly between men who had collaborated with the parliamentary regime in the Interregnum . . . and its intransigent opponents."

Among the many virtues of Hunter's book is that he does not take the statements of the propagandists for the new science at their face value. Rather, he has actually attempted to find out how far such expressions of hope were realized. He has shown, among other things, that the usual presumption "that science and technology must have been closely linked" has "distracted attention from another crucial development," one that is extremely important for our understanding of the science of the seventeenth century. This is the growth of a fashionable, leisured culture focused on London, which was the "seat of government and law." In the course of his exploration of the consequences of this factor, Hunter opens up a hitherto neglected aspect of the science of this period, namely, the relationship between the central London activity and what was going on in the provinces.

The author has read widely and carefully in the manuscript and printed sources and buttresses his main positions with ample documentation. A weakness of his presentation is that he has very little to say about the substantive content of the science that he discusses. A lack of content analysis can lead him to seriously erroneous positions. An example is his characterization of Newton's *Principia* as the achievement of "the satisfactory geometrical account of the movements of the heavens to which scientists had aspired since the time of Galileo." In point of fact, this describes the aim of Ptolemy in the second century, and of many of the subsequent astronomers: to produce a geometry of the planetary motions without considering causes or forces. Kepler's revolution in astronomy in 1609, announced in a book that he quite properly entitled *A New Astronomy*, was to propose that the motions of the planets be no longer a purely geometrical exercise, but be an exploration of the physical causes of these motions. Newton's achievement was to find the principles or laws of motion, and the law of universal gravity, and to derive the observed geometrical descriptions from these physical causes. His *Principia* effectively ended the two-thousand-year rule of celestial geometry, which he replaced by the new celestial mechanics.

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PHILIP JENKINS. *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry, 1640–1790*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xxvi, 353. \$44.50.

Philip Jenkins feels constrained to disavow any taint of antiquarianism that may seem to cling to his study of the Glamorgan gentry between the Civil War and the Industrial Revolution. He need not have done so. Despite abundant generalization, there is still remarkably little account of what was actually going on in different places during this period. What lifts Jenkins's book above the level of the basically paradigmatic application of known themes—"normal history" in the Kuhnian sense—and gives it real originality is precisely the sense of "antiquarian" familiarity that he brings to his subject. This enables him not only to apply current themes but also to explore their underlying assumptions and to cast different light on them. The growth of political stability, for example, remains a pivotal concept; but its *modus operandi*, usually described from more centrally English sources, looks very different from the perspective of a wealthy and commercially sophisticated community that looked to Bristol, Cork, and Bordeaux before it turned to London; where Tory "blue water" policies made economic sense, and where Jacobite and crypto-Catholic influence was as prominent in industry as in politics. In this light, stability appears much more a matter of balanced tensions and contained conflict between equally viable alternatives than one of executive control, single party rule, and ideological consensus. The Squire Western version of Hanoverian Toryism, recently challenged by Linda Colley, thus takes another hammering, as does much of the usual account of the eighteenth-century Welsh gentry.

Jenkins's ultimate concern, however, is with the whole relationship between the Civil War and the Industrial Revolution. While agreeing that the relationship between the two events was more than coincidental, he finds only indirect connections between them, which were balanced in the causes of industrialization by other factors having little or no relationship with the Civil War. Following the general direction of J. S. Morrill's work, Jenkins minimizes the effect the "revolutionary" decades had on a landed community that was already deeply involved in industry and commerce well before 1640 and that basically differed little in 1720 from what it had been in 1600. (Then was seventeenth-century England really so beset by instability after all?) Economic survival in the difficult 1670s was a stronger incentive to innovation, regardless of religious or political persuasion, than any intellectual current of the Interregnum. The year 1688, which changed the entire context of Welsh politics, was more important than either 1640 or 1660. The major

changes, however, took place between 1720 and 1760 under the impetus of a demographic crisis that concentrated the wealth and precipitated the Anglicization of the Glamorgan gentry. Authentic traditions, very different from the ersatz Cambrian antiquity cultivated a generation later, were abandoned for English values and connections. Socially, the county polarized along new lines between the Vale and the upland valleys, still Welsh speaking and, under the tensions of industrial development, increasingly the haven of radicalism and dissent. The entrepreneurial drive of the Glamorgan gentry however, seems to have been unaffected by this watershed. It remained essentially the same in the generation of Richard Crawshay of Cyfarthfa as it had been in that of Sir Humphrey Mackworth of Neath at the still druidic end of the previous century.

It is easy to assume that the ideology of improvement is by nature only to be found in association with Whig politics and sound Protestantism, preferably seasoned by dissent. Since confessional versatility was as longstanding a virtue of the Glamorgan gentry as their early interest in industry, Jenkins discounts such Weberian conjunctions: in the "backwoods" of South Wales, a Jacobite work ethic was as likely to be rewarded as any other. Instead, he looks without regard to religious or political predilection, to the response to exclusion from conventional avenues to wealth and power in an intensely competitive society. He points out the Tory connections of many mid-eighteenth-century improvers, men who met and fraternized in Masonic lodges whose crypto-Jacobite origins testify more to the potentially radical underside of the craft than to the latitudinarian conservatism of Grand Lodge in London. The overall effect is, thus, to draw attention back from monolithic grand theory about the social causes of industrialization to the autonomous complexity of political life in the eighteenth-century provinces, which formed the actual context of Britain's precocious economic development. There is the question of Glamorgan's typicality, of which Jenkins is well aware; but then, how "typical" were any of the industrializing regions? Surely the whole point is that they are not; so we need to know about their differences. Jenkins stands several orthodoxies on their heads and in the process starts several new hares. He does not run all of them to earth, but his book has important things to say about the world beyond Glamorgan as well as about the county itself. It is, therefore, worth considerably more attention than the brief notice usually meted out to apparent "local" studies.

JOHN MONEY
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JOHN EHRLMAN. *The Younger Pitt: The Reluctant Transition*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 689. \$39.50.

Readers of this book should turn first to the introduction and the last paragraph of the text in order to be clear about the meaning of the subtitle. Those sections contain the biographical theme of the book. Then they will be better prepared to work through six hundred fifty pages that attend generously to the history of the times and for long stretches neglect biographical purpose.

John Ehrman begins with the Ochakov affair, treated as diplomatic history with William Pitt the key figure, and ends with Lord Malmesbury returning from Paris in December 1796 from his abortive peace mission. That is, Ehrman begins and ends on low notes for Pitt. During the intervening years there were few occasions, particularly after the war with France began early in 1793, when Pitt could sing in a higher register. They were years that "contributed little to his fame" and for his biographer "have less visible form and unity" than the ones that preceded or followed (p. ix). They were, however, "significant for his development" (p. ix), being the years of transition when Pitt was "forced out of the image of reform" and learned the hard way "to recognize" (p. 650), a decade before Austerlitz, that the war would be a long one.

If the preceding volume of the work emphasized Pitt as a reformer and the following one will show him settled grimly into the pursuit of a war whose end was not in sight when he died, the author in this volume ought to have been more concerned than he was to help the reader see the "development" of Pitt's understanding of the nature of the war. This requires closer attention than the author gives to the character and thought of his subject undergoing the stress of transition. A reader unfamiliar with the broad outline of Pitt's career cannot easily see along the way signs of Pitt's "development"; a reader already aware of this lesser known portion of Pitt's life will conclude that this volume does not make him better informed.

Disappointing as biography, this is nevertheless a magisterial book, a superb presentation of the foreign and domestic problems that Pitt, his government, and Britain faced in this period. Chapter 13, entitled "The Management of the War," is outstanding, though more impersonal than a reader of a biography would prefer. The book is fully documented with footnotes, not endnotes. That is a double blessing considering the physical weight of the volume. The author's discussions and analyses along the way are thoughtful and fair. Impressive as a history of the times with Pitt the leading character, the book does not serve as biography. The author frequently leaves Pitt in the wings while pursuing

matters with which, of course, he was concerned as head of the government. Pitt is more a hovering presence; even when on stage he seems ghostlike. Being half a Grenville, Pitt was very much a private person, even after he entered the House of Commons and became a public man. Pitt's biographer has a task similar to that of a portrait painter whose subject reveals only the surface of himself. If he cannot penetrate beneath the surface, the painter will fail. Having read the first and now the second volume of this biography, I am disappointed that Pitt as a person does not come through more fully and clearly. If in the next volume the author treats Pitt as little more than the remote manager of a war effort, however well that is done, this biography will not serve its intended purpose and the task will remain undone.

CARL B. CONE
University of Kentucky

ROGER WELLS. *Insurrection: The British Experience, 1795-1803*. Gloucester: Alan Sutton. 1983. Pp. xiv, 312. £16.00.

Few issues have agitated modern British political and social historians more than the attempt to formulate responses to Élie Halévy's classic theory on the British failure to experience revolution during the 1793-1802 war with France. Roger Wells, the latest combatant in a well-plowed field, has no compunction in denouncing many of his scholarly predecessors in this area as "reactionary, naive and myopic," even approaching "imbecility" (p. xiii) for not perceiving the fundamental and sustained threat to the established order of related French, Welsh, Scottish, Irish, and English democratic movements. That Wells has little time for Fabian and liberal historians, with their respect for the Whig constitutional tradition, is no surprise. Yet, even E. P. Thompson is chided for his squeamish condemnation of William Pitt's repressive activities in the 1790s; activities that, to Wells, were quite understandable, given the threat. Hence, "Remnants of Whig historiography are still to be found between the covers of *The Making of the English Working Class*" (p. 28). Wells makes certain that no such remnants are found between the covers of *Insurrection* and never flinches from the omelet's broken eggs.

Insurrection is a very learned book. Wells has exploited, more than other historians, the relevant archival material on radicalism in Dublin, Edinburgh, London, and dozens of provincial locations. His utilization of the Home Office correspondence with the Alien and Post Offices and with Dublin Castle is of special interest. He has, thus, ferreted

out and analyzed hitherto buried data on the ebbs and flows of interrelated conspiracies involving the United Scotsmen, United Englishmen, United Irishmen, and United Britons and their connection with trade-union activity, with naval mutineers, and with the French. Does he prove his point about the monumental seriousness of the revolutionary movement? Almost. Historical certitude on a subject involving so many destroyed documents, government spies, and orally transmitted orders is impossible to achieve. Thus, Wells cannot avoid sentences such as the following that point to the inevitable difficulties of the whole debate: "The evidence about the northern U[nited] E[nglishmen] for the 1798–1800 period is also scarce, but the little available evidence suggests that the United survived in some form, though their activities were doubtlessly obscured by trade union progress" (p. 169).

Wells also attempts, less successfully I think, to enlarge on the theories of J. Ann Hone on the seditious relationship of Foxite Whigs and radical revolutionaries. Here again, proof positive is difficult to achieve. At one time or another, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the Ponsonbys, Charles James Fox, Charles Grey, Sir Francis Burdett (especially), the Duke of Norfolk, and the Duke of Bedford are led just to the precipice of outright rebellion or knowledge of such rebellion. Wells suspects that the Pittites themselves may have subsequently destroyed much documentary evidence linking revolutionaries with the English or Irish Whigs to prevent the complete discrediting of the nineteenth-century Whig party. Such a conspiracy of near Abbé Baruel-like proportions lasted well into the 1850s and left substantial gaps not only in Burdett or Bedford's correspondence, as might be expected, but also in the papers of Pitt, Addington, and Castlereagh as well. Wells suspects that had the British army collapsed due to foreign invasion or domestic subversion, the Foxites might have used their democratic and French connections to save their lives and property. Parallels to 1940 immediately suggest themselves, especially with the current dispute over the disposition of Oswald Mosley's prison manuscripts.

JAMES J. SACK
University of Illinois,
Chicago

ALAN HANKINSON. *Man of Wars: William Howard Russell of The Times*. London: Heinemann. 1982. Pp. x, 304. \$25.00.

Alan Hankinson has written a convivial biography of "a convivial man," whose experiences as a war correspondent on the major nineteenth-century bat-

tlefields served to sharpen his professionalism without blunting his strong humanitarian instincts.

Born in 1820 (a year earlier than he himself supposed) into a religiously divided Irish family, William Howard Russell was naturally equipped for combat, for he was "always very fond of soldiering." He began his career in 1841, when *The Times* employed him to survey the "horrid sights" of Irish electoral conflict. After a brief stint on the *Morning Chronicle*, which paid him a discounted fee to cover the potato famine, he resumed a more regular connection with *The Times* and helped it to live up to its reputation as "The Thunderer."

As a war correspondent, Russell covered, and criticized, war on many fronts. "All that a newspaper correspondent wants is to see what is done, and to describe it to the best of his ability," he remonstrated in one of his orotund dispatches from the Crimea, where he was much too appalled by the wasteful expenditure of life to "share in the exultation of the conquerors." Anticipating Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's condemnation of "methods of barbarism," he graphically protested against the savagery with which his compatriots suppressed the mutiny in India. The American Civil War inspired passions that clashed with the pro-Confederacy sympathies of his editorial superiors. Nearer to home, he accompanied Prussian armies in successive campaigns against Denmark, Austria, and France. The Zulu wars, culminating in the annexation of the Transvaal ("a wild chimera"), marked his final assignment, although he was present in a private capacity to witness the British bombardment of Alexandria, chronicled in *The Times* by his "feeble" successor.

As "Mr. Russell of *The Times*," he enjoyed fame and had license to cross the front lines. "I must confess I was hurt," he wrote in his diary when a Dublin hotel clerk failed to recognize him and refused his personal check. Abraham Lincoln, however, was glad to receive "the minister" of "one of the greatest powers in the world," a newspaper almost as mighty as the Mississippi.

His own antipathy to Jews notwithstanding (and unexplained), Russell was contemptuous of racial prejudice. For Anglo-Indian sahibs or slave auctioneers in Alabama to speak of "niggers" was equally objectionable, and the "sanguinary conversation" of British officers in Egypt filled him with disgust. Even Bismarck's "most charming frankness" could not excuse the "useless severity" meted out to the Paris communards. For all the suffering he saw, Russell never tried to justify it.

The book is briskly written and handsomely produced. But Hankinson does not venture to analyze the effects of Russell's journalism and may be too willing to accept the vacuous claim that *The Times* was "the voice of the people." More attention might have been paid to Russell's abortive parliamentary

candidacy in 1868 when he campaigned as a self-styled Conservative with "independent Liberal principles" and Home Rule tendencies to boot. Some rather pedestrian and redundant diary entries are extensively quoted for their own sake, while certain important civilian relationships are not fully explored. Still, Hankinson has provided an engaging portrait as well as a useful reminder that the century of peace that encompassed Russell's lifetime of eighty-seven years (not eighty-six as he reckoned) was punctuated by military struggles.

STEPHEN KOSS
Columbia University

MURIEL E. CHAMBERLAIN. *Lord Aberdeen: A Political Biography*. New York: Longman. 1983. Pp. xv, 583. \$50.00.

Historians have not generally held the fourth Earl of Aberdeen in high regard. Although his career was long and included service in the highest offices of state, he always seemed to have been overshadowed by other powerful politicians. This biography goes a long way toward rectifying this perception. Far from being indecisive or inept, Aberdeen was a leader of considerable ability and complexity. High principles and thoughtfulness did not mask to his contemporaries the fact that he was also a hard-working and clear-sighted leader. Even his errors of judgment, especially in the Crimean War, reflected more a commitment to an alternative policy than a misunderstanding of power and its uses. Muriel E. Chamberlain has shown that whatever else he may have been, and his enemies as well as his apologists alike have misinterpreted his life, he was no naive idealist.

This book, as its title makes clear, is a political biography. Aberdeen's personal life, which was filled largely with tragedy and with few moments of real happiness, gets a nod at the outset. But the author is far more interested in his public life, especially his role in foreign affairs. Chapters on specific episodes such as those on the events of the 1840s are themselves important contributions to our understanding of British foreign policy in the nineteenth century.

At the end of Aberdeen's career, of course, the debacle in the Crimea was to overshadow the many positive contributions he made in earlier decades. It is ironic that the ministry which he led into that unhappy war was the most talented one, man for man, in the century. It was also the ministry that fused the Peelites and the Whigs into the Liberal party that was to govern Britain almost without interruption for the next half-century. Chamberlain quite rightly points out that only Aberdeen, an aristocratic leader of high personal repute and no

small political reputation as a moderate man, could have presided over such a major shift in politics. Perhaps this was Aberdeen's greatest achievement. Certainly its importance should not continue to be masked by the interpretations of his abilities handed down by men such as Lord Ellenborough who had personal reasons to diminish them.

This is a meaty volume. It is fit both for professional historians, who will appreciate the exhaustive research in public and private papers, and for those who read history for the sheer joy of it. The only regret will be that the personality of the man does not always shine forth as clearly as his policies. His stature as a leading politician, however, is deservedly restored.

CHARLES R. MIDDLETON
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Boulder

STEFAN MUTHESIUS. *The English Terraced House*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1982. Pp. x, 278. \$30.00.

This is a work of remarkable erudition. It is an account of the English terraced house during the period stretching from approximately the 1820s to the first decade of the twentieth century. It aims to be comprehensive. Stefan Muthesius deals with rents, the organization of the building trade, building regulations, life in Victorian houses, gardens, plans, façades, the ornamentation of houses, the relation between social class and architectural treatment, and a host of other matters. This attempt to say something about everything is unfortunate, because the treatment of some topics is inevitably superficial. It is not helpful to be told that miners' houses in the northeast were rented for 13s per annum unless we know something about miners' wages (and preferably the date), and the fact that "money wages rose by about 50 per cent from 1790 to 1850" (p. 28) has, by itself, almost no significance. Likewise, the building cycle in the nineteenth century cannot be usefully discussed in a paragraph, nor can the changing complexities of construction ("improving the fabric") be properly dealt with in one very short chapter.

No such criticisms apply, however, to the principal sections. The author is vastly too modest when he writes that "most of what is said and illustrated in this book is common knowledge" (p. viii). Perhaps it is fairly well known that there exists "no parallel anywhere to the architectural splendour of some of the terraces built in Britain before the middle of the nineteenth century" (p. 147), and that the bringing together in towns of palatial façades and a "natural" landscape was a peculiarly British activity. But how

many historians have appreciated the subtle differences between grandiose terraces in London and those in fashionable seaside resorts or in Bath, Cheltenham, Clifton, and Newcastle upon Tyne? or have grasped the fact that after about 1840 the terrace ceased to be fashionable? Similarly, it is well known that high Victorian Gothic architecture exploited the possibilities of using many different colors of brick; but who knows that these included the malms (grey-yellow) and the gaults (purer grey, found in many small houses in south London), as well as Suffolk white, Sussex grey, and Waterloo silver-grey? Muthesius's analysis of the rear extension—"the most varied and complicated part of the terraced house" (p. 88)—is highly original, as is his lengthy discussion of back-to-back houses. Some of the latter had basements forming separate dwellings, while others had a multitude of access tunnels through or below the rows. Todmorden is credited with "the most intricate agglomeration ever built" (p. 107), which is composed of twelve houses of varying shapes and sizes formed into a square block measuring sixty feet by seventy feet. Back yards, it is interesting to discover, were increasingly objected to as repositories for concealed filth.

The influence of sanitary reform and of new ideas about health and fresh air is a recurrent theme. Muthesius argues that the style of smaller houses changed earliest and most radically where the health authorities were most active and advanced. He also suggests that bay windows in upper-class houses revived in popularity as a result of the craze for fresh air, especially at the seaside.

A good deal of this book applies to houses, terraced or otherwise, and its scope is therefore very wide. The reader may occasionally feel a little lost. But there is something here for the architectural historian, the social historian, the historian of building, and the historian of taste. There are over two hundred illustrations and they are very well related to the text. Whoever reads *The English Terraced House* will look at ordinary as well as at distinguished nineteenth-century buildings with greatly heightened interest and awareness.

A. J. YOUNGSON

Royal Fine Art Commission for Scotland

DAVID ENGLANDER. *Landlord and Tenant in Urban Britain, 1838–1918*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. xviii. 342. \$45.00.

By concentrating on issues hitherto dealt with only in passing by historians—rent strikes, rent evasion, the influence of rates (especially compounding) on rents, and landlords' and tenants' associations—David Englander has added a valuable dimension to

the ever-growing body of literature on working-class housing in postindustrial Britain. From his study the slums emerge as lawless regions where landlords seized, without legal process, the personal effects of tenants for nonpayment of rent ("distrain") and tenants destroyed property, absconded with the furniture, or fled into the night ("flitting") without paying the rent: "landlord and tenant set their own standards of misconduct" (p. 36). On the one hand, landlords could be tyrannical, and on the other, tenants, if sufficiently cunning, could contrive to live virtually rent free. In short, relations between landlord and tenant amounted to something approaching class war.

To be convincing, a theme like this requires a very firm sociological (and, where possible, statistical) framework. Unfortunately, this is lacking. If, for example, "flitting" was "the most common form of rent evasion" (p. 10) and "a permanent feature of the economy of the poor" (p. 11) and if "widespread rent evasion represented a necessary form of income redistribution practised informally and sometimes collectively amongst the poor" (p. 85), including, Englander asserts, artisans, we certainly need to know far more about the sociological composition of the tenants involved and some estimate of their numbers. Given "working-class reluctance to engage in rent strikes" (p. 125), one could argue that the rent strike "as an instrument of mass radicalization" (p. 104) was only a radical dream before the Great War and that the tenants' rights associations had only local influence. Englander does not demonstrate the impact of either rent strikes or tenants' associations on the major parties, and I would argue that in terms of the formation of national housing policy the reform movement of the 1880s achieved rather more and the rent agitation and the tenants' associations rather less than Englander claims.

It is a pity that only one-third of the book deals with the period after 1912, for it is only in the immediate prewar and war years that Englander's book gathers dramatic force and only then that his provocative generalizations are fully sustained by the evidence. For the period after 1914 his central thesis, "the politics of tenancy transformed the politics of housing" (p. v), becomes convincing. Working-class protest against increased overcrowding and higher rents created by the rapid growth of communities (like Barrow) devoted to war industry, and the legislative response to the agitation, are excitingly analyzed. At one stage the Admiralty and the Ministry of Munitions, landlords both, must have felt as threatened by the militancy on the home front as by the war abroad!

The sporadic rent protests and the more enduring tenants' protection associations represent important manifestations of working-class helplessness and anger at exploitation in the vital area of hous-

ing, and Englander should be congratulated for rescuing them from obscurity. Despite its methodological weaknesses, this is an extremely informative study.

ANTHONY S. WOHL
Vassar College

PETER WITTIG. *Der englische Weg zum Sozialismus: Die Fabier und ihre Bedeutung für die Labour Party und die englische Politik.* (Beiträge zur Politischen Wissenschaft, number 43.) Berlin: Duncker und Humblot. 1982. Pp. 378. DM 126.

Peter Wittig's study presents a bold thesis. Fabian socialism, viewed by the author almost exclusively in relation to the views of Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, expressed from the beginning an outlook that led logically to support of political authoritarianism and, indeed, totalitarianism. The embrace of Stalin's Russia by the Webbs was simply the culmination of a view of politics in which the methods of the natural sciences were seen as the only valid approach to the problems of modern society. Inspired by their vision of an industrialized society rationalized and modernized by science, the Fabians, so Wittig argues, broke fundamentally with British political traditions. Not only were the traditional liberal concerns with individual conscience and choice dismissed in the Webbs' elevation of the state and "national efficiency," but the concept of representation of interests by means of parties and parliament also ceased to be the decisive feature of political life. Sovereignty would pass, in effect, to an elite of scientifically trained intellectuals. The program entailed, according to Wittig, a "despiritualization of politics" and reflected the Webbs' scorn for "liberal civilization."

The authoritarian bent of the Webbs' political views has been noted often, but no previous interpretation has given it such central and overriding importance. Wittig has read widely in the secondary materials on British socialism. His argument is based mainly, however, on a close study of the early lectures and writings, mostly unpublished, of Sidney Webb. No student of the Fabians, with the exception of Willard Wolfe, has demonstrated so clearly Webb's debt to the positivist vision of Auguste Comte. And Wittig's skill in relating the subsequent work of the Webbs to that vision gives considerable force to his interpretation.

There are, however, at least three major flaws in his study. His methodology is questionable. The development of the Webbs' views is followed for the most part at the level of ideas with only passing references to the political and social contexts in which their reform proposals were put forward. To recognize more clearly the urgent social issues the

Webbs were addressing, as well as their sense of political and institutional constraints, would yield a more pragmatic picture than the programmatic scheme stressed by Wittig. And it would credit more fully the Webbs' insistence, at least through most of their lives, that science dealt only with the realm of means.

It is a mistake, moreover, to identify Fabianism so completely with the Webbs. Sidney Webb was the chief architect of early Fabianism and his wife exercised a decisive influence for a time. But the Fabian Society diverged at critical points from the path favored by the Webbs. For example, the process through which the society identified itself exclusively with the Labour party found little initial support from the Webbs. While the Webbs adapted brilliantly to the possibilities opened up by the new relationship, the Fabian Society was, in effect, coming to terms with British political traditions in general and the interests of the working classes in particular. That relationship survived the crises of the thirties and the defection of the Webbs.

Finally, Wittig's claim that Russian communism was an appropriate model of the Webbs' vision rests on a fallacy. That the Webbs were naive and failed to grasp the nature of Stalin's system is undeniable. But it is not legitimate to equate their misunderstanding with an approval of the totalitarian features of that system. Indeed, the qualities that the Webbs projected onto the new Russia were strongly colored by late Victorian moral and religious values they had never discarded.

Still, Wittig's study is a significant contribution to the literature of British socialism. Its peculiarly German perspective, which seems somewhat perverse at times, offers insights that are less accessible to English and American scholars.

STANLEY PIERSON
University of Oregon

MICHEL JOUVE. *L'âge d'or de la caricature anglaise.* Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques. 1983. Pp. 278.

According to Michel Jouve, the last forty years of the eighteenth century represent the artistic maturing—the "golden age"—of the English political caricature. This thesis is developed in an essay informed primarily by the discipline of art theory. Historians will find the study stimulating, but they should be wary of the author's generalizations. Although the findings are phrased to apply to the genre as a whole, the text discusses only a few dozen of the period's seven thousand surviving political prints, and sixteen of the twenty-seven illustrations issued from the three best-known artists of the period—

James Gillray, Isaac Cruikshank, and Thomas Rowlandson.

The book's most successful sections use modern art theory to analyze the techniques employed in this propagandistic graphic art. The discussions of artistic traditions, realism and distortion, semiology, composition, classical references, language, and style and form represent fresh perspectives on the eighteenth-century political print. Jouve's remarks, however, should be supplemented—at times, corrected—by consulting research on these same topics produced by scholars in disciplines such as history, art history, and English literature.

A similar observation applies to the author's attempts to establish the increasing effectiveness of the caricature, for he generally proceeds deductively from the principles of modern theory of art and psychology of art, rather than inductively from contemporary evidence. While Jouve has an adequate knowledge of eighteenth-century English social and political history, he often fails to relate the political print sufficiently to its sociopolitical context and to document its maturation. We do not learn, for example, how caricatures dating from the American Revolution differed from those of the French Revolution, nor how such momentous events, and their concomitant political and ideological changes, contributed to artistic development or to the political classes' responses. The book's principal historical contributions are the discussions of the caricature's origins—ranging from Dutch and Italian art to William Hogarth—and the glimpses of the English political caricature's influence on the Continent in the late eighteenth century.

Overall, Jouve's study is recommended to historians concerned with public opinion and popular politics in the eighteenth century. Despite the essay's limitations, the author correctly perceives that caricatures represent both a significant popular art and a major political medium. His analytical approach and his hypotheses point the way for research that treats this body of documents as more than amusing curiosities.

GAYLE TRUSDEL PENDLETON
Emory University

MICHAEL EDELSTEIN, *Overseas Investment in the Age of High Imperialism: The United Kingdom, 1850–1914*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. Pp. xiv, 367. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$15.00.

Michael Edelstein's aim is to increase our understanding of Britain's massive capital exportation. In his initial two chapters, he surveys capital flows and capital markets. These are scattered with oddities. The author believes that "country banks" are in the countryside; he speaks of "direct portfolio invest-

ment," "debenture shares," and "default rates" on equities—all contradictions in terms. Yet these two chapters are of value. Next come chapters on "micro and macro processes." Edelstein calculates that, in general, rates of return were higher overseas than in Britain and reaches the conclusion that funds were pushed to the United States by Britain, while for Argentina, Canada, and Australia the "push" and "pull" forces may have been roughly balanced. Next, investment and saving in the U.K., the U.S., Australia, and Canada are scrutinized. There are models, econometrics, and more oddities. The author does not know of the standard source, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, that contains series he thinks are unavailable. No Canadian government guaranteed railway dividends. Were Australian railway receipts really declining in the 1880s (pp. 281, 268)? The British North America Act did not confer something called "Dominion status," nor were there consequent changes in statistical practice (p. 285). More attention might have been paid to Australian speculative overbuilding in the 1880s and to the subsequent financial collapse. Nevertheless, the nonspecialist will learn something about Canada and Australia. Unfortunately, to do justice to the facts of British economic history Edelstein needs a better model, more skill in modern macroeconomics, or both. He does not make full use of the enormous literature on investment and productivity. The concluding chapter is a chronological survey.

This book will annoy most readers. Historians will be distressed by the formal economic analysis and the econometrics. Economists will be distressed by the way in which the author uses economics. Australians and Canadians will find much that is disturbing. Everyone will dislike the many typographical errors, oddities in table headings, unexplained shifts in terminology or notation, terminological carelessness, and simple infelicities of expression, such as the repeated use of "importantly" as a dangling adverb. A major university press should serve its authors better.

Yet the book has merit. It embodies a serious effort to think systematically about productivity and population in relation to investment and the flow of funds. The mixture of analytical techniques and the emphasis on population structure will be of interest. Also, some sacred cows are taken off the pasture for good. One such is the "rigidity and unresponsiveness of the British capital market." Another is the Hobson thesis about oversaving and capital export. For any historian who still takes Hobson seriously, Edelstein should be required reading. Given his purpose, the absence of archival work and the dependence on others' quantitative and qualitative findings are certainly not defects. But because the analysis is less precise and fully formed than it could

and should have been, the book is not an outstanding example of the "new," "quantitative" economic history. The literature of economics contains many apposite general-equilibrium, open-economy models. Why did Edelstein not use one?

IAN M. DRUMMOND
University of Toronto

RICHARD N. ADAMS. *Paradoxical Harvest: Energy and Explanation in British History, 1870–1914*. (The Arnold and Caroline Rose Monograph Series of the American Sociological Association.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1982. Pp. xii, 141. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$8.95.

This book forms part of the Arnold and Caroline Rose Monograph Series of the American Sociological Association. Thus, it might be expected that the interpretation of the role of energy in British history from 1870 to 1914 might be somewhat different from that of an economic historian, who would be most likely to study such a subject. The opening pages are a little disconcerting, for this book seems to be sandwiched between two related studies. We are advised of the imminent publication of the third, but it is not clear why the second and third studies were not combined. Richard N. Adams first intended to study the role of energy during the first two centuries of Spanish America. It is, perhaps, not surprising that, after a year exploring the sources, he decided that they were not good enough for such a study. Due to the availability of published material, he then switched his focus to Britain and narrowed his final study to the period 1870–1914, because of the evidence that this was a time when per capita energy consumption very remarkably leveled off. While Adams has read much, it is surprising that he has not read material that a historian of energy might be expected to consult, especially on the energy resources developed in Britain during the nineteenth century—for instance, studies on steam power and works by G. N. von Tunzelmann, A. E. Musson, and J. W. Kanefsky seem unread. The sociological approach, however, seems to require that to understand anything it is necessary to have a conceptual framework for nearly everything.

The framework, and the analysis based on it, is original and interesting. First, however, the author presents a condensed survey of the British economy in the period, which includes the general continuation of free-trade ideas, the shift toward foreign investment, the increased import of food, the high export of coal, and the decline of a competitive advantage in comparison to the newly rising economic powers. Adams's analysis depends on concepts that enable him to "explore the ways in which societies take on different forms and processes

because of the kinds and amounts of energy that compose them" (p. 13). The terms created to embody the concepts include "energetics," defining "that portion of the universe of matter and energy that is capable of doing work"; "triggers" (pp. 14–15), meaning the release or inhibition of energy flows; and "dissipative structures" (p. 17), being the nature of organisms and societies. Furthermore, Adams uses the term "selection explanations," which derives from evolutionary theories of natural selection. This term releases him from the need for proximate explanations of events that he finds too complicated and imprecise to produce satisfactory results.

The virtual destruction of British grain agriculture is taken as an example of a sacrifice to profitability and of the willingness of a trading nation to back the most valuable international energy trends to the detriment of a major national sector. The apparent advantages that led the significant interests in Britain to go along with this and other policies are examined, as are the reasons why the government did not seek to intervene more in the economy. Adams also discusses the relation between human and nonhuman energy, which includes a new batch of definitions.

Adams effectively combines the preoccupations that have been so compelling since the mid-1970s—energy, ecology, and environment—into a bold model that he believes assists overall historical explanation because it is consistent with our knowledge of physical and evolutionary processes.

J. R. HARRIS
University of Birmingham

BERNARD PORTER. *Britain, Europe, and the World, 1850–1982: Delusions of Grandeur*. Boston: George Allen and Unwin. 1983. Pp. xv, 173. \$19.50.

The subtitle *Delusions of Grandeur* suggests that Bernard Porter is going to take a fairly well-worn approach to the decline of British power in the last hundred years or so. Writers on this subject usually want to propose some change in the way things are managed in Britain at present. The rigidity of the class system, the trade unions' resistance to change, and the unwillingness of businessmen to welcome new ideas have all been blamed. The unhelpfulness of this approach can be seen by looking at a slightly earlier generation's readiness to say "Bad manners lost the British Empire." Presumably this meant that, if only Colonial Office officials had treated their subjects with politeness and consideration, the map would still be painted red and India would still be ruled from London. But by now we can say that a world-wide commitment to nationalism made the end of empire inevitable.

In his account Porter probably pays too little attention to nationalism and too much attention to American anti-imperialism in the 1940s and 1950s, but he certainly realizes that there was very little the British could do about the end of their empire except make it as tranquil and amicable as possible. And in the same way Porter is ready to accept the inevitability of the decline in Britain's world role from the extraordinary eminence it occupied in the 1850s and 1860s. Despite that subtitle, he does not argue that a more modest assessment of its position in the past would have enabled Britain to retain more of its earlier status in the modern world. He sees the policy of appeasement as a direct result of a modest assessment of Britain's strength in the 1930s; after 1945 British politicians did for some years have an exaggerated idea of their country's power, but there is really no suggestion here that Britain's present position would be any better if they had assessed the situation more accurately between 1945 and 1964.

One recent decision attracts more unfavorable attention: although not denying the reasons for Britain's entry into the European Economic Community, Porter is critical of the politicians who supported entry because they thought it would make Britain part of a potential great power. Porter himself is clearly not all that concerned about Britain's great power status; he thinks the position of the 1850s was a natural but transient result of early industrialization and far-flung overseas interests that could not have lasted for long. Porter is as critical of the politicians who tried to solve the problem of remaining a great power by imperial federation as he is of the Common Marketers.

But he does, nevertheless, have his message for the future: the aspect of British life in the 1850s that he really admires is the high degree of political freedom—no political police, asylums for refugees of all descriptions, and no attempt to deport foreigners just because they were planning to assassinate someone. Getting back to the world of Lord Palmerston may not be practicable, but Porter provides a quite different (and a more cheerful) set of lessons from most of those provided by many who write about Britain's decline with didacticism in their hearts.

TREVOR LLOYD
University of Toronto

JOSEPH HELLER. *British Policy towards the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1914*. London: Frank Cass; distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, Totowa, N.J. 1983. Pp. xi, 228. \$32.50.

Joseph Heller's study makes a useful contribution toward reaching an understanding of a controver-

sial and significant aspect of diplomatic history. Based on a thorough examination of official British archival sources and extant private papers, this work complements several books and articles on the Young Turks and British policy, including those by Elie Kedourie, who supervised the dissertation on which this monograph is based.

The controversy surrounding British policy toward the Ottoman empire immediately before World War I arises in part from how British power in the region is perceived. Defenders of British policy tend to see the Foreign Office reacting realistically to the *Drang nach Osten*, while critics point to the legacy of Gladstonian liberalism, certain geopolitical fixations, and imperialistic ambitions blinding the British to the opportunities created by the new regime in Constantinople. Heller makes a convincing case that Britain's ties to France and Russia, as well as its concern for India and Egypt, precluded the flexibility that might have not only kept the Ottoman empire out of the war but also changed the course of modern Middle Eastern history. Such controversy has also affected historical assessments of individuals in Grey's Foreign Office and the ambassadorial performance of Gerald Lowther and Louis Mallet. Heller makes it clear that high policy in London took precedence over diplomacy in Constantinople, while acknowledging that Lowther's hostility and Mallet's sympathy toward the Committee of Union and Progress also affected Anglo-Ottoman relations.

The significance of Heller's monograph relates to the origins and outbreak of World War I. Great Britain was so preoccupied with supporting Russia that there was little room for maneuver in the Balkans, which made the British appear to Turkish leaders as if they were indifferent to Ottoman "territorial integrity." Heller portrays the nineteenth-century British concern with "reform" in the Ottoman empire, particularly for the protection of Christians, as comparatively unimportant.

The Foreign Office was fatalistic about the death of the so-called "sick man of Europe." But Heller's view of British attempts to keep "Turkey-in-Asia" intact is unconvincing, given subsequent events. While it is true that the Foreign Office preferred Turkish rule rather than a Russian presence in Anatolia or French involvement in the Levant, London could have made political life for the pro-*Entente* faction in Constantinople much easier than it did. The secret, pro-German moves of Enver Pasha and the arrival of the *Gorben* in August 1914 did not keep Mallet from trying to keep the Ottoman empire neutral. But Winston Churchill's "sticks" and the few "carrots" from Grey in London, coupled with the ambitious schemes of the British in India and Egypt, made a mockery of Mallet's efforts.

Believing the Turks to have fallen under German

domination, London took a defiant stance and waited until the Turks could see the Allies victorious in the field. In the meantime, Berlin was highly cooperative and even delivered a million Turkish pounds in gold to them, as demonstrated by Ulrich Trumpener's *Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914–1918*. Heller's argument that the Young Turks should have maintained neutrality rather than seek alliance with a great power, thus, seems rather hollow.

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DAVID R. WOODWARD. *Lloyd George and the Generals*. Newark: University of Delaware Press or Associated University Presses, East Brunswick, N.J. 1983. Pp. 367. \$40.00.

The more that is written about the ever-fascinating career of David Lloyd George, the more that gaps emerge. His views on free trade or empire and his role in labor policy or Welsh politics remain in key respects obscure. But one major lacuna has been nobly filled by David R. Woodward's new study of Lloyd George's relations with the military during the First World War. It is neither, strictly speaking, a military history nor a study of domestic politics, but rather a detailed exploration of the political interaction between civil and military authorities in 1914–18. It will always have a respected place in the literature of the period, not least for its precise information on such difficult themes as manpower statistics and on the circumstances causing the fall of General William Robertson in February 1918.

The background to the book, of course, is the basic strategic conflict between Lloyd George, the "Easterner" who preferred a peripheral attack on the Central Powers, and the "Western" strategy of attrition in France endorsed by Douglas Haig, Robertson, and almost all the generals. But, as this book shows, the issue was by no means so clear-cut. Lloyd George himself was not always a consistent Easterner; apart from his well-known support of the disastrous Nivelle offensive in early 1917, during the Ludendorff offensive of March 1918 he gave priority to the western front. Where precisely this Easterner thought the "East" was actually located (Italy, the Balkans, the Dardanelles, Palestine?) varied a good deal. Equally, the generals were far from monolithic in their views. Horatio Kitchener and Robertson were seriously at odds in the early stages of the war over the structure of military authority. Even Haig and Robertson often differed, notably over the Inter-Allied Supreme War Council and unity of command. Robertson, Lloyd George's great adversary, strongly backed Lloyd George for the premiership against Herbert Asquith in December 1916. General Sir Henry Wilson, Lloyd George's

protégé, forged a kind of alliance with Haig after replacing Robertson as chief of imperial general staff. The intrigues became even more byzantine because of their external aspects. One complexity was the role of the French high command (itself seriously divided between Ferdinand Foch, Henri Pétain, and others) that was used as a pawn in Lloyd George's end-game of maneuver to demote Haig. The American army, too, had its political uses. When Lloyd George tried to place the American forces in the British rather than the French sector of the line, John Pershing became another unwitting lever against Haig's bloody and abortive offensives.

Woodward deals with all these themes with admirable clarity and often with humor. He does make a few minor errors: General Gough's Christian name was Hubert, not Robert, while the editor of *The Times* in 1916 was not Geoffrey Dawson. At times, for instance regarding the Maurice debate, the author's comparative neglect of domestic party politics is a slight weakness. A fuller conclusion would have been desirable since the author's ultimate judgment is that the verdict on the Easterner-Westerner debate remains unresolved and is, perhaps, incapable of resolution. But, in general, this is an important, richly documented work, valuable not only for enthusiasts of "the big beast" and his various adversaries, but for all concerned with the political and strategic aspects of the location of power during total war.

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PIOTR KRASZEWSKI. *Polityka wielkiej Brytanii wobec Niemiec w latach 1918–1925* [The Policy of Great Britain in Relation to Germany in the Years 1918–25]. (Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, number 38.) Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1982. Pp. 342. 150 Zł.

Piotr Kraszewski's book on British policy toward Germany in the period 1918–25 constitutes the thirty-eighth title in the German studies publications of the Western Institute, Poznań. It is a detailed study of the subject based mainly on secondary sources published up to the early 1970s. For some reason that is not explained, the only archival sources he lists are Polish: the papers of the minister of foreign affairs; of the Polish embassies in London, Berlin, and Paris (only in the latter did the Polish legion attain the rank of an embassy in 1925); and of the Polish consulate general in London.

We may assume that the author completed his work sometime in 1976–77 and was unable to consult the British Foreign Office papers in the Public Record Office, London; the German diplo-

matic documents in the Foreign Ministry Archives, Bonn; and the French diplomatic documents in the Foreign Ministry Archives, Paris. Some important Western monographs published after 1976 are also missing from his bibliography: in particular, Ann Orde's *Great Britain and International Security, 1920–1926* (1928), Jacques Bariéty's *Les relations franco-allemandes après la première guerre mondiale, 10 novembre 1918–10 janvier 1925* (1977), and Robert Gratwohls's *Stresemann and the DNVP: Reconciliation or Revenge in German Foreign Policy, 1924–1928* (1980).

It is not surprising, therefore, that Kraszewski's analysis of British policy toward Germany in this period leaves much to be desired. It is certainly true that Lloyd George tried to spare Germany as much as possible in 1919, but this was due less to following the old British policy of securing a balance of power in Europe than to the belief that a durable peace in Europe was impossible if Germany remained unreconciled and hostile to the peace settlement and the powers that made it. In fact, both Lloyd George and his successors aimed to reintegrate Germany into the concert of Europe, a process that began with the Dawes Plan in 1924 and was crowned by the Locarno treaties of October 16, 1925 and Germany's subsequent entry into the League of Nations the following year. The British quest for peace was the leading motive of foreign policy and in large part explains the illusions that British statesmen entertained about the peaceful nature of Germany and the limited scope of German grievances.

Kraszewski's most glaring misperception pertains to Britain's alleged view of Germany as a force to be used against Bolshevik Russia. This was certainly true of some British statesmen in 1919, particularly Winston Churchill, but not after 1920. There is no evidence in British Foreign Office papers that Austen Chamberlain and his colleagues viewed Locarno as a success principally because Germany then became a member of the "anti-Soviet cartel" and, thus, could be an eventual "striking force" against the USSR (pp. 307, 313–14). This was the fear of Soviet leaders and is the theme of Soviet historians of this period, but it is not reflected in the voluminous papers of the Foreign Office. Nor is this view reflected in French archival documents. The most that can be said is that the British general staff feared Russia more than Germany, but the military did not make or influence British foreign policy.

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PATRICK KYBA. *Covenants without the Sword: Public Opinion and British Defence Policy, 1931–1935*. Waterloo, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1983. Pp. xiii, 218. \$11.00.

Patrick Kyba's *Covenants without the Sword* is a useful catalogue of the spectrum of opinion concerning rearmament in Britain between 1931 and 1935. Using a range of sources generally believed to reflect "public opinion," including newspaper articles and letters, pamphlets prepared by interest groups, materials used in by-election campaigns, and speeches made in Parliament, Kyba attempts to trace the evolution of what he terms "majority opinion" during this volatile period.

Kyba begins with the "peace through disarmament" movement that was in full swing in 1931. He then evaluates the massive disappointment engendered by the failure of the disarmament conference and the shift to a belief in collective security under the League of Nations. Kyba concludes with the public mandate that was given in the 1935 general election for rearmament to support the League and that, he argues, was spurred by Mussolini's efforts to seize Abyssinia. Kyba uses the National Government's efforts to undertake rearmament, which it believed was necessary to maintain national security, and its efforts to alert the public to the dangers posed by Germany and Japan as the base line for his narrative. In his final chapter he uses cabinet papers to assess the effect that public opinion, which he charted with such care in the previous ten chapters, had on rearmament policy.

Given the tenor of his preceding chapters, it comes as something of a surprise when Kyba concludes that "Although the Government paid a good deal of attention to public opinion in its discussions and tried valiantly to educate it to its point of view, the weight of evidence points overwhelmingly to the conclusion that political factors [that is, public opinion] played no decisive role whatsoever in the timing and extent of its rearmament programmes" (p. 199). He then goes on to laud the National Government for putting the national interest before its narrow political interests by initiating rearmament at a time when "public opinion" opposed it.

Research on British rearmament in the 1930s amply supports Kyba's conclusion that public opinion had little effect on the government's rearmament policies. I would contend, however, that this was a result of the fact that the National Government recognized that what Kyba calls the "majority opinion" opposed to rearmament was, in fact, the opinion of the active political fringe. The government believed that when what has come to be called the "silent majority" spoke, government policy would be vindicated, newspaper articles and by-elections to the contrary. I believe that the general election of 1935 would have proved them right in this view, even if there had been no Abyssinian crisis.

ROBERT P. SHAY, JR.
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JACOB ABADI. *Britain's Withdrawal from the Middle East, 1947-1971: The Economic and Strategic Imperatives*. (Leaders, politics, and Social Change in the Islamic World.) Princeton N. J.: Kingston. 1983. Pp. xvii, 283. \$26.00.

The decline of British power in the Middle East between 1945 and the early 1970s is an important topic. The way in which the British withdrew helped shape the contemporary politics of the region and provides a fascinating case study of the conditions in which great-power influence in a region undergoes contraction and collapse. For students of the wider subject of British imperial decline, the significance of Britain's postwar policy in the Middle East lies in its challenge to the conventional view that London meekly accepted after 1945 the need to reduce systematically Britain's imperial commitments. For all these reasons a general account of British policy (to supplement existing works) should be very welcome, if only as a pathfinder for the patient squads of researchers toiling through the archival sources for the 1940s and early 1950s. But it is doubtful whether Jacob Abadi's efforts will hasten their progress.

In this book, Abadi discusses Britain's withdrawal from Palestine in 1948, the search for new security arrangements thereafter, the place of air power and the hydrogen bomb in British strategic thinking, the role of the navy, and the final withdrawal from Aden and the Persian Gulf. Although some interesting points are made, the reader will find here no systematic discussion of British policy in the region. Britain's close but stormy relationship with Egypt as well as relations with the other Arab states and Iran are discussed only incidentally, if at all. Astonishingly for a book with this title, the Suez crisis of 1956 is hardly touched on. As a guide to British policy and as an interpretation of the causes of British withdrawal, it is, as a result, seriously inadequate.

For most of the period covered by this book the author has had, necessarily, to rely on published material and secondary sources, although British archives for the later 1940s have been open for several years. He claims to have consulted cabinet minutes and "memoranda of instructions" (p. xi), although they do not appear in his references. Certainly the use of archival sources would have strengthened the first and most ambitious chapter on Palestine in which Abadi advances his main thesis that economic weakness forced the British to withdraw from the mandate. "What reason had the Labour government to abandon Palestine in 1948 other than economic?" he asks (p. 3). Ernest Bevin's cabinet memorandum of September 18, 1947, suggests otherwise. In general, although economic factors undoubtedly influenced British policy after 1945 (as in all peacetime periods), to give them too

much weight can be seriously misleading. For all its economic difficulties, Britain spent twice as much of its GNP on defense after 1945 than in prewar years. Indeed, what is striking about postwar British governments (especially the Labour government of 1945-51) was their readiness to bear such heavy burdens to maintain Britain's fading claim to great-power status.

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JOHN STUART SHAW. *The Management of Scottish Society, 1707-1764: Power, Nobles, Lawyers, Edinburgh Agents, and English Influences*. Edinburgh: John Donald; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1983. Pp. vii, 215. \$28.50.

After a long period of neglect, save, of course, for the numberless books on Bonnie Prince Charlie, Scottish politics in the eighteenth century has received a good deal of attention lately. The present study is a companion volume to Alexander Murdoch's *The People Above: Politics and Administration in Mid-Eighteenth Century Scotland* (1980), and John Stuart Shaw acknowledges his debt to Murdoch. This book might well be titled *The People in the Middle*: it concentrates on the men in public life who remained north of the Tweed. These were not members of the nobility; Shaw demonstrates conclusively that Scottish noblemen either went to London or took no part in public affairs. Lawyers, who, as Shaw demonstrates by careful statistical analysis, came mostly from the substantial landed classes, found themselves "at the pinnacle of polite society in Edinburgh," not because of any "inevitable national tendency towards a monopoly of civil leadership," but because membership in the Faculty of Advocates was the most attractive career open to those whose "moderate property status shackled them to careers in Scotland" (p. 36). The most important of them were the agents of those in power in London, meaning, for most of the period under study, the Campbell brothers, especially the earl of Islay, who succeeded his brother as duke of Argyll in 1743.

Shaw pays grudging tribute to Islay's political skill, which was indeed remarkable, and tries, in a chapter labeled "Improvements," to find something positive to say about the ways he used his power. But it is a vain effort; apart from improving his own estates, Islay, as Shaw concedes, put political strategy first and social progress second. Shaw analyzes in detail the membership of the important administrative and governmental bodies in Scotland—the Board of Trustees for Manufactures, the Customs Commission, the Annexed Estates Commission, and several others—to show how Islay maintained his control. He masked that control cleverly. Often, as

in the case of the Annexed Estates Commission, his friends were not in a majority, but they were the ones who attended the meetings, while their rivals did not. It goes without saying that loyalty rather than ability was the principal qualification for appointment. Only one man was indispensable to Islay, his agent on the spot, Lord Milton, whose loyalty was absolute and whom Shaw praises because he, unlike his chief, was genuinely interested in social and economic improvement. His chance came after the uprising of 1745, when the government in London was for once prepared to listen to the opinions of those in Scotland. But his imaginative scheme for buying up the lands of Highland chiefs in the rebellious areas, which, along with the forfeited estates, would provide the government with the means of releasing the Highlanders from the poverty and ignorance in which the clan system had kept them, was ruined by delay and the implacable opposition of the duke of Cumberland, who, says Shaw, wanted to use the Highlanders as cannon fodder (p. 179). Milton is the hero—if it has one—of this scholarly and well-researched study, whose tone and conclusions are a melancholy commentary on the accuracy of Dr. Johnson's remark about the noblest prospect that a Scotsman ever sees.

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C. J. A. ROBERTSON. *The Origins of the Scottish Railway System, 1722–1844*. Edinburgh: John Donald; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1983. Pp. ix, 421. \$42.00.

This book aims *inter alia* to remedy the common complaint that studies purporting to be on British history often neglect or ignore altogether developments in Scotland (or Wales, for that matter). C. J. A. Robertson mostly deals with the railways of the 1830s and with the position of the Scottish railways on the eve of the great railway promotion and construction mania of the 1840s. (Brief reference is made, as appropriate, to events after 1844.) The first two chapters examine, respectively, the horse-drawn wagonways mainly of the eighteenth century and the coal railways of the early nineteenth century, while the next three chapters cover the 1830s and 1840s. The final chapter summarizes the author's findings and presents his main conclusions. There are eighteen maps. Robertson has made use of a great range and variety of primary and secondary sources, including research done in the last thirty years into British railway history.

There is no doubt at all that this book fills a gap, yet it is interesting that the story Robertson tells is very much in line with the general British one.

Thus, we read of the delays in obtaining Parliamentary permission to build and operate railways and of the financial difficulties into which many companies fell, especially when construction was undertaken during periods of economic depression. Moreover, the author concludes that "The share of Scotland in the British railway system by the end of 1843 was about one-twelfth . . . which was not obviously out of line with the importance of Scotland in the national economy as a whole" (p. 313). He makes the point, however, that some of the capital required came from England as did much of the permanent way and the rolling stock.

The book concentrates on the formation and construction of the various railways and their financial record, and it also has useful things to say, briefly, on their impact on the Scottish economy. It will be found useful by economic historians and railway historians, as well as by those interested in Scottish history. Local historians will find fascinating the mass of detail presented, but it must be said that some ruthless editing would have been beneficial. One can readily applaud the author's desire to be comprehensive, but not all the information seems to be necessary. Thus, while it is interesting to know of the proposals to build long-distance wagonways, a dozen or more pages, including tables of estimated construction costs and traffic, end with "The most obvious fact about these long-distance wagonway plans is that they were not constructed" (p. 43). How significant were the promotional activities of lawyers? Such people are hardly mentioned in the chapter on planning and authorization, but are stated to have been important in the following chapter, during a discussion of legal costs.

Future work on this period of Scottish railway history will need only to fill in gaps. A full-scale study of the subsequent period would valuably complement this substantial volume.

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BASIL CHUBB. *The Government and Politics of Ireland*. 2d ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1982. Pp. xviii, 396. \$29.50.

When the first edition of this book appeared in 1970, it was hailed as the most important analysis of Irish political institutions and practices to have appeared since the formation of the state a half-century previously. The fact that it had only one predecessor of note (published in 1934) and that very few specialized research monographs had been published, did not detract from the achievement, but rather heightened it. An Englishman by background, but based at Trinity College, Dublin, Basil

Chubb was for many years almost the only political scientist of note working in the Republic of Ireland, and his achievement in building a general text of magisterial authority on such slender resources was remarkable.

Developments during the last twelve years have necessitated a complete rewrite for this second edition. Irish society has probably undergone more change in the last fifteen years than in the previous half-century. This is true to some extent in the realm of attitudes and values, more obviously the case for industrial and social structure, and most easily measured in terms of the demographic trends in the state: a population increase of 15 percent since the watershed of 1966, which marked the lowest point in Irish population history since the end of the eighteenth century. Alongside these changes major academic developments have occurred. Of the 114 references cited in the general bibliography to this edition, eighty have been published since the first edition was completed. The desert of Irish political research has become a forest. Subsequent studies along with work done at the Institute of Public Administration, the Economic and Social Research Institute, and in Irish Marketing Surveys, have entirely changed the context in which any work of political synthesis must be developed.

The first edition, with its historical introduction contributed by the late David Thornley that took events up to the formation of the independent state in 1922, contained a series of chapters outlining the development of formal and informal institutions and emphasized the molding of a stable system. The new edition lays more emphasis on change as a characteristic of the system. Although many of the old chapter headings are retained, the book is now subdivided into four parts ("The Context of Politics," "Participation and Representation," "The Formation of Public Policy," and "The Administration of Public Policy"). The historical introduction has been deemed no longer necessary (Irish historians should probably regard this as a tribute to their own energies during the intervening years!) and new chapters have been added on "The Changing Face (and Mind?) of Ireland," "Patterns of Participation and Representation," and "The Policy Makers." One of the major concerns of many Western countries in recent years is reflected in the change of one chapter title from "The Citizen and the Administration" to "Controlling the Administration." The remaining chapters have also been extensively rewritten. *The Government and Politics of Ireland* is no longer without rivals, but it remains not only the most substantial and comprehensive study but also the most authoritative university-level text available on the Republic of Ireland.

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OLIVER MACDONAGH. *States of Mind: A Study of Anglo-Irish Conflict, 1780–1980*. Boston: George Allen and Unwin. 1983. Pp. viii, 151. \$17.50.

Oliver MacDonagh traces Anglo-Irish tensions to conflicting states of mind. English indifference to history, commitment to private property, and, except when legislating Irish coercion, conviction that nature made Britain and Ireland one clashed with Irish communalism, obsession with the past, and insistence that geography determined Ireland's independence.

Because Daniel O'Connell, Charles Stewart Parnell, and even Arthur Griffith realized that the form of Irish independence depended on the British, MacDonagh characterizes constitutional, nationalist movements like repeal, Home Rule, and Sinn Féin as unrealistic or ambiguous invitations to a Westminster counteroffer. But they relied on the threat of physical force to encourage British leaders to deal with moderate nationalism. MacDonagh describes a five-stage evolution of revolutionary nationalism. In the eighteenth century, the violence of secret agrarian societies offered alternatives to compliance with British colonialism. Theobald Wolfe Tone introduced republicanism, defined the British connection as oppression, and attributed sectarian conflict in his country to British divisive tactics. Young Ireland added cultural separatism to Irish nationalism. Influenced by French and American strategy and rhetoric, Fenianism declared constant war with Britain, manipulated Irish opinion through public demonstrations, especially funerals, and infiltrated other movements. Patrick Pearse canonized Tone as a nationalist saint and prophet and combined Christian redemptive theology with revolutionary ideology in cults of blood sacrifice, martyrology, and revolution as drama.

MacDonagh argues that priests could not remain aloof from a nationalism closely identified with Catholic interests. In addition, priests were of the people, sharing their feelings and empathizing with their physical and spiritual needs. But having to follow as well as lead, priests could not dictate policy contrary to nationalist values. While the concept of an Irish Ireland originated from the Anglo-Irish need to have an Irish identity antedating Catholicism, in time Catholic and Gaelic Ireland became one. Priests and many pious laymen decided that a Gaelic Ireland would be a Catholic island in a secular sea. And after the fall of Parnell and the rise of Anglo-Saxon racism (MacDonagh does not discuss this factor), middle-class Catholic insecurities led them in an Irish-Ireland direction.

Citing many examples since the 1790s, MacDonagh credits British ignorance of and inattention to Ireland along with timidity in the face of Anglo-Irish Protestant and Ulster Presbyterian paranoia in regard to Catholics for the persistence of Irish

nationalism. After 1921 Britain could have furthered a United Ireland or at least a more tranquil Northern Ireland by compelling the Boundary Commission to construct a realistic border and by enforcing civil rights for Ulster Catholics in the United Kingdom. Its failure to insist on sharing power in post-Stormont Northern Ireland is Britain's latest display of folly and cowardice.

Historical reexamination of the premises of Irish nationalism has been a positive outcome of the great evil of the Northern Ireland situation. Books like MacDonagh's have persuaded many of the Irish at home and abroad to govern their emotions with reason. Perhaps his well-written and perceptive analysis of the sources of the Anglo-Irish conflict will encourage the British, particularly politicians, to examine their country's responsibility for Irish troubles.

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GILLES FEYEL. *La "Gazette" en province à travers ses réimpressions, 1631–1752: Une recherche analytique de la diffusion d'un ancien périodique dans toute la France.* (Études de l'Institut de Recherches des Relations Intellectuelles entre les Pays de l'Europe Occidentale au XVII^e Siècle, number 8.) Maarssen, The Netherlands: APA-Holland University Press. 1982. Pp. x, 452. f. 90.

For four-fifths of its history (1631–1752), the *Gazette de France* and its provincial reprints represented the ancien régime's most ambitious effort at supplying controlled information. At various times the Renaudot family and its immediate successors leased republishing rights to dozens of *fermiers* scattered in thirty-six towns. Gilles Feyel estimates that in 1670 from 55 to 60 percent of the *Gazettes* in France emanated from provincial presses. In 1749 the figure perhaps reached 80 percent. In 1752 a bitter squabble over ownership of the Paris privilege ended this shared monopoly. The financier Le Bas de Courmont, new owner of the *Gazette*, annulled the old leases and tried to supply the provinces with only the Paris edition. The distribution scheme failed. By the 1760s a thirst for locally printed news resulted in the signing of new leases—now, however, for *Annonces, Affiches, et Avis divers*. The great age of the *Gazette* was past, and the provincial press born.

This narrative sketch of the history of news distribution in France from the 1630s to the mid-eighteenth century barely does justice to Feyel's comprehensive study, which is based on notarial records in the Archives Nationales and a stunning array of sources scattered in municipal and departmental repositories. Resisting the temptation to

compose fragmented stories about provincial printers and booksellers digesting tiny morsels of the *Gazette* pie in order to remain alive, Feyel builds his thesis around important themes: costs of production, estimated profits, speed of distribution, size of press runs, reasons for news hunger, and the faithfulness of local printers to the master copy. A 180-page town-by-town survey reveals Feyel's archival sources, describes the status of existing collections of provincial *Gazettes*, compares decoration and content with the Paris edition, and identifies the leaseholders of provincial ones. Authoritative in evaluating economic and typographical factors behind the evolution of the provincial *Gazettes*, Feyel is less profound in treating social and cultural ones. He devotes a scant two pages to readership, and his argument connecting Paul Hazard's *grand tournant* and the multiplication of provincial editions of the *Gazette* (1680s–1715) is underdeveloped.

Such remarks notwithstanding, Feyel's *troisième cycle* thesis clearly shows how the history of ancien régime journalism has evolved beyond fact gathering, computer-assisted word analysis, *signe* counts, or the addition of events in a given year. This is a carefully composed, well-researched, and, above all, readable study.

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JOHN G. CLARK. *La Rochelle and the Atlantic Economy during the Eighteenth Century.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1981. Pp. xiv, 286. \$24.00.

This is a study of some ninety merchant shipper (*armateur*) families of La Rochelle under the Old Regime. John G. Clark deals with their business and nonbusiness wealth, their social status, the continuity of firms in families across generations, sources of investment funds, investment practice and management, the financial relationships of *armateur* families associated by marriage, maritime insurance, the commodities trade, and bankruptcy. He includes a very perceptive discussion of relations between the La Rochelle shippers and their city, on the one hand, and the royal government, on the other. The book is rich in data mined in the archives and libraries of La Rochelle. It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to all the important matters it raises.

Three-fourths of the ninety *armateur* families of La Rochelle were Protestant, the rest Roman Catholic. During the Seven Years' War, wealthy Protestants showed their loyalty to Catholic France by contributing service and money to the defense of the port and rendering other patriotic services. Thereafter, the harassment of Protestants virtually disappeared. Although Protestant and Catholic families did not intermarry, the Protestant and

Catholic merchants in the Chamber of Commerce formed a common front in defending the local mercantile interests; with no visible religious hostility to one another, they comported themselves as members of a single interest group. Protestant *armateurs* were not made to have their children educated by the Catholic clergy, as the law required; some educated their children in their own business offices, others sent their children to the Dutch Netherlands. A few Protestants were even ennobled at La Rochelle in the eighteenth century.

Clark finds at La Rochelle what researchers have found at other ports—after the Seven Years' War profit opportunity in maritime trade declined, especially for the direct route between France and its West Indian colonies. Reacting to this downturn, the *armateurs* of La Rochelle began to enter the Indian Ocean trade and undertook a growing number of ventures in increasingly large ships to the triangular slave trade from France to Africa to the Antilles. But difficulties mounted on all sides. The harbor at La Rochelle was silting up, and the royal government took no action to improve the port. Taxes and fees paid to venal officials bled commercial capital and, together with regulations that required excessively large crews, made it impossible to compete with the Dutch in the carrying trade to the North Sea and the Baltic. Finally, in every war ships and cargoes were seized by enemy vessels, resulting in bankruptcies. All these were heavy obstacles. As Clark says, the persistence of maritime trade at La Rochelle in the face of these adversities probably cannot be explained on economic grounds.

Given the frustrations and resentments these merchants must have felt toward the indifference of the royal government to their problems and the heavy toll levied on their capital by tax farmers and other concessionnaires, it would be interesting to know what political role they played at the outset of the Revolution and how the Revolution dealt with them. Clark has, in this study, laid an excellent social, economic, and institutional foundation for research on the political behavior of La Rochelle merchants during the Revolution. If he has no plans to investigate that matter, someone else should do so. Such a project would be a natural sequel to this excellent study.

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DONALD SUTHERLAND. *The Chouans: The Social Origins of Popular Counter-Revolution in Upper Brittany, 1770–1796*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1982. Pp. xi, 360. \$59.00.

As he approaches the denouement of his study on chouannerie, the violent and largely unorganized

manifestation of popular resistance to the Revolution in Upper Brittany, Donald Sutherland writes that "it would be an error to impose too rigid a scheme on a bewildering series of events" (p. 245). No imputation of inflexibility can afflict Sutherland's conscientious determination to produce a balanced study. If he strains a bit in his search to assign absolutely precise weights to complex phenomena, he is prompted by the urge to preserve their richness. He questions the interpretations offered by Paul Bois, Marcel Fauchoux, and Charles Tilly, as well as their critics, who, in Sutherland's opinion, do not depart sufficiently from them to lay to a final rest the earliest partisan and the later positivistic histories that clouded understanding of the elite and popular enemies of the Revolution.

His major explanation for the anarchic and brutal expressions of guerilla warfare relies heavily on an understanding of the multiple exploitations of related sentiments of loyalty and dependence within the rural community. More particularly, some, but not all, tenant farmers were alienated from better-off proprietors whose burdens were lessened by the revolutionary removal of the vestiges of seigneurial dues, whose position was enhanced at the auctions of church properties, and who could therefore more easily absorb the new taxes. Not so the tenants whose economic situation was worsened by them. Their bitter disappointment, nourished by the rising political hegemony of sections of society they came to abhor (the urban bourgeoisie of officials and professionals) and the psychic injuries directed toward their rectors, are provisional proof for Sutherland that they and those who were tied to them constituted the "real" core of rural community life. Chouannerie involved and therefore revealed—although in this instance cause and effect are hard to distinguish—a sort of client relationship between tenants and farm servants. Too young and too impecunious to assume their own tenancies, they transformed themselves into the arms-bearing chouans who, representing a tiny fraction of the population, terrorized the small towns, *bourgs*, and hamlets with the active and passive connivance of their elders. Together they created an ideology of resistance on a foundation of fear and hatred of conscription, support for their clergy, and frustrated economic expectations. But Sutherland is still far from ready to ascribe ultimate responsibility to them for the origins of the resistance, for he speaks of the existence of a "vertical social split" and a "horizontal economic" one (p. 49), yet encounters difficulties in analyzing the structure, functions, and interests of the rural bourgeoisie in the community who hold one of the keys to the problems (pp. 90, 107, 125).

Therefore, many questions remain in a rather tangled state, not because of Sutherland's insensitivity to them—on the contrary, he has a clear eye and a good ear for nuance. The idea of a community is

of course hardly novel; it is the starting point of historical sociology, and Sutherland moves deftly in his analysis of it. More daring speculation on the nature of deference, its several ambiguities, including the great range of concealed and open hostilities, may explain more of the strengths and fragilities of community relationships, including the core that Sutherland sees as their essence. Further reflection on the relationships—not only between tenants and proprietors but between each and both on the one hand and between them and seigneurs and nobles, as well as the status-conscious rectors, on the other—ought to yield more convincing solutions to the meanings of external symbols and inner realities of authority and submissiveness. The authority structures, which, Sutherland infers, subsisted on an idealized model of acceptable moral practices, instead of arousing expected responses in the crises after 1789, elicited stinging rebukes from a peasant population that looked for but did not always find leadership, and therefore often thrust it on a reluctant “natural” (*sic*) class of nobles. What Sutherland evokes with skill and mastery is the sharpness of some of the divisions within the communities. While he consequently succeeds in disclosing the extent of the submissiveness of the tenants and their youthful confederates, he pays less attention to the self-image of the further-removed figures of authority who had their own ideas of how and on what grounds they wanted to exert their power. They were, in fact, averse to personalizing it in the sense demanded by their dependents.

What are we to do with evidence that accounts for the active role of the poorest segments of the peasant and artisan populations in the insurrections? We are told that they were not crucial to chouannerie. Sutherland argues that the economy of Ille-et-Vilaine had reached a stable level. If I understand him, this must amount to a kind of equilibrium model of an economy that is neither expanding nor declining. Sutherland wants to argue that whatever impulses for change and resistance existed were internal to the local economy. Such instability as existed did so within it and was not significantly subject to outside influence. Since his argument seems to rest on the premise of a stable, not impoverished economy, Sutherland sets aside the sociology of poverty as irrelevant. Poverty was, however, as real as was the crude assessment by contemporaries of local religiosity, which Sutherland sometimes utilizes to make his point about religious loyalties while forgetting that in other parts of the book he questions the reliability of their observations. The internal weaknesses of chouannerie were overcome because the republicans owed their eventual superiority in guerilla fighting both to their flying columns and their capacity to devise nonmilitary strategies to deflate the confidence and bloody-mindedness of the insurgents.

This is a challenging study, significant for anyone interested in the contradictory nature of popular insurgency of either the right or the left.

HARVEY MITCHELL

University of British Columbia

ANGUS McLAREN. *Sexuality and Social Order: The Debate over the Fertility of Women and Workers in France, 1770–1920*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1983. Pp. vii, 226. \$39.50.

For generations the French led the world in what has become known as family planning. During a century and a half of unusually low natality, intellectuals, the clergy, physicians, socialists, and other political leaders debated the fertility question. While describing the evolution of this debate, Angus McLaren surrounds it with a factual account of birth control practice, including widespread abortion. For McLaren the issue terminated when in 1920 the Assembly, whose members “had fathered fewer legitimate children than any other contemporary political group” (p. 1), provided France with sturdy and repressive contraceptive and abortion legislation. In the long run, according to the author, such legislation aimed less at increasing births than at silencing rowdy birth controllers and particularly at restoring order among workers and women.

Certainly, in pre- and postwar France, workers and women had challenged the reigning order of things; one applauds McLaren’s refusal to take the symptom for the disease. If the problem was not fertility, however, why is the fertility debate pertinent at all? By this account those favorable to low natality made their arguments on libertarian grounds, which in the *belle époque* implied license and decadence to partisans of high fertility. Simultaneously, physicians failed to develop a eugenicist majority that could promote low fertility as a means to a more vigorous workforce. Even the Socialist party saw in neo-Malthusianism a challenge to its collective and individual force (an inversion of spermatic economic theory), especially when anarchists, some bourgeois physicians, and libertarian types were its major proponents. Apparently (though this is never demonstrated) the arbiters of French politics, indeed taking the symptom for the disease, favored repression of birth controllers as a measure that itself would repress the license of women and workers.

The license of women consisted of the habitual practice of birth control and, especially, millions of abortions during the period under discussion. One might suggest that the repetitive debate over fertility served as a delicate container for male rage at women’s rejection of the fruits of their contact with men. What women were thinking about these practices, however, readers of this book will never know.

McLaren's predilection for the male debate as fascinating and deserving of great discussion (Paul Robin receives one chapter) makes for a negligent treatment (Madeleine Pelletier receives one paragraph) of what women were saying in a parallel and more complex debate over motherhood, fertility, and the like. McLaren has taken one of those "new" subjects that should open into the world of women's thought and experience and used it, for the most part, to bring us the same old cast of historical characters—priests, doctors, male socialists, and a few token feminists whose views on the one hand have to represent those of all women and on the other are so predictable that McLaren feels they do not need elaborate discussion. In the final analysis one must suggest that the fertility debate encompassed more than the books, tracts, and so on whose titles explicitly referred to the subject; that a century of writing by women on motherhood and other topics related to reproduction may have been a female litany responding to that of men and accompanying the millions of abortions; and that, no matter how admirable the scholarship, so perilous a topic as human fertility will never be understood merely by polling male opinion. As an expert piece of polling, however, McLaren's book will be an indispensable starting point for pursuing the complicated relationship between sexuality and social order in France.

BONNIE G. SMITH
University of Rochester

LESLIE PAGE MOCH. *Paths to the City: Regional Migration in Nineteenth-Century France*. (New Approaches to Social Science History, number 2.) Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, in cooperation with the Social Science History Association. 1983. Pp. 261. \$25.00.

It is a commonplace that the industrialization process conditioned migration in nineteenth-century Europe. Such was also the case for the movement from country to town in southeastern France, in particular migration from three small towns to the regional capital of Nîmes, that forms the subject of Leslie Page Moch's excellent study. Yet very few of the migrants she has looked at—one almost wants to say interviewed, so well does she bring them to life—moved to industrial occupations, fewer indeed than either their previous work or the composition of the city's labor force would predict. In fact, it was precisely the deindustrialization of the region that accelerated the net flow out of the countryside and its smaller centers during the second half of the century. Although Nîmes was affected by competition from distant, more successful industrial concentrations, it proved able to absorb significant numbers of migrants and to grow at a moderate rate.

Using a large variety of sources, including census lists and marriage records, Moch is able to examine migration from the dual point of view of origin and destination without forgetting the migrants themselves. This represents a clear advance over most studies and justifies her call for a systemic approach to migration. Indeed, the only flaw in her method is that it immediately raises questions about migrants to Nîmes versus other destinations, about emigration from Nîmes, and about those who may have taken more than one migratory "step" in a lifetime.

It is hard, in a short review, to do justice to the book as a whole, for example, to the fine account of Nîmes's changing social and cultural geography, although it is only fair to add that this chapter must be enjoyed for its own sake as it explains little in the larger scheme. I shall do no more than highlight a few findings. First, it is clear that mobility increased continually rather than abruptly, so long as one specifies gross as opposed to net population flows and takes into account distance as well as frequency of movement. In some ways, the proto-industrial period, with its woollen and silk industries that existed alongside cattle raising and lumber, lively trade, temporary migration, and vigorous exchange among many urban centers, represents a type of integrated development not unlike what today's regional planners have in mind. By contrast, the railroad only accelerated rural and small-town decline, its main contribution being to furnish preferred urban employment to many migrants.

The author stresses the orderly nature of the migration process, which allowed plenty of scope for individual and family strategies to be implemented. Migrants were seemingly "marginal" as youths, but their family structure and employment patterns converged to the urban norm as they reached maturity. Long-standing regional ties meant that migrants had opportunities congruent with their prior status or potential. The only surprise is that white-collar jobs were more open than the limited industrial employment offered by Nîmes. One question is the extent to which migration and insertion were eased by the peculiarly low French demographic pressure. The picture might have been much harsher elsewhere in Europe.

PAUL M. HOHENBERG
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THOMAS A. KSELMAN. *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 283. \$27.50.

Apparitions of Mary and Jesus, a giant cross emerging in the sky, miraculous healings, millenarian "voices from heaven"—such fascinating events figure in Thomas A. Kselman's searching study. But

you will find in it no survey of such events, no compendious account of what happened at La Salette and Lourdes, and no more than several scant mentions of the famous healer Jean Vianney. Instead of narrating miracles and prophecies, Kselman concentrates on analyzing their repercussions. In particular, he shows how, to an extent not seen for centuries, new miracle cults were embraced and institutionalized by the French church, which was on the defensive intellectually and politically.

The shifting political fortunes of the church, however, do not structure this book as they do Adrien Dansette's classic. Nor does this history pursue the now familiar questions of the decline of magic, faith, and religious practice. Kselman presents popular religion as abidingly traditional.

In response to criticisms of that religion and the church, he argues that the "new folklore" of the miraculous served popular psychological and social needs; religious authorities "promoted" (p. 35) such beliefs not to exploit the gullible but to respond to those needs, to buoy the faithful, and to secure institutional control. This insistence on the religiously positive becomes more than a needed corrective at points. Only quite successful faith healings are discussed, and they are set off strikingly against the inadequate medical alternatives. Elsewhere an apologetic effect results inadvertently from the overall functionalist interpretation. According to the general argument, prophecies served religion's "basic social functions" and helped people adjust to the challenges of disturbing changes. Yet the detailed account shows that royalist and ultramontane prophecies gave the French in the early Third Republic an incorrect reading of France's future and fostered both political intransigence and satan-hunting rancor toward Masons and Jews.

The book's close analyses are perhaps its most important contribution. One chapter shows how miraculous cures can be understood as "social drama," reintegrating an individual into family and community. Another shows how popular devotions of the Marian cult appealed to the era's sexually obfuscating sentimentality about motherhood and family. Another walks us through the steps taken for a miracle to become church-certified, showing how clergymen reacted variously under "pressures." On the most important case of Lourdes, Kselman demonstrates nicely how early visits from local poor and ill people to a fountain grew—with help from the press and railroad—into a national, church-controlled shrine.

The author concludes that the church's "promotion" of folkloric piety was not simply a reaction against modernity but also a part of the modernizing process. The new pilgrimages and religious press adapted traditional local religion for a new nationally conscious, literate, and mobile popula-

tion. The book leaves us wanting to know more about how and where the religious publications and medals spread, how commercial forces helped to develop shrines, and why some (even urban) Frenchmen reacted so traditionally to modernity while others did not. Although this study might well have been enlarged, Kselman has given us important findings from much recent diverse research and has added plenty of his own insights, making this a useful volume of fresh scholarship.

CHARLES REARICK
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BRIAN FITZPATRICK. *Catholic Royalism in the Department of the Gard, 1814–1852*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 216. \$44.50.

Brian Fitzpatrick's study of Catholic royalism is a political history of the Gard between the First Restoration and the Second Empire because the history of Catholic politics in a department with the largest Protestant minority in France is the history of the department's politics. Following the work of Gwynne Lewis, James Hood, and Daniel Resnick on the brutal symbiosis of religion and politics during the era of the Revolution and the subsequent White Terror, Fitzpatrick traces the troubled politics in the Gard during the *monarchie censitaire*, the Revolution of 1848 and the subsequent struggles that ended with the demise of the Second Republic and the coming to power of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

No one familiar with Daniel Resnick's work on the White Terror (which Fitzpatrick does not cite) or with David Pinckney's chapters on the Revolution of 1830 is surprised to learn that confessional animosities crucially shaped the political life in the Gard. Fitzpatrick's most interesting contribution is in the skillful analysis of the effect of confessional loyalties on the political alignments of social groups. In a fundamental sense, religious identities were, as Fitzpatrick argues, "strong enough for most of the nineteenth century to submerge, if not to transcend entirely, the social and economic differences" that in other areas defined politics as class conflict (p. 184). Catholic workers, especially those who were employed by Protestant manufacturers and lived in close proximity to a hostile Protestant population, gave their loyalty to a Catholic landholding elite. Protestant workers, peasants, artisans, and industrialists took their collective political cue from a perceived threat of religious oppression. Fitzpatrick does not claim, however, that class interests were extinguished, but that they were transformed, by religious preoccupations. Although it was not possible to create a nonconfessional party of order or a radical democratic movement across confessional

lines during the Revolution of 1848 and the Second Republic, Catholic legitimism would itself divide between the conservatism of the Catholic notables and a radical *montagne blanche* that attempted (unsuccessfully) to harness the democratic aspirations of the Catholic masses to a movement for the restoration of the legitimate dynasty.

In contrast to other strongholds of royalist sentiment, the legitimists' tactics in the Gard indicated a support, however reluctant, for Louis Napoleon's destruction of a republican alternative, so that the Catholic cantons voted heavily in favor of the plebiscite that sanctioned the *coup d'état*. Indeed, Catholic leadership eventually defied the pretender's policy of abstention from participation in the politics of a usurper's regime because they did not want to abdicate power to their Protestant rivals. Thus, the deeply rooted traditions of religious conflict that gave ultraroyalism such a secure base in the Gard also had the effect "of relegating obedience to their monarch to second place after the more fundamental goal of excluding the Protestants from power" (p. 81).

Fitzpatrick's interpretation is clear and persuasive within the rather narrow limits that he has set. The sort of quantitative analysis that Thomas Beck has applied to electoral lists or the historical anthropology of Maurice Agulhon are not attempted. This is conventional political history with a religious dimension.

ALAN B. SPITZER
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GARY S. CROSS. *Immigrant Workers in Industrial France: The Making of a New Laboring Class*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 299. \$29.95.

How the French dealt with immigrant laborers—a noncitizen, alien labor force—in the period between the two world wars is the subject of *Immigrant Workers in Industrial France* by Gary S. Cross. Prior to 1914 immigrant labor was unregulated, pulled to France by economic opportunity or pushed there by hardship at home. After 1918 some control was needed: business and industry were at odds over how to get the foreign labor they required, and French labor was increasingly worried about competition from outsiders. Government provided the mechanism for regulating alien labor and a terrain for reconciling the quarrels and quelling the fears of domestic interests; in fact, immigration policy was an area in which corporatism, bargaining among organized social and economic groups, triumphed.

Because of the interwar manpower shortage, there was never any thought of stopping the labor flow to France. What government legislation did was to pick and choose among the immigrants

(mainly Italians, Poles, Spaniards, and Belgians), to control their numbers (about three million in 1930), and to direct them to wherever they were needed (especially into farming, mining, and heavy industry). In addition to guaranteeing a supply of cheap labor, the government worked to ensure a balance between the traditional and modern sectors of the economy and to protect the special status of the French worker. According to Cross, the result was the birth of a new laboring class, shoved into menial, hard, or unpleasant jobs that the French worker had vacated but denied the economic and political rights of its French counterpart. Assimilation never had a chance. Keeping the foreigners as unintegrated outsiders minimized the social, political, and economic risks. Alien workers were slated to remain permanently on the margin, "guests" whose invitations could be torn up whenever they had overstayed their visit.

Cross's research in national and departmental archives is extensive, and his conclusions are provocative. He fits changes in immigration policy to what we already know about the connections among business, labor, and government. Once the partners accepted the notion of an ever-expanding economy and the need for immigrant workers, it was a short step to self-preservation and the establishment of a dual labor market with a different set of rules for each laboring class. The participation of French labor organizations in the making of immigration policy (even though it was not always at the highest levels) was an indication of how French the workers of France really were. So much for liberty, equality, fraternity, or the stanzas of the *Internationale*: this was a French-first, foreigner-last policy. Imperialism, it is said, postponed the exploitation of the European working class. Cross suggests that with the end of empire the use of immigrant labor continued to shift the burden of capitalism.

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JEAN CHARLOT. *Le gaullisme d'opposition, 1946–1958: Histoire politique du gaullisme*. Foreword by GEORGETTE ELGEY. Paris: Fayard. 1983. Pp. 436. 95 fr.

The French Fourth Republic (1946–58) has been a source of fascination to historians. The consensus in the Resistance movement that a political system vastly different from the prewar Third Republic was needed never got translated into practice. Very soon after the liberation, the old political parties and divisions reappeared. De Gaulle, who returned to Paris triumphant in August 1944 to head the provisional government, abruptly resigned in January 1946.

The twelve-year history of the French republic has been told exceptionally well by Philip Williams, Georgette Elgey, Jacques Julliard, and others. We know a great deal about the maneuverings and machinations of the parties and politicians, of the ministerial instability, of the predominance of parliament, of the weakness of the executive. All this did not prevent the Fourth Republic from setting in motion the most remarkable period of economic growth in French history. Nonetheless, although the political history of the Fourth Republic is familiar, the publication of Jean Charlot's *Le gaullisme d'opposition, 1946–1958* is a reminder that history is sometimes made as much by those out of power as by those holding the official positions.

Charlot is the leading scholar in France on the Gaullist movement. Having devoted two earlier books to the Gaullist party under the Fifth Republic, he has now turned his attention to the Gaullist movement when it was out of power in the years 1946–58. In so doing, he has made a critical contribution to the historiography of the Fourth Republic, for he has filled what until now had been the missing chapter in that history.

Le gaullisme d'opposition is a work of careful scholarship, based on newly opened archives of the Gaullist movement and of other (now defunct) political parties. It also makes excellent use of the memoirs of participants. The book details the fate of de Gaulle and of his movement from de Gaulle's resignation as head of the government and head of state on January 20, 1946, to his investiture as the last prime minister of the Fourth Republic on June 1, 1958. The book is a mine of information about the people around de Gaulle, about the divisions within the movement, and about de Gaulle himself.

Despite his image as a man above parties and party machinations, de Gaulle was every bit a politician, when he wanted to be. His active role in the Gaullist party, the *Rassemblement du Peuple Français* (R.P.F.), was his only venture into party politics, and, even though his memoirs suggest that it was a venture he preferred to forget, it was of immense importance for him, for the R.P.F., and for the Fourth Republic. Charlot's book provides the most complete history of the R.P.F., a party that for several years played a critical role in (not helping) the Fourth Republic. De Gaulle's political skill was put to use when the Fourth Republic proved incapable of handling the Algerian War and the hour of his recall approached. And the recall came on the terms he had always insisted on—constitutional reform.

Charlot has done all those interested in recent French history an enormous service by filling in the major gap that existed heretofore in the history of the immediate postwar years in France.

EZRA N. SULEIMAN
Princeton University

JEAN-PIERRE RIOUX. *La France de la IV^e République*. Volume 2, *L'expansion et l'impuissance, 1952–1958*. (Nouvelle Histoire de la France Contemporaine, number 16.) Paris: Seuil. 1983. Pp. 382.

Time flies! Not only has the Fourth Republic become textbook history, but it has also become sufficiently distant to assume a distinct shape, a certain meaning, and a substantive role in French history. This historic crystallization emerges clearly from Jean-Pierre Rioux's chronicle of its decline and fall—half political drama, half dissection of life and society.

Readers will relive the anxieties that the Fourth Republic brought to Frenchmen and foreigners during its early decadence: the failures of the "new Poincaré," Antoine Pinay, the disappointments of the brief Mendes-France stewardship (rendered poignant by that forlorn youngster, calling after the departing limousine: "Merci pour les Jeunes!"), the deadlock following the elections of January 1956, and the events in Algiers that forced someone to choose when the taste for choice had become all but extinct.

These may not have been the best of times, but no one can say that they were the worst. Full employment prevailed during much of the 1950s, government planning offered more incentives than constraints, as in 1871 public credit never suffered. At the same time France's endemic disease, a stagnating population, gave way to a baby boom. If economic development and well-being were unequally distributed, that was neither new nor peculiarly French. By 1955 new factories were prohibited in a fifty-mile region around Paris, twenty-two planning regions were created, and special development projects for neglected provinces like Brittany manifested a degree of initiative and innovation that contrasted favorably with earlier epochs. The maldistribution of prosperity remained more impervious to policy; housing was eternally short, and 45 percent of all French households found it difficult to make ends meet. But crime declined spectacularly, by more than 40 percent between 1948 and 1958. There was enough of the good life to appease, if not to pacify.

In other sectors France changed very little. Many sons continued to follow the footsteps of their fathers (41 percent of all industrialists, 53 percent of all workers, 88 percent of all farmers). The bourgeoisie continued to "rise," and, although the school enrollment of 12 to 15 year olds almost doubled as a percentage of the total school population, the annual production of *diplômés* at French universities grew only from eight to ten thousand. The struggle between the laic and the devout continued inconclusively, if often less bitterly.

The author dresses this rich agenda in an elegant, well-tailored presentation. His book is substantial,

interesting reading, reinforced by an up-to-date bibliography that pays decent respect to the scholarly contributions by selected foreigners, including Philip Williams, David Lerner, Stanley Hoffmann, and Lawrence Wylie. A full chronological table covers more than French milestones; in fact, it draws a larger perspective than does the narrative. Errors are largely inconsequential: Mendes-France was scarcely at the height of his popularity abroad after the EDC debate (p. 55); the map on page 96 does not entirely confirm the St. Malo–Geneva line as Poujadism's northern border, or as the southern border of a region impervious to its appeals. Antisemitism may have contributed to the fall of Mendes-France, but René Mayer was also a Jew. Why did the same prejudice not haunt him? Because he was more handsome, a better orator, more a player of the game? Finally, the chapter on civilization ("polyculture") cannot do justice to its vast subject. The section on the arts comes down to the kind of name dropping that usually afflicts the treatment of its contents in most general works.

Still, one is left with a well-organized, magistral presentation of Fourth Republic politics, economics, and demography that will not soon be superseded.

HANS A. SCHMITT
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WILLIAM S. MALTBY. *Alba: A Biography of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Third Duke of Alba, 1507–1582*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. xvii, 377. \$29.50.

With this splendid biography of the third duke of Alba, William S. Maltby has filled a colossal void in the historiography of sixteenth-century Europe. From the 1530s to his death in 1582, Alba played a major, often crucial, role in the reigns of the Emperor Charles V and his son, Philip II of Spain. Until now our best biography has been Antonio Ossorio's of 1669. Reticent about himself, Alba like Philip has been regarded outside of Spain as one of history's chief villains. Who can forget the terrible portrait of Alba etched by J. L. Motley in *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*?

Maltby, whose *Black Legend in England* (1971) deals with English accounts of Spanish villainies, writes in a pithy style with flashes of dark humor that do justice to his subject. Rooting speculation firmly in the sources, his effort to plumb the duke's guarded character and guiding values produces a vivid and convincing portrait from which the duke's ideas and deeds, however one judges them, flow naturally. Refraining from making moral judgments of his subject, Maltby offers judicious assessments of Alba's statecraft, generalship, and diplomacy—both his successes and his failures.

The book is organized chronologically. Maltby opens with a solid treatment of Alba's House of Toledo, its traditions and concerns; Alba's education in humanist and military values; and his marriage and family life. Unfortunately, a 1936 fire destroyed the estate records, so the duke's economic and seigneurial interests cannot be developed. The next two chapters trace Alba's evolution from a runaway teen-aged volunteer to the first-rate general and imperial councilor who conducted Charles V's campaigns of 1546–47 that culminated in the triumph at Mühlberg. Two chapters on the 1550s follow. As the duke moved from the service of Charles to that of Philip, he found himself a rival for the royal favor with the prince of Eboli. Maltby's treatment of the consequent factional struggles is excellent. Here and elsewhere he has made good use of the recent scholarship of Geoffrey Parker, David Lagomarsino (as yet unpublished but eagerly awaited), and others.

Going with Philip to England in 1554, Alba was ordered in 1555 to Italy—partly because his talents were needed, partly because Eboli wanted him out of the way. There Alba got a foretaste of what happened to him later in the Netherlands, as his rivals took advantage of his absence from court to embarrass him by challenging his policies and tampering with funds needed for military operations.

Alba's government of the Netherlands (1567–73), a watershed of world history, occupies half the book. Maltby's analyses of persons and events, based on wide reading in published and archival sources, are keen. Only in the chapter on Alba's proconsular conduct of diplomatic relations with France, England, and the empire does Maltby's grip on his superb narrative show strain; yet from it emerges a refreshing perspective of well-known events.

In the final chapters Maltby handles sensitively the ironies of Alba's disgrace that resulted from the tragedy of the Netherlands and the unbroken "Iron Duke's" last great service to his king, the masterful campaign that annexed Portugal to Spain.

The book is nicely produced with illustrations, a dust cover that merits saving, and a fine bibliography. For anyone interested in the sixteenth century, early modern Europe, imperial Spain or the Dutch Revolt, *Alba* is a must.

PETER PIERSON
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FRANCISCO TOMÁS Y VALIENTE. *Los validos en la monarquía española del siglo XVII: Estudio institucional*. (Historia.) Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno. 1982. Pp. vii, 208.

This, the earliest book by Francisco Tomás y Valiente of the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, was first published in 1963. To revise the second edition

the author drew on the twenty intervening years of scholarship without damaging his original conclusions.

It is traditional to interpret the *validos*, the favorites of the Spanish kings from Philip III through Charles II, as opportunists preying on a declining royal house. Tomás y Valiente rejects this as simplistic. Setting aside individual biographies and political acts, he reinterprets the line of *validos* as de facto prime ministers, an institution in seventeenth-century Spain as well as France.

His arguments are presented in three essays that serve as chapters of the book. The first resembles a legal brief. It traces the terminology used to describe the *valido* in official documents (many of them appended), only to conclude that the wording is vague and noncommittal. There follows an interpretation of the *valido* as an institution. It is in this section, rewritten for the second edition, that one finds the mature scholar's reflections on his subject.

Between 1598 and 1676 there were six recognized favorites: the duke of Lerma, the duke of Uceda, the count-duke of Olivares, don Luis de Haro, Father Nithard, and Fernando de Valenzuela. They may be distinguished from the earlier, career-service *secretarios* by their direct intervention in government and their intimate friendship with the monarch. Unfortunately, historians have concentrated on the issue of favoritism and neglected to study the *validos'* function. The absolutist Spanish state with its cumbersome councils had become a heavy burden for even a divine right king. The question is not why the monarchy should need a first minister, but why it should resist one, thus forcing the *validos* to exercise power without having clear title to it. Tomás y Valiente does not wholly answer this question, but he does find in the figure of the *valido* a last gesture of an office-hungry nobility ready to control the king.

The author provides an analysis of the institution in action. Lerma was a *valido* without being a minister; he operated as the king's alter ego. Uceda had no clear position. Olivares was the king's hard-working collaborator who held many titles but never the one that would have made all others unnecessary. The discreet Haro was named first minister for the occasion of meeting his French counterpart. Nithard and Valenzuela were favorites frustrated by the terms of Philip IV's will and overthrown by the oligarchy of a Spain refeudalized.

In the third chapter, Tomás y Valiente turns to contemporary writings to determine what was thought of the *validos* in their own time. The grandees attacked them individually but did not unite to oppose the institution until the first nonnoble *valido* arose. Anonymous writers from the people resented the *validos'* temerity in usurping the sacred sovereignty. Political theorists, faced with the

favorite as fact, discussed the proper limits to his authority and offered ethical and pragmatic counsel. Chapter 3 is most interesting for its lively footnotes attacking other scholars.

With this, the book comes to an awkward, premature stop. The reader in search of resolution is advised to take a *da capo al fine* and reread the excellent summary found in chapter 1.

AMY TURNER BUSHNELL

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G. KURGAN-VAN HENTENRYK. *Rail, finance, et politique: Les entreprises Philippart, 1865-1890*. (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, number 84.) Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles. 1982. Pp. 392. 850 F.

"Once Belgium was England's schoolmistress in industry," J. H. Clapham said of the sixteenth century, but these roles had been reversed by the nineteenth century, "when the schoolmistress took lessons from her former pupil." Thus did Clapham, and many historians in his footsteps, view the progress of industrial capitalism in Europe: the problems of the pioneer were to be the problems of the follower. In this context, Belgium was the first country on the Continent that seemingly replicated the British model in terms of the traditional importance of textiles and coal and iron-ore production as well as in the creation of an elaborate transportation system. Notwithstanding these parallels and their implications, however, scholarship on Belgian economic history in the English language remains frustratingly slim. This is regrettable, not only because of the necessity of examining the industrial growth of the former southern Low Countries within the confines of its internal social and economic transformations but also because comparative work is needed to help us assess the importance of supranational market forces and to comprehend more fully the ambiguous position of the nineteenth-century state in economic development. An investigation of the relationships among the state, banking policies, and the private sector, for instance, in a nation that is generally regarded as the paragon of economic liberalism on the European Continent, could yield suggestive insights.

In addressing such questions in *Rail, finance, et politique* G. Kurgan-van Hentenryk has written an impressive and scholarly book. Its focus is on the daring enterprises—or should we say escapades?—of the controversial Simon Philippart, a prosperous mineowner and financier from Hainaut who, later in life, initiated a new career in the chaotic business of Belgian railroad construction and exploitation that culminated in bankruptcy and suspicion of

fraud. In so doing the author has managed to clarify the unique aspects of Belgian economic growth and the somewhat helter-skelter expansion of its transportation network and financial markets between 1865 and 1890 after giving an interesting overview of developments during the previous two decades. She also relates the extension of Belgian railroads to the wider demands of the growing industrial regions in northern France, Belgium, and Luxembourg for an efficient and relatively inexpensive means of transportation.

Until the late 1860s the Belgian government operated the largest share of the country's railroads, a dominance that remained unthreatened owing to the diversity and smallness of its competitors in the private sector. When Philippart and the *Société Générale d'Exploitation* brought about the merger of a considerable number of smaller railroad companies toward 1870, however, he exposed the fundamental dilemma of the Belgian state issuing from the double responsibility it tried to assume: that of protector of the public interest on the one hand and that of entrepreneur on the other. Kurgan-van Hentenryk argues that this contradiction derived from the "essential choice" made at the beginning of Belgian independence, which produced a kind of unwieldy political economy that placed the exploitation of state-run railroads in direct competition with those managed by private companies.

Based on massive amounts of previously unexplored documents, the book discusses fascinating dimensions of the business adventures of Philippart, who was, according to the author, suffering from megalomania. Kurgan-van Hentenryk examines the gradual dismantling of the structure of Napoleonic legislation and its effect on definitions of appropriate behavior on the part of the public and the private realm. She also points to changes in the political and economic equilibrium among European powers following the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 that exposed, once again, the fragility of small nations such as Belgium and Luxembourg. And even at the level of business history, this book offers interesting insights into the problems posed by the transition from a family firm to a *groupe financier* engaged in venture capitalism.

In sum, this is a book full of exhaustive research and important conclusions, a study that should be read not only by those concerned with the development of Belgian transportation but also by anyone preoccupied with the rise of industrial capitalism in nineteenth-century Europe.

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KEITH L. SPRUNGER. *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the*

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, number 31.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1982. Pp. xiii, 485. f. 172.

"If the select and best observations scattered here and there in English sermons were arranged in order, they would comprise the finest piece of theology written since the time of the Apostles." So wrote Dutch Reformed Casparus van Wallendal in his preface to the second edition of his translation of William Ames's *Conscience with the Power and Cases Thereof*. Although van Wallendal proceeded to give highest praise to Ames in particular, he reflected the great worth attached to the writings of British Puritans by Dutch Pietists. This subject has been most helpfully and broadly opened by Keith L. Sprunger. His earlier *The Learned Doctor William Ames* (1972) presented a probing background to his present *Dutch Puritanism*. For readers of his work on Ames, *Dutch Puritanism* will be a much-valued addition. Those who read this volume first will wish to turn next to *The Learned Doctor*. Together these works make an indispensable contribution to the study of Puritanism in the Dutch context. As the subtitle of this book indicates, Sprunger's investigation leads into the heart of Dutch-British interaction. Many students of Puritanism may not be aware that forty English-speaking congregations, mostly Puritan, were scattered about the Netherlands. Although focusing on the histories of these churches, this book is also an important addition to more broadly based studies on Dutch-British relations. Indeed, anyone interested in Dutch history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will find this an invaluable contribution.

Sprunger has provided a useful bibliographical supplement, locating the manuscripts relating to the "English and Scottish Churches in The Netherlands." Students of the subject will also be pleased to know that a detailed bibliography of the works of English and Scottish Puritans published in Dutch translation has been prepared by J. van der Haar, *From Abbadie to Young* (1980).

One can take exception only to minor points in this fine study. For example, one wonders how Scottish Presbyterians—other than such liberal types as the "Aberdeen Doctors"—would combine the Canons of Dort in the same sentence with the *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* by the arch-Arminian Grotius. Indeed, the treatment of the Scots in relation to the Dutch (p. 357) could profitably be expanded and clarified. Sprunger helpfully gives proper names in forms used by the persons mentioned, but, if Latinized forms are not used, Konrad von der Vorst, a Netherlander though born in Cologne, should be Konrad Vorst and Jean de Taffin should simply be Jean (or Jan) Taffin. The works of Taffin, in fact, might have been featured

more prominently in the book, for, of all the Dutch spiritual writings, English translations of Taffin were the most widely published and the most often reprinted. (Another very recent important Dutch work in this field in S. van der Linde's *Jean Taffin* [1982].)

As Willem Teellinck, most prolific of the early Dutch Pietists, wrote in the preface to his first work, a translation from William Perkins: "Give God the honor and enjoy the book."

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MAURICE AYMARD, editor. *Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism*. (Studies in Modern Capitalism.) New York: Cambridge University Press or Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris. 1982. Pp. viii, 312. \$39.50.

F. Braudel and H. Wesseling took the excellent initiative of organizing a French-Dutch colloquium on the theme "Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism" in Paris in June 1976. The papers presented at the colloquium and the discussions that followed are edited here by Maurice Aymard and published in the series "Studies in Modern Capitalism," a joint enterprise of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris and the Fernand Braudel Center in Binghamton, New York.

In a comprehensive introduction, Aymard presents the organization of the meeting and, parallel with it, the framework of the book. In I. Wallerstein's theory of the world economy, the Dutch hegemony of the seventeenth century can be explained in terms of its superior degree of core-status. The conference therefore followed Wallerstein's conceptual distinction among core, semiperiphery, and periphery, which meant one session on the core itself, that is, on the United Provinces; a second session on the surrounding semiperiphery, Europe; a third session on the periphery, in particular Asia. In the first session a series of elegant and interesting papers were presented by: J. A. Bayer on the organization of space in the United Provinces, B. H. Slicher van Bath on the general economic situation in the Dutch Republic in the Golden Age, and Jan de Vries on the behavior of wages in the Dutch Republic and the southern Netherlands from 1580 to 1800. The comparative analysis of wage development in the southern and northern Netherlands, based on new research for the northern provinces, gives magnificent evidence of the crucial importance of labor productivity gains in acquiring leadership and hegemony in the world economy. In the sixteenth century wages in Antwerp were the highest in Northwestern Europe because labor productivity was most

advanced there. The southern Netherlands were therefore in the position of a dominating economy. In the seventeenth century wages in Holland surpassed those of Antwerp by 50 percent and more because of impressive gains in labor productivity in the area, and for that same reason the republic of the north took over the world hegemony of the south. The empirical analysis thus falsifies Wallerstein's hypothesis that the high wages of Flanders and Brabant killed the economic hegemony of that region, as they did again in Holland the following century. On the contrary, the high wages were the backbone of that hegemony, as they reflected the technological, skilled, and organizational advance of the industrial, commercial, and financial sectors of the south in the sixteenth century and of the north in the seventeenth century.

The second session focused on the links between Dutch capitalism and Europe. Wallerstein's paper applied his concept of core and semicore to the Dutch hegemony of the seventeenth century, emphasizing the sequence in the Dutch acquisition of superiority in agroindustrial production, in trade, and in finance. P. W. Klein drew attention to the weakness of Wallerstein's concept of surplus extraction—in his view the Heckscher-Ohlin theorem explains in a much more relevant way the expansion of trade. He also criticized Wallerstein's idea that the republic was a strong nation-state with a strong central government. In his view the Dutch state was weak, without a strong central government, but was nevertheless very efficient. It did not need a mercantilistic state framework in order to promote efficiency. This was its originality. P. Jeannin focused in a very penetrating paper on the growing economic interdependence of the whole of Europe, which as such weakens Wallerstein's distinction between core and semiperiphery. Jeannin also very laboriously explores the decisive interdependence between the rise of bulk trade in Europe and the technological skills of the Dutch internalizing this development. Ch. Carrière compared the merchant bankers and the bankers of Amsterdam and Marseilles in the eighteenth century, illustrating the many personal factors still present in business practice.

The third session was devoted to Dutch capitalism and Asia. I. Schöffer and E. S. Gaastra revealed the impressive results of their research, now available in their *Dutch Asiatic Shipping, 1595–1795*. The importance of the Dutch local shipping trade in Asia, the population drain from Holland, the enormous but rather late expansion of bullion exports to the East, and the continuing flourishing of trade do not always conform to Wallerstein's scheme. N. Steengaard's paper on the Dutch East India Company as an institutional innovation rather supported this scheme. In a concluding session M. Morineau very

nicely reanalyzed the trade statistics of 1544–45 and of 1667–68 for Amsterdam and compared them with Antwerp on a constant price basis. The originality of Amsterdam's hegemony in the seventeenth century vis-à-vis that of Antwerp in the sixteenth century could be easily assessed from the figures.

The general tone of the papers and of the discussions was rather critical toward the concepts used by Wallerstein to explain the Dutch miracle, but this critical attitude did not turn the debate into a monotonous monologue. On the contrary, the papers presented and the discussions were all of high quality and constitute a big step forward in our economic knowledge of the seventeenth century. We would like more of these good initiatives.

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RAIMO SALOKANGAS. *Puolueen aseet: Maalaisliiton sanomalehdistön synty ja sen asema puolueessa ja sanomalehtimarkkinoilla, 1906–1916* [Party Instruments: The Founding and Development of the Agrarian Party Press and Its Position in the Party and in the Market, 1906–16]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia Julkaissut Suomen Historiallinen Seura, number 116.) Vammala, Finland: Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy. 1982. Pp. 296.

This study by Raimo Salokangas of the birth of the first press organs of the Agrarian Union (Maalaisliitto) party in Finland is primarily of interest to those concerned with Finnish party politics in the preindependence period and to those who may be interested in placing the development of agrarian parties in Central and Eastern Europe against a broader comparative perspective. The title, *Party Instruments*, indicates not only the condition of the Agrarian Union press but also that of all newspapers in Finland in the early twentieth century. In a highly literate but rather poor country, the author reckons that it was not until the 1920s that the market for newspapers developed to the point where party propaganda ceased to be the "most important factor" in newspaper sales. The period chosen for study, 1906–16, corresponds to the birth of the major early party organs (along with the rise and fall of a number that either disappeared or went in other political directions) and then to the years of gradually weakening resistance to Russian dominance that lasted until the summer of 1916. Preparations for a general election then revived political life from semisomnolence and started another round of newspaper creations.

The study is competent and thorough and uses a comprehensive theoretical framework derived in part from other contemporary Scandinavian researchers on the history of the press, the most

influential of whom is P. Tommila, who has published extensively on the history of the Finnish press. Despite the difficulties of reconstituting complex personal relationships after more than half a century, the author has succeeded in giving a convincing portrait of the roles played by individuals in what was a risky, certainly uncommercial, enterprise. The study sheds additional light on the career and work of the writer and agrarian leader Santeri Alkio. Parallel with the usual considerations of party leanings and the meanderings of editorial policy within different newspapers, the study also devotes considerable attention to the more technical aspects of newspaper publishing, including the financing of the newspapers (mainly through individuals and small cooperatives rather than through infusions of scarce or nearly nonexistent party funds) and their distribution. The book includes useful maps permitting the comparison of density of distribution to party support in different parts of Finland. The study complements the rather extensive coverage available elsewhere on the history of newspapers of the Finnish left and fills a gap in our knowledge. A three-page English summary is provided.

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REINHARD SPREE. *Soziale Ungleichheit vor Krankheit und Tod: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Gesundheitsbereichs im Deutschen Kaiserreich*. (Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, number 1471.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1981. Pp. 209. DM 18.80.

This is a carefully constructed and provocative study of health and mortality in imperial Germany. Reinhard Spree's goal is to analyze social inequality as it is reflected in the quantitative evidence about disease and death, evidence collected, for the most part, by imperial, Prussian, and other state statistical offices. His focus is on the systematic social differentials that persisted even in a period of generally rising life expectancy. He also aims to illuminate social theory. He regards his study as an application of explicitly Weberian concepts. Throughout the book, health is treated as a market resource—one shared unequally in a given generation and, that in turn, contributed to the continuation of inequality in subsequent generations due to the market disadvantages that inferior health produces.

Spree's study is divided into three parts. The first examines mortality trends between the 1870s and World War I and is based on an analysis of age-specific mortality trends and cause-of-death records. Spree demonstrates that general mortality was declining; but social differentiation by occupational

group, age, region, and gender was actually becoming more marked and the benefits of improving conditions accrued unequally to different sectors of the population. The special examination of infant mortality reinforces this general finding. In some occupational groups—most notably among domestic servants and unskilled workers—infant mortality was actually on the rise in the last decades of the nineteenth century, while among the self-employed, white-collar, and professional classes a clear and persistent decline was apparent at least from the early 1880s.

In part 2, Spree attempts to assess the relationship between a decline in mortality rates and medicine, sanitary measures, and changes in the standard of living. His general findings here are that medicine accounted for very little improvement in life expectancy. (The single major exception is the control of diphtheria.) Sanitary measures, particularly the purification of water, were more significant; but, Spree reminds us, the statistics indicate that sanitary measures reached only a minority of the German population before the turn of the century. Unevenness in the distribution of sanitation programs may well have contributed to rising regional inequalities in illness and death, but the general decline that occurred, Spree concludes, must owe a large debt to general factors like changing diet and rising living standards. These factors, of course, also reflected social inequalities, and it is not surprising to find that they produced systematic inequalities in health.

The third section raises the question of how to account for changes in medical practice, particularly in the status of medicine and its practitioners, during this period. As Spree points out, physicians were able to capitalize on the increasingly dominant scientific approach to medicine and to enforce a growing monopoly over health care, despite their minimal impact on popular health. Departing from usual models of professionalization, Spree alludes to the connections in Germany between physicians and the state governments, which often needed doctors as “medical police” and which became increasingly reliant on medical officials after the introduction of social insurance legislation. State backing gave doctors help in their fight against nonmedical “healers.” Even if their fight was far from complete by the eve of World War I, physicians had won the political victory they needed. This victory was far more central to the history of medicine in Germany than was any demonstrable medical “success” in the realm of popular health.

Spree implies that, in the long run at least, medicalization was part of a rationalization process that affected not only medical care, childbearing, and childcare but also a great many other kinds of behavior; eventually it helped create a more egalitarian society. Even if the logic of this long-term

view is questionable, the evidence Spree amasses about short-term developments points to the persistence and even intensification of inequality in illness and death during the period of Germany's rapid economic development.

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ROBERT J. RUBANOWICE. *Crisis in Consciousness: The Thought of Ernst Troeltsch*. Foreword by JAMES LUTHER ADAMS. Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida. 1982. Pp. xxiii, 177. \$20.00.

This lucid intellectual biography assesses the achievement of Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) as religious scholar, philosopher of history, and political commentator against the background of spiritual and historical crisis through which his generation lived and which he epitomized. Robert J. Rubanowice focuses on Troeltsch's preoccupation with the deterioration of values in Western civilization around the turn of the century and his efforts to analyze and combat it in his extensive publications on theology, church history, sociology, ethics, historicism, and politics. Central to Troeltsch's vision was the “severe crisis of religion in the modern world.” Deeply religious himself but cognizant of the decline of religion as a vital force in human affairs, Troeltsch rejected the view of Christianity as an absolute, static, transcendent religion advocated by his renowned teacher, Albrecht Ritschl, in favor of a view of Christianity as a historical phenomenon, subject to the same transformations and methods of investigation as any other historical phenomenon. Influenced by Dilthey and Weber, Troeltsch pioneered the historical and sociological approach to religion (defended by Rubanowice as relevant to contemporary theology) in such landmark works as *Protestantism and Progress* (1906) and *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (1912), which challenged theology to take the real world seriously.

Troeltsch's historicization of Christianity soon blossomed into a full-blown historicism that rejected any absolutes in history and that regarded all human values and institutions—the state, law, morality, and art, along with religion—as in a perpetual state of flux and “true” only in relation to their historical context. Acknowledging the relativism inherent in this view, Troeltsch nevertheless insisted that “a truth for us does not cease, because of this, to be very truth and life.” The truth, for Troeltsch, was not the religious and rationalistic dogmas of the past, but only a viable philosophy of history based on the concept of “polymorphous truth” that could provide guidance and direction to the modern age. Critical of all past philosophies of history, Troeltsch

set forth his own in *Historicism and Its Problems* (1922), which synthesized his "formal logic of history" and "material philosophy of history." This work is now regarded by many as the summa of German historicism.

In his later years Troeltsch became politically active, first as a propagandist for the German cause in World War I, then as a journalistic observer and supporter of the Weimar Republic. Rubanowice traces this side of Troeltsch's career in the first detailed English-language account of the subject.

Rubanowice rightly concludes that Troeltsch was, in the last analysis, an eclectic thinker who borrowed freely from others and failed to produce an original system of his own, although his five-hundred publications, many of lasting interest, constitute a microcosm of the major intellectual trends of his time. But readers of *Crisis in Consciousness* will also agree that Troeltsch was a thinker of remarkable range and insight who raised important questions, both in his life and writings, about the moral and intellectual responsibilities of the historian, especially in an age of crisis.

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GERALD D. FELDMAN *et al.*, editors. *Die deutsche Inflation: Eine Zwischenbilanz*. Foreword by OTTO BÜSCH. (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, number 54; Beiträge zu Inflation und Wiederaufbau in Deutschland und Europa, 1914–1924, number 1.) New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1982. Pp. xxiv, 431. DM 82.

This important book brings together some of the first fruits of a large-scale international research program supported by the German Volkswagen Foundation and coordinated by the book's editors. *Die deutsche Inflation* represents a collective and largely German effort, but one entrepreneur deserves special credit: Gerald D. Feldman, the Berkeley historian, whose ideas and efforts got the enterprise started. The program's initial intellectual capital was described in an earlier volume, also published by the ever-active Berlin Historical Commission, and further volumes of "results" such as this one are promised.

The book's central theme is its title, the German inflation—popularly understood as the hyperinflation of 1923, but here generically and broadly interpreted as covering the entire 1914–24 period. That is, Feldman *et al.* have not produced a book focusing on the causes and consequences of hyperinflation, but, as the editors point out in their introduction, a set of studies that collectively use the topic of inflation as a vehicle for discussing varia-

tions on the large themes of twentieth-century German history: the interaction of the experience of World War I and the peace settlement that followed it with the structural peculiarities of German society, the strained and capital-scarce economy, the shifting but nevertheless strong class divisions, the precarious political-party basis of government, and so on. This approach has obvious advantages, but there is a certain danger here of overburdening the phenomenon of inflation with historical meaning, a danger that readers will want to keep in mind.

The editors have divided the volume into three substantive parts. The first deals with economic and statistical analysis, the second with economic policy, and the third with social and political consequences. Space limitations forbid rendering a fair account of each contribution: the following remarks, thus, offer no more than a biased sample of the arguments and evidence. Before taking up the individual fruits of my reading, however, I would like to mention one general point stressed by many of the authors: contemporaries did not anticipate ongoing inflation, let alone hyperinflation, partly because there were phases of stabilization between 1914 and late 1922 (when acceleration "took off") and partly because there was nothing in the collective memory machine to alert them to what was to happen (Did economic history "fail" here?). Some individuals and groups began anticipating inflation sooner and with greater success than others, no doubt, but if it has proven difficult to identify "winners" and "losers" in the distribution of the gains and costs of inflation—and nothing in this book would seem to contradict that impression—one reason is that *ex ante* forecasts were dogged by considerable uncertainty. Evaluations of behavior during the 1914–24 period should take the methodological message of this finding seriously: beware of historical hindsight!

Gerald Merkin opens the first section with a clear essay on monetary theories of hyperinflation that, in effect, shows how contemporary economists were responding to the problem. He seems to opt for an exchange-rate explanation—as opposed to the collapsing-demand-for-cash-balances approach—but although the idea is worth reconsidering, no empirical test is carried out. Hans Jürgen Jaksch's contribution—an econometric macromodel simulating the hyperinflation—does test the demand-for-money approach, tying the supply of money to short-term government borrowing from the Reichsbank and the demand for money to inflationary expectations generated, ultimately, by government deficits. One interesting question raised, but not resolved, by his model concerns the role of interest rates as a possible determinant of German portfolio structures and, hence, as a possible inflation deterrent. Dieter Lindenlaub's study examines a sample of microeconomic evidence covering large engineering

firms and concludes that they neither anticipated nor profited greatly from accelerating inflation. His evidence could be faulty or unrepresentative, but his work clearly shows that the frequently suggested counterthesis of inflation profiteering by big business is not going to be easy to demonstrate (and document).

In the next section, inflation is seen as the result of a complex of policy choices. Both Peter Christian Witt and Feldman argue that the Weimar government's initial social-democratic program implied redistributive policies favoring lower income groups, but the organized and unorganized opposition of capitalist interests to such policies and to their potential financial bases (for example, tax reforms) sabotaged them. Accelerating inflation fueled by government deficits was the result, at least until inflation got out of control. Carl Ludwig Holtfrerich's chapter, although it could also belong in the first section, fits into this picture insofar as he shows that Germany's inflationary course in 1920 and 1921 had positive employment and income effects that were markedly absent in comparable economies practicing deflation (for example, Great Britain) and that, moreover, yielded benefits to Germany's trading partners as well. There is a suggestion here, present in Holtfrerich's other publications, that inflation, although perhaps not hyperinflation, represented for a significant section of the population a more attractive distribution of social and economic benefits and costs than deflation.

The rest of the book treats the social and political consequences of the German inflation, that is, the question of winners and losers. Robert G. Moeller concedes, although the evidence is inconclusive, that German peasants may have suffered less than other comparable groups (such as urban workers), but he also makes two valid points: (1) peasant farmers—one may in passing note the problem of possibly inappropriate nomenclature here—became or remained worse off in the 1918–23 period than they had been before the war; and (2) much of the peasant farming community had fallen out of the circle of interest groups that actively participated in the political decision-making process. This is important for understanding peasant protest in these years. Rudolf Tschirbs focuses on the question of the real wages and living standards of the Ruhr coal miners. He attempts to show that they were absolute and relative losers in the period. He quite rightly draws attention to differences in the mode of payment that disadvantaged coal miners relative to other groups, such as civil servants, and that became very important during hyperinflation. Tschirbs's case, however, might have been strengthened by data on other occupational groups, which are strangely missing. Such data are available in Andreas Kunz's study on civil servants. The latter are

seen as a differentiated group about which only carefully qualified statements are possible: Kunz finds that leveling tendencies within the bureaucracy began before 1914, ceased around 1920, and fluctuated sharply thereafter; and he finds roughly the same for the decline in civil servants' pay relative to wage workers. He thus casts doubt on the thesis that workers gained at the expense of other employee groups during the inflation period. The essay by Michael Hughes on creditors and their ideology is interesting because of its Beardian flavor, but more so because it calls attention to the great importance of stabilization and political decisions concerning the revaluation of debts in determining the distributional outcome of the inflation. I think he damages his argument by an almost unbelievably casual use of undocumented quantitative evidence (on the importance of creditors as a sociopolitical group, for example) and by his insistence on seeing proponents of revaluation as "proto-Keynesians," but the essay is useful nonetheless. Stabilization is also indirectly taken up by Thomas Childer's concluding piece on political party realignments in the 1920s. It shows that the parliamentary, democratic consensus was extremely fragile long before the depression smashed it completely and that the handling of inflation and stabilization was one reason for this.

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IAN KERSHAW. *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria, 1933-1945*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 425. \$49.50.

Ian Kershaw's new book is a useful analysis of Bavarian attitudes toward Hitler's Third Reich. His thoroughly researched study contains no great surprises, but it represents a lively, readable guide to popular Bavarian dissent, grumbling, opposition, and collaboration during the years 1932–45. For purposes of thematic and quantitative analysis, Kershaw has divided the Bavarian population into social and religious groups. Perhaps the most disturbing implication of the book is its portrait of human behavior in a stressful environment. In essence, Kershaw is describing how most people managed to lead normal lives (at least until 1943) during a totalitarian epoch culminating in total war and holocaust.

Bavarian farmers, particularly in heavily Catholic regions, turned to the Nazis in large numbers only in the winter of 1933. More isolated than their urban fellow citizens, many farmers embraced Hitler due to Nazi attacks on the failed Weimar system. Kershaw shows that National Socialist farm policy soon antagonized many of these same voters. A new

policy promoting the inalienability of farms caused difficulties for farmers. They were unable to acquire desperately needed loans by mortgaging their properties. The indivisibility of estates also made it more difficult to marry off their daughters. By 1938 massive rearmament measures exacerbated an already severe problem, the shortage of day laborers on the farms. War mobilization and an influx of foreign workers led to new anxieties after 1939. Despite these problems, Kershaw concludes that most farmers' concerns were personal and parochial and hardly a threat to the Nazis. Peasants had no real political and economic power. Their opposition was largely limited to grumbling or passive hostility to Goebbels's propaganda as churned out by local party or SA *Bonzen*. The working class, even less receptive than the peasants to the Nazi message before 1933, resented its loss of bargaining power and the increased regimentation enforced by the regime. Passivity, grumbling, and occasional outbursts of protest on the shop floor typified the social and political reactions of the relatively small Bavarian proletariat.

The Nazis found their most favorable recruiting ground before and after 1933 among the white collar workers. Kershaw shows how many of these people benefited from the expansion of the bureaucracy in the Third Reich. Much of this growth occurred in the ranks of the party itself, a fact ignored by the author. This expansion partly compensated for an economy that was stagnant, or even regressive, in many areas. The diverse *Mittelstand* was drawn to Nazism for many reasons: the appeal of the cult of a redemptive Führer, shared experiences and memories of the 1914–19 period, the smashing of the left, the new sense of national purpose and *völkisch* pride, and the heroism conveyed by an effective propaganda of both word and deed. Artisans continued to “descend” into the working class, and there was plenty to grumble about; yet, “‘the people curse, stand there, and are dazzled.’”

Religious issues provoked most of the open opposition to the regime, at least in Bavaria. The Nazis hoped to replace confessional (largely Catholic) schools with “*gleichgeschaltet*” *Gemeinschaftsschulen* (community schools). The crucifixes would be thrown into the Isar River, and the cult of Hitler would replace the veneration of Jesus Christ. The Nazis ran into real trouble in this area, however, and often backed down. Cardinal Michael Faulhaber, archbishop of Munich-Freising and a conservative patriot with authoritarian and antisemitic opinions, opposed totalitarian attempts to enshrine Nazi paganism in the life of his people. Father Rupert Mayer courageously denounced Nazi pagans like Alfred Rosenberg and Julius Streicher. The Nazi cause was not helped by the moral reputation of

many of its representatives. In one village the local SA leader “had a reputation as an idler and a drunkard—and the head teacher . . . eventually committed suicide under serious suspicion of indecent assault on schoolgirls.” It is a fact, however, that by the end of 1938 the *Gemeinschaftsschulen* had largely replaced the religious schools. The Nazis had made concessions to the church and would do so again, but one wonders about the outcome had the Nazis triumphed in their war.

Opposition to the regime over its solution to the Jewish Question was more sporadic. The Bavarian church was strongly tinged with antisemitism. Faulhaber had refused to take a stand on the “Jewish Question of today,” while the famous Jesuit, H. Muckermann, concluded that Christ had not been Jewish in origin “but stood rather in opposition to Jewry.” Nazi policy was to segregate the Jews, then remove them from German life. This enabled good Catholics and Protestants, with a few honorable exceptions, to ignore their persecuted fellow citizens. Priests kept silent. Outbreaks of pogroms, such as *Kristallnacht* in 1938, caused widespread grumbling about messy Nazi violence, but anti-Jewish measures failed to provoke any opposition comparable to that called forth by Nazi anticlericalism. In Kershaw's apt words, “The road to Auschwitz was built by hate, but paved with indifference.”

Kershaw concludes that by the wartime period most Bavarians viewed the much promised Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft* as a fraud. The average subject saw the war itself as one more heavy burden: fathers and sons were at one of the many fronts, foreign labor was often difficult to obtain and not always reliable, the war seemed endless, and German casualties were mounting. Why did these people (grumbling aside) hold out until the bitter end? Kershaw gives only part of the answer. He alludes to social services provided by the state and to the pervasive element of fear of the Gestapo. He omits a crucial factor, however, the powerful propaganda beamed into every city, and town, and village in Bavaria by the diverse elements of the state and party, ranging from the Propaganda Ministry offices to the Reich Propaganda Central Office. This propaganda, which made use of every form of the mass media, was particularly effective in infusing Nazi party cadres with a will to “hold out” until final victory. The messages conveyed by this propaganda were simple as well as brutal: victory or death; Greater Germany or Bolshevik subhumanity; no betrayal of the fighting men at the front; the Morgenthau Plan; and “Hitler will pull it off again.” Kershaw confuses passivity or grumbling with total dissatisfaction and in so doing makes it difficult to understand the sacrifices accepted by most of the population until April 1945. His superficial comments about the crucial and horrifying last wartime years are not

worthy of the earlier portions of his book. This criticism aside, Kershaw has provided us with information valuable for the continuing study of German popular reaction to the Nazi regime's religious, economic, and social policies. One hopes that Kershaw and other scholars will build on the research that he has so ably carried out.

ROBERT EDWIN HERZSTEIN
University of South Carolina

LUTZ NIETHAMMER, editor. *"Die Jahre weiss man nicht, wo man die heute hinsetzen soll": Faschismuserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet.* (Lebensgeschichte und Sozialkultur im Ruhrgebiet, 1930 bis 1960, number 1.) Berlin: Dietz. 1983. DM. 29.80.

This collection of essays, the first of a two-volume work edited by Lutz Niethammer on the experiences of ordinary men and women of the Ruhr area between 1930 and 1960, is an important contribution to both the social history of the Third Reich and the problem of continuity in modern German history. In contrast to such other recent cooperative studies of the Nazi era as the multivolume *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, which examines the Third Reich from "below" by using traditional state and party sources, this volume relies primarily on oral history. It adds to the discussion of the problem of "modernization" of German society during the Nazi era that was first raised by Ralf Dahrendorf and David Schoenbaum for Germany in general and subsequently applied specifically to the Ruhr area by Karl Rohe. Interestingly, Niethammer shifts the focus from such broad concepts as economic modernization and political subcultures (*Lager*) to an examination of the role of the working-class family, neighborhood, and workplace.

This study originated at the University of Essen under the direction of Niethammer and Detlev Peukert, prolific scholars who have dealt extensively with modern German labor history. Their purpose is to explain the dominant postwar political position of the socialists in a region that during the Weimar Republic had witnessed the clear preeminence of the Catholic Center party and the communists. In order to evaluate the influence of Third Reich experiences on this postwar political shift, almost two hundred people between fifty-five and eighty years of age were interviewed in seven Ruhr cities between 1980 and 1982.

The findings of these interviews, supplemented by traditional sources, are presented by Niethammer and six assistants in eight essays that focus on the daily lives of Krupp workers, Ruhr miners, female employees of Thyssen, and housewives. The essays portray the workers' interactions in neighborhoods and housing projects and examine their

aspirations and accomplishments in peace and war. The authors show that workers and miners were more interested in work and family than in politics and that they were attracted by consumerism as early as the 1930s. This growing income orientation, together with the dislocations produced by the war and Nazi programs, changed the self-image of workers and Ruhr housewives and undermined the narrow class and confessional views held by much of the region's working class in the 1920s. This changing social milieu, according to the authors, helped lay the groundwork for the postwar rise of the socialists.

Although Niethammer maintains that it is not the project's intent to change our perceptions of fascism, this volume adds to our understanding of national socialism. It is the first important contribution to the social history of Germany's industrial heartland between 1933 and 1945 that is not preoccupied with the resistance movement. Furthermore, the interviews make it apparent that Timothy W. Mason's study of the working class in the Third Reich overemphasizes the extent of labor's resistance to national socialism. Both the interviews and a recent work by Michael H. Kater (*The Nazi Party*) show that the majority of workers were far more interested in accommodation than resistance. Finally, this volume offers a wealth of information on consensus within the Nazi system. The workers clearly appreciated *Kraft durch Freude* programs, the National Socialist Welfare Organization, the "good years" of the 1930s, and even national socialism's idealization of women as mothers and housewives. Neither Hitler nor leading Nazis, notes Niethammer, had to worry about applause when they visited Krupp factories.

The second volume will deal with social experiences in the Ruhr during both the immediate postwar years and the "dynamic normalcy" of the 1950s. One hopes that in his conclusions Niethammer will compare his findings with Heinrich A. Winkler's argument that the long-term economic growth after 1945, not the Nazi era, produced the social mobility that makes the Federal Republic different from Weimar Germany.

JOHN PETER H. GRILL
Mississippi State University

KLAUS J. BADE. *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland? Deutschland, 1880–1980.* (Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte, number 12.) Berlin: Colloquium. 1983. Pp. 133. DM 12.80.

As a result of the recent recession and other economic difficulties, problems related to the presence of foreign workers and their families in West Germany—about 4.6 million persons—have increased.

Up to now the German government has not accepted the fact that most of these foreign workers want to make Germany their permanent home and that society has been transformed. Germany has developed into a country that receives immigrants but still lacks an immigration policy. Labor-market policy and emotional issues concerning foreign workers have strengthened the interest in the historical development of similar situations.

In his study, Klaus J. Bade examines the historical background of European emigration as it affected Germany. His book begins with the last great wave of emigration that took place at the end of the nineteenth century and goes up to the current immigration of workers into Germany. The enormous emigration of Europeans to overseas countries that occurred between 1880 and 1893 (1.8 million people) was accompanied by an internal migration to Germany: Poles came from East Prussia to the *Ruhrgebiet* and laborers, especially agricultural workers, migrated to Germany from eastern districts beyond the border of the Reich. The author describes the methods used to prevent Germany from becoming a haven for these immigrant workers. The emigration of Germans was seen as a way to solve the "social question," and there was no interest in reviving this problem by accepting new immigrants. Immigrant laborers were employed especially for seasonal work, but they were not allowed to stay any longer than needed or to be followed by their families. So, in spite of a large number of foreign workers coming to Germany every year, Germany was a country of emigration even after World War I. A short section of the book is devoted to the forced migration that took place during World War II, when millions of foreign laborers worked in Germany to stabilize war production, but this is by no means comparable with former migration processes.

Most of the book, however, is devoted to an analysis of the currently existing immigration problems in Germany, the so-called *Gastarbeiterfrage*: that is, after having full employment in the 1950s, foreign laborers were enlisted yearly and their families were allowed to accompany them; but, when unemployment increased, there was no decision as to what to do about these guest workers. Some argued that the workers and, of course, their families should be sent back to their own countries, while others wanted to help them with the difficult process of final immigration and assimilation. Social and ethnic conflicts, prejudices, and competition for jobs, however, affect relations between Germans and the foreign population.

Bade's discussion of the chances of integration comes at a time when the problems still could be solved. The major problems are the lack of a government policy and an unwillingness to make a

decision, which reflect an inadequate imagination regarding Germany as an "immigration country" and a failure to develop a suitable immigration law. The book helps to show that the problems are a result of a continuous historical process that began in the nineteenth century by providing a summary history of all the migratory movements to Germany since that time and by analyzing the problems surrounding the foreign population in Germany today. It is an important contribution to the "foreigner" discussion in Germany that, by the way, repeats arguments made in the United States before and after World War I.

HARALD WINKEL

University of Hohenheim

JOHN H. BACKER. *Winds of History: The German Years of Lucius DuBignon Clay*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1983. Pp. ix, 323. \$25.50.

There is still an important place for biographical history in the midst of the new history of conditions, organizations, and masses of ordinary people, as John H. Backer's account of the German years of Lucius D. Clay demonstrates. Rarely has one person been in such a pivotal position of power, a maker and breaker of all kinds of decisions crucial to the development of postwar U.S.-Soviet relations and West German and European politics. If it had not been for Clay, for example, West Germany might not have had such a spectacular economic miracle. Berlin might be in Soviet hands, and West Germany another neutralized Austria. The United States might have withdrawn to the "fortress America" more than thirty years ago.

Backer, a diplomat and economist under Clay and the author of other books on the period, tells his story well, in particular illuminating the strong views and complex personality of the general in a narrative consisting of the never-ending series of challenges and crises that the military governor had to meet. There emerges a picture of paradoxes: Clay the autocrat, committed to democratic fairness; the man of unyielding principles, who was an astute politician whose skills were honed in years of coping with congressional committees, the press, and the army; Clay the organizational wizard of the Corps of Army Engineers; and the courtly Southern gentleman who always knew who his friends were. With the benefit of hindsight we can only marvel at how he survived the drastic change from the rather pro-Soviet views of the Roosevelt years to the exaggerated anticommunism of the onset of the Cold War, the never-ending wrangling among the various occupation powers and among the State, War, and Treasury departments, and attacks by the press on his exposed position—and all this while continually

asking to retire from active service for reasons of health.

The author has consulted many of the American principals in person and is particularly good at describing economic problems and decisions; this and the personal glimpses make up the value of this book. He is far weaker on matters of German politics, West or East, having used only a few of the plentiful German sources available. Thus, we get a rather simplified version of the disagreements over the Basic Law and are told, at one time, that the FDP, together with the CDU/CSU, held the balance of power in the Parliamentary Council (p. 273). Andreas Hermes of the Weimar *Bauernbund* becomes a "former foreign minister" (p. 271). There is no mention of the bias for states' rights in the *Herrenchiemsee* draft constitution, which was at odds with the views of the council majority—and only a hint that the general was too. Neither Backer nor his former superior had much appreciation for German federal institutions. Clay's heavy-handed tilt against the trade unions, the Social Democratic party, and whatever else the general took to be "socialistic," however, remains no secret, whereas the other side of his bias, in favor of business and the CDU/CSU, is merely hinted at. But these minor flaws need not detract from the abiding strengths of this memorial to the self-effacing Douglas MacArthur of the Western zones of Germany.

PETER H. MERKL
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BÉATRICE VEYRASSAT. *Négociants et fabricants dans l'industrie cotonnière suisse, 1760–1840: Aux origines financières de l'industrialisation*. Lausanne: Payot Lausanne. 1982. Pp. 385.

We easily forget that the Swiss cotton industry came second behind the British in European and world markets in the nineteenth century. Swiss industrialization, however, did not simply conform to the British pattern. Mechanization appeared in spinning around 1800 and progressed steadily in Zurich and its region. In eastern Switzerland most cotton manufacturing continued until the 1870s to use hand technology and to take place in the rural weaving, printing, and embroidery centers of the cantons of St. Gallen, Glarus, and Appenzell, in small-scale workshops and in rural households.

These same industrial centers had specialized in hand spinning in earlier times. The appearance of the rural putting-out system in Alpine villages is called here the "first industrial revolution." The appearance of machine-spun yarn imported from England is identified as a "second industrial revolution," an external shock that first caused the unem-

ployment of spinners and triggered their redeployment toward weaving and embroidery. The eastern cantons successfully responded to the advance of mechanization in England not by mechanizing in turn but by turning out quality textile products that the machine could not yet imitate. So the traditionally organized cotton industries of eastern Switzerland were not simply the fossils of an earlier age. Their traditional organization did not prevent them from competing successfully in world markets. In seeking to explain why the Swiss entrepreneurs did not follow an English pattern of mechanization and concentration, Béatrice Veyrassat first looks at the supply of capital. Using tax records, genealogical information, and industrial surveys, she is able to study in great detail the wealth, investments, and entrepreneurial activities of Swiss manufacturers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Was technical backwardness the result of entrepreneurial failure, was it the consequence of imperfections in the capital market, or was it the rational adaptation to the mix of resources that existed in Switzerland at the time?

In eighteenth-century Switzerland lenders found higher returns in foreign government bonds and maritime trade than on the domestic front. One might conclude that capital supply exceeded domestic demand, but the capital market was segmented geographically. Foreign investments came from western Switzerland not from the areas of the east where the traditionally organized cotton industry flourished. In addition, farming continued to drain capital away from industrial investment in eastern Switzerland. Consequently, capital for the industrialization of the cotton industry of St. Gallen and Glarus should have been raised internally among the families of merchant manufacturers. The latter tended, however, to shun fixed capital investment. St. Gallen and Appenzell were not handicapped by a lack of capital; rather, there was neither a great demand nor a great supply.

The early factory masters were above all merchants for whom cotton spinning mills were marginal operations. They devoted small sums to them, in comparison to their entire portfolio of assets. According to Veyrassat, the Swiss pattern of slow mechanization was neither the consequence of a scarcity of capital nor of entrepreneurial timidity. On the contrary, Swiss manufacturers remained merchants because they earned satisfactory profits by taking advantage of an abundant, flexible, inexpensive, yet skilled labor in the villages and valleys of eastern Switzerland, while there was a penury of coal.

Despite the extraordinarily graceful and subtle language in which it is written, this excellent book is difficult to read. It is, however, fundamental for the history of Switzerland. It is also an important contri-

bution to the economic history of Europe during the Industrial Revolution. The Swiss regions enter the repertory of solid data available for comparative analysis. The book brings new and strong evidence on the variety of patterns, first discussed by Maurice Lévy-Leboyer, by which the industrial zones of Europe emerged from proto-industrialization and pursued their modern industrial development.

FRANKLIN MENDELS
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JOHN M. HEADLEY. *The Emperor and His Chancellor: A Study of the Imperial Chancellery under Gattinara*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 188. \$42.50.

This slim volume is important as the first work in English about the Piedmontese statesman Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara (b. 1465), who served Charles V as grand chancellor from 1518 until his death in 1530. Gattinara implanted in the young king-emperor's mind the unrealizable idea of attaining universal monarchy and thus is responsible for Charles's imperialist policy. Not much else is usually said about him. The few earlier studies extant—his own Latin autobiography, published in 1915, and some studies from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Latin, Italian, and French—do not come easily to hand.

John M. Headley, who was fortunate in gaining access to the recently opened family archive of Gattinara's descendants, fills a conspicuous gap with this monograph. The imposing title on the jacket of this handsomely produced book seems to promise an epos-like story, a dual biography set in the panorama of a turbulent era, but the author makes no concessions to a wider public. His specialized contribution to early Habsburg research presupposes the reader's total familiarity with the background to the scintillating mass of allusions to concurrent events and fleeting references to people that brighten many a page.

Yet readers most appreciative of Headley's scholarship, displayed by his exemplary footnotes and bibliography, will chiefly be interested in what there is to learn about Gattinara, hitherto a stranger to some of them. In this respect they may feel somewhat short-changed. Headley warns us that this study has no pretensions to a biography; he wishes to concentrate on his protagonist only to the extent of the position he held and on the office itself. But this specific chancellery, as we are told, was equivalent to the total governing body of Charles V's unprecedented conglomeration of states; the heterogeneous institution over which Gattinara claimed

supreme authority happened to be created with his nomination to the post and perished with his death. The office was the man (and his staff), so that, except for sporadic glances at the history of that institution's components and at some technical details and bureaucratic minutiae, the story centers, in spite of the author's disclaimer, on the work, personality, and character of the grand chancellor from the time of his nomination. Since Gattinara was then fifty-three, the portrait emerging from this fragmentary biography is that of a cold, vainglorious, and rather disagreeable personality. Can this be the total picture? If one meets an aging and ailing man without being told anything about his origin and earlier life, one cannot get to know his character very well. Here he is shown, for example, as jealously guarding the preeminence of his office against the "inroads" of the secretaries of state; we see him literally burning his midnight oil (or wax) over the immense range of work that he refuses to delegate; we learn that his stern, self-righteous nature created a special tension at court and that the emperor, although depending on the chancellor's counsel, preferred to consult with him through intermediaries because he did not like his physical presence. In Spain, where the court resided from 1522 to 1529, most of the people hated Gattinara not only for his assumption of intellectual and moral superiority but especially for obstructing their wish for peace with France (he saw in the Gallic monarchy the greatest obstacle on the path to his emperor's domination of the world).

Chapter 5 is outstanding in analyzing the high point of Gattinara's influence on his master, reached in 1526, when the chancellor added to his anti-French polemic a vigorous antipapal campaign that, prepared in successive drafts, showed a steadily increasing "violent tenor of the imperial response" (p. 89)—an outburst of verbal violence that appeared in book form in the early months of 1527 (*Pro Divo Carolo . . . Apologetici libri duo*). The hostile spirit of these publications contributed to the rage of the imperial army's descent on Rome, the infamous "sack" of May 1527, a disaster that, as Headley shows, even Gattinara had not foreseen. Yet the grand chancellor ought to be held accountable for the preamble to the sack, a surprise raid on the papacy on September 20, 1526, that caused Clement VII to flee for his life into Sant' Angelo. The attack was treasonably engineered under secret orders from Spain by Don Hugo de Moncada, the commander general of the Spanish Mediterranean fleet, in collusion with the leaders of the house of Colonna. Headley, shrugging off the "dreary details of Italian politics" (p. 99), does not refer to this imperial transgression, but his own account of Gattinara's preoccupation during most of 1526 with the inflammatory propaganda to promote Charles V's policy

lets us see that, doubtlessly, the chancellor himself had advised and also formulated the secret Machiavellian orders to the Spanish commander.

This fine book is written in a lively style with a sense for human drama, but it would have been enhanced by an introductory biographical sketch. Although Headley remarks that the vita lacks self-revelation (p. 131), in this reviewer's opinion the document does convey a psychological profile from what it narrates (and also what it conceals) of the fascinating vicissitudes in the chancellor's younger years; such fresh information would have complemented the rather one-sided portrait based here on the ruthless policies Gattinara designed for his master, and it would have gone a long way to explain the evolution of this extraordinary man's near-fanatical single-mindedness and power of perseverance.

ERIKA SPIVAKOVSKY
Westport, Connecticut

ALDO DE MADDALENA. *Dalla città al borgo: Avvio di una metamorfosi economica e sociale nella Lombardia spagnola*. (Storia della Lombardia, number 2.) Milan: Franco Angeli. 1982. Pp. 379. L. 20,000.

This book is a collection of essays written by one of Italy's foremost economic historians. All of the essays were published earlier, some of them in books or journals that are no longer readily accessible to readers. Through this convenient publication we now have at hand much of the work of a scholar whose writings on the Lombard economy have been fundamental to our understanding of late Renaissance and early modern Italy. Indeed, Aldo De Maddalena's work, beginning with his *Prezzi e aspetti di mercato in Milano durante il secolo XVII* (1949), has contributed to the recent resurgence of interest in the history of Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Arranged chronologically (according to historical period rather than date of publication), the essays illuminate aspects of the Lombard economy from the mid-sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. Taken as a group they also reveal what the author does best, namely, use the everyday experiences of one person or small group to weave a tale that is much broader in its scope and economic implications. Seven of the essays take as their point of departure the small and intimate world of a few people and subtly draw the reader into the larger world of international finance, trade, and political administration. The experiences of one financier in the fairs of Piacenza, the investment patterns of a silk merchant, or the agricultural practices of a noble family, for example, all enable the author to make penetrating comments about financial speculations, the state of the silk industry, and the prob-

lems of agriculture. De Maddalena has the rare gift among economic historians of being a marvelous writer. This is apparent from the very opening pages of the first essay in which the deathbed scene of a Milanese merchant entrepreneur is placed in the context of European politics and economic movements. The documents generated by that death, the will and inventory of goods, are then used to recreate the financial and manufacturing problems faced by the Milanese in the mid-sixteenth century.

The findings that emerge in scattered form in these first seven essays are treated more systematically in the last part of the collection, which consists of two interpretive essays on the Lombard economy and an extended review-cum-interpretation of Domenico Sella's *Crisis and Continuity: The Economy of Spanish Lombardy in the Seventeenth Century*. For many years De Maddalena was among the few to question the traditional interpretation of the Lombard economy, an interpretation that emphasized economic depression caused by the "refeudalization" of the countryside and poor fiscal administration by the Spanish government. Although he believed that Spanish fiscal policies contributed to the economic problems of the area, he sought more complex explanations within the economic world itself. If there was a flight of capital away from industry and into land it was because this made economic sense. For a variety of reasons, among which tax policies were only one, the returns were greater on landed investments. Furthermore, although some individuals were content to live the life of the *rentier*, most brought to the countryside the entrepreneurial skills they had exhibited in the city. They introduced new crops, new methods of management, and new agricultural techniques that were vital to Lombard economic development in later centuries and that are inconsistent with a view of a feudal countryside. Still, De Maddalena could never shake off the traditional interpretation entirely. As late as 1977, in an important essay republished here, he wrote of a depressive cycle that began with the crisis of 1619–20 and lasted for more than a century. At the heart of this cycle was the failure of the urban economy, a failure that set limits on rural development no matter how eager or able the landed classes were to bring about change. The very fact that the rural sector was the most advanced was for the author incontestable proof of underdevelopment.

A major reinterpretation of the Lombard economy did not come about until the recent publication of Domenico Sella's *Crisis and Continuity*. The last essay is De Maddalena's effort to come to terms with Sella's work. It is a tribute to both authors—to Sella for the persuasiveness of his arguments and to De Maddalena for the openness of his views—that the latter accepts the basic features of Sella's more

sanguine view of Lombard economic development. Except for a few modifications (for example, that bourgeois ambitions to become noble may have been more important than Sella believes), De Madalena welcomes Sella's book as the synthesis toward which he himself had been working, albeit with rather halting steps and with the more inadequate data of an earlier age.

This book is worth reading for the generous spirit in which all the essays were written, for the insight it sheds on the economic historiography of recent decades, for the pleasure of seeing a master craftsman at his work, and for all its tells us about important problems in an interesting time and place.

JUDITH C. BROWN
Stanford University

PINO ARLACCHI. *Mafia, Peasants, and Great Estates: Society in Traditional Calabria*. Translated by JONATHAN STEINBERG. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. ix, 212. \$24.95.

This is a wonderful book, thoroughly researched by a scholar whose profound knowledge of his subject area extends even beyond the mastery shown in these few pages. His empathy for the poorer folk of rural Calabria is clear and results in a felicitous combination of compelling writing style with careful and rigorous analysis. Pino Arlacchi specifies three distinct types within "traditional society": classical peasant (the Cosentino), permanent transition (the plain of Gioia Tauro), and latifundist (the Crotonese). The three differ radically in nearly everything of consequence: structure and function of family, modes of labor exploitation, crop strategies, and attitudes toward life and death, God and man. In the Cosentino, men and women work hard on their family plots to receive their just rewards; in Gioia Tauro economic life most resembles a game of dice in which individuals rise and fall for no predictable reason and even the olive trees are fickle; in the Crotonese, workers have no chance against the vicious and entrenched magnates. Given this enormous variation *within* "traditional society," the traditional-to-modern model necessarily must be abandoned completely.

In its place stands what? The focus on three small geographic areas within one region of Italy, each of which the author concedes is virtually unique in the purity and homogeneity of its socio-economic structure, allows us to see clearly the diversity of individual and collective human efforts to survive in a harsh environment. Yet the strategy of isolating relatively pure microcosms leads to practical difficulties. Nineteen more areas to go for Calabria, hundreds for the Mezzogiorno, and tens of thou-

sands for the world would be a large job even with computers and a steady supply of qualified research assistants. The theoretical problems are even more important. What is the appropriate microcosm—the individual, the family, the clan, the village, the local market region, the plain, valley, sea, or continent? Do actors in homogeneous zones play different roles in heterogeneous areas? For example, do the few *latifondisti* in the Cosentino behave differently than the many around Crotona and does the nuclear family of the daily wage laborer disintegrate only there, where the *latifondisti* are numerous, or everywhere?

The very success of Arlacchi's book—and it should be required reading for anyone considering any sort of fieldwork or archival research regarding social structures from historical, sociological, and anthropological perspectives—suggests that in the long run this strategy of intensive analysis of a geographically limited territory (a time-honored one in these disciplines) may be self-defeating. Diligent research and keen intelligence result here in a study that enhances greatly our understanding of traditional society, so much so that we must abolish the concept of "traditional," and with it the subtitle of this book and, in some ways, its *raison d'être*. In place of one uniform society in Calabria before the Second World War Arlacchi gives us three, but what they add up to or constitute as a whole is not at all clear. This is not to say that he should have written a different book, only that the strength of one he did write means that another is needed, now.

RUDOLPH M. BELL
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SERGIO ROMANO. *Giuseppe Volpi et l'Italie moderne: Finance, industrie et état de l'ère giolittienne à la Deuxième Guerre mondiale*. Translated from the Italian by SOPHIE GHERARDI. (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, number 65.) Rome: École Française de Rome. 1982. Pp. 266.

In the context of Italian history, Giuseppe Volpi (1877–1947) occupies an important place at the critical junction of economics and politics. His career as industrial entrepreneur and public servant spans some of the most dynamic and controversial periods of Italian history in this century, including the economic expansion of the Giolittian era, the conquest of Libya, the First World War, the rise and fall of the fascist regime. Volpi's role in these and other ventures has not gone unnoticed. Richard A. Webster's *Industrial Imperialism in Italy, 1908–1915* (1975) covers Volpi's first entrepreneurial activities and portrays him as the chief promoter of Italian economic and political expansion in the Balkans. The journalist Oreste Mosca wrote an official biography

commissioned by Volpi that is still unpublished in its final version. Volpi's friend and fellow Venetian Fabrizio Sarazani published an admiring biography aptly entitled *L'ultimo doge* (1972). Several historians have dealt with specific aspects or episodes of Volpi's action-packed life, including his role as minister of finances in the settlement of Italy's war debts to the United States in 1925. According to Gian Giacomo Migone's *Problemi di storia nei rapporti tra Italia e Stati Uniti* (1971) and *Gli Stati Uniti e il fascismo* (1980), the settlement of war debts paved the way for Italy's lasting dependence on the American economy.

Sergio Romano's study is the most comprehensive to date. It is based on new documentation from the extensive archives of the Volpi family in Venice, approaches Volpi with a sympathetic but not uncritical attitude, and never loses sight of the broad context and larger significance of Volpi's actions. Specialists may have seen this study in its original Italian version as *Giuseppe Volpi: Industria e finanza tra Giolitti e Mussolini* (1979). The text of the French edition is not significantly different from the Italian (there are only minor revisions in the footnotes that take into account some recent writings), but the introduction is new, and the larger format improves the legibility of maps and graphs. The introduction will be particularly useful to readers who lack background in Italian history, but it is also important for its discussion of how Volpi's work relates to the problems of modernization.

Volpi's business ventures were many and varied. In the Balkans, the scene of his first successes, he was involved in the construction of roads, railroads, port facilities, and in the manufacture and distribution of tobacco products. In Italy his main concerns were the production and distribution of electrical energy and the construction of the large industrial complex of Porto Marghera near Venice. In North Africa, where he was governor of Libya from 1921 to 1925, he experimented with large-scale commercial farming and began oil exploration. In all, he sat on the boards of hundreds of firms (see those listed on pp. 247–53), of which he probably controlled several dozen. He cultivated close ties with financial institutions, particularly the powerful *Banca Commerciale* of Milan, which provided the capital for his first operations. Capital being a scarce commodity in Italy, he looked for it abroad—in Germany before the First World War and in the United States in the 1920s. Most of all, according to Romano, Volpi and other businessmen of his generation sought to compensate for the weakness of the private sector, rich in trained labor and brainpower but poor in natural resources and capital, by establishing a close working relationship with the state. That working relationship, institutionalized by fascism, endures to this day, and in it “industrialists and financiers are, at

one and the same time, both agents of the state and entrepreneurs, inspirers and executors of programs in which political power, whether feared or welcomed, is a constant presence” (p. 242). This sentence, both a summary of Volpi's way of doing business and of the nature of Italy's mixed economy, illustrates how Sergio Romano repeatedly bridges the gap between biography and history.

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RICHARD BOSWORTH. *Italy and the Approach of the First World War*. (The Making of the Twentieth Century.) New York: St. Martin's Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 174. \$22.50.

This volume is a welcome addition to the small number of titles that, in an objective manner, deal with Italian diplomacy during the last decade of peace in Europe through Italy's entrance into the war in May of 1915. Richard Bosworth, currently teaching at the University of Sidney, displays an uncommon grasp of Italian foreign policy during those years. He fully comprehends that Italy was neither a great power nor another Balkan state and that many of her leaders, whether conscious or not of their nation's unique position, expected it to be treated as an equal by the European great powers, and hence frequently encountered frustration and disappointment. Bosworth is one of the few scholars to recognize that Italy's last peacetime foreign minister, Antonio Di San Giuliano, did not fall victim to this practice and, further, he correctly perceives and analyzes the extremely complicated diplomatic dialogue that Premier Giovanni Giolitti held with Di San Giuliano in order to achieve as realistic a foreign policy as possible. Finally, he posits that Italy entered the Great War in part to gain great power status, an argument that certainly contains much truth.

The book is not without minor flaws. There are a few factual errors, and readers unacquainted with Italian history in general during the last decade of peace may find the volume poorly organized. A longer, more detailed conclusion would also prove useful. In addition, Bosworth occasionally fails as a judge of character. For example, his characterization of British Ambassador Rennell Rodd as gullible is simply inaccurate. Rodd was a seasoned and experienced diplomat. Similarly, his belief that Foreign Minister Sidney Sonnino was “an easily gulled novice” (p. 135) needs revision. To be sure, on appointment to that office in November 1914 Sonnino certainly lacked experience, but he was exceedingly hard to deceive. Finally, although he does not neglect these topics, the author does not seem to

appreciate fully the roles that financial circles and the Vatican occasionally played in molding Italian foreign policy.

Bosworth has exploited the Italian archival materials very well and has also conducted considerable primary research in Britain. Despite its relatively minor flaws, the volume is a distinct success, especially for students of prewar Italian foreign policy who have wearied of reading that Italian diplomats were unabashed opportunists and their policies hardly worth study. The volume in hand will, it is hoped, help to redress the balance.

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H. STUART HUGHES. *Prisoners of Hope: The Silver Age of the Italian Jews, 1924–1974*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 188. \$15.00.

Prisoners of Hope, although it provides a brief historical overview of the world's "oldest and most assimilated minority" that would be useful to the nonspecialist in Jewish or Italian history, is essentially a series of impressionistic essays interpreting the experience of Italian Jews through the works of important novelists and other intellectuals from 1924 to 1974. This method is viable only for the period covered; whatever the distinctions achieved in other fields, Italian Jews had never previously produced an imaginative writer of international reputation.

Prisoners of Hope is not intended to be a comprehensive study of Italian Jews during the period because, as H. Stuart Hughes observes, scholarly works of that type are already available: notably, Attilio Milano's *Storia degli ebrei in Italia* (1963), Sergio Della Pergola's *Anatomia dell'ebraismo italiano* (1976), and Cecil Roth's *History of the Jews of Italy* (1946). For the fascist period Renzo De Felice's *Storia degli ebrai italiani sotto il fascismo* (1961) is indispensable.

Hughes, a distinguished European intellectual historian, has also long had a scholarly commitment to Italian history. A warmly sympathetic tone, which stems not only from the author's empathy for his subject but also from friendship with many of the principals, pervades this well-written book. The author's strengths are needed for the difficult task of evoking the experience of Italian Jews through writers whose religious or even cultural link to Judaism was sometimes quite tenuous, often simply an unconscious sensibility. In the second chapter, for example, Hughes succeeds better with Italo Svevo, who, on a psychological level and in the conflict between his German education and Italian literary aspirations, was conscious of a general cul-

tural ambivalence and links to Judaism, than with Alberto Moravia, who was brutally brought to a recognition of his heritage only by the catastrophe that struck Italian Jews in 1943. Hughes's approach works best with Giorgio Bassani because Bassani more directly and thoroughly than others explores the role of the Jew in modern Italy and because his native Ferrara provides a good perspective.

On the whole, Hughes succeeds quite well in conveying the changing mood within the Italian Jewish community during this period. If the connection among the writers (Natalia Ginzburg, Carlo Levi, and Primo Levi, among others), the works examined, and the theme sometimes appears oblique, that is because the author's scholarship and intellectual honesty prevent him from stretching his evidence into facile generalizations. In defining some Italian Jews as Jews the author ponders: "What is left of identity when language and religion are gone?"

Hughes explains the pattern of assimilation by the absence of any substantial racist or antisemitic tradition in Italy. The threats to Italian Jews in the twentieth century are ascribed to external forces, notably German influence during the latter part of the fascist period, or extraneous developments, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Hughes concludes optimistically: whatever their previous sufferings, Italian Jews feel secure and at ease with their fellow Italians.

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JON V. KOFAS. *Authoritarianism in Greece: The Metaxas Regime*. (East European Monographs, number 133.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1983. Pp. x, 244. \$20.00.

This study is overtly Marxist and presents the view of Greek history adopted by the Greek Communist party of the Interior. After saying this, and after congratulating Jon V. Kofas for his independence and the publishers for their openmindedness, one has also to deplore the weakness of a one-sided historical analysis. Ioannes Metaxas was, with Eleutherios Venizelos, one of the two greatest statesmen of twentieth-century Greece. In some cases, Metaxas even saw further than the Cretan. For instance, in 1921 he condemned the invasion by the Greek army of Turkish Anatolia, calling it an imperialistic undertaking, while his own political friends were in power. He used the same words of condemnation as did the Greek Communist party.

Metaxas's ideology was similar to that prevalent in Germany on the eve of the First World War that sustained the so-called authoritarian regime. Even-

tually, in Germany, the nostalgic adherents of this aristocratic authoritarianism supported Hitler, believing, wrongly, that they could use him for their own aims. This marriage of authoritarianism and totalitarianism can be found in Metaxas's thought and political activity during his royal dictatorship of 1936–41. Metaxas, like Hindenburg, was never a fascist. Nevertheless, living in the fascist age, this unconditional monarchist was influenced by fascist populism and used fascist methods.

Kofas from the start adopts clichés to characterize Metaxas and Venizelos. The latter is called the "pillar of republicanism" (p. ix), but this English-style liberal never thought it important to choose between a king and a president. The liberal system could be vindicated by both formulas. In fact, Venizelos personally preferred a constitutional king for his country. The former's political portrait is also readily drawn in the form, as the French say, of an *image d'Épinal*. The author sees "Metaxas, a self proclaimed fascist" (p. 14) and shows his "perseverance in crushing the lower classes and their leadership" (p. 1). In fact, Metaxas's populism was antiplutocratic, and he earnestly tried during his dictatorship to institute a social policy favorable to the lower classes. What the author probably means by the lower classes' "leadership" is the KKE, the Communist party of Greece, which Metaxas crushed. The author expresses his political sympathies candidly when he writes that "the frightening reality was that the Communists weakened after 1938" (p. 145). Some statements are particularly extreme: "Class collaboration to Metaxas meant the suppression of the working class and the peasantry" (p. 57). Did Metaxas plan to suppress the whole Greek population? His social program to alleviate the plight of the poor is seen by the author as a "Machiavellian device . . . to portray the chief as a benevolent ruler" (p. 67).

The section devoted to "The KKE under the Dictatorship" (pp. 129–45) is particularly weak not for what it says on the subject but rather for what it does not say. From 1936 to 1941 the KKE was split into three groups. Metaxas's police put its own agents at the head of two of these groups. None of this appears in the book.

Even though the author makes use of interesting unpublished Foreign Office and State Department documents, he draws heavily from Greek communist authors, many of whom are not professional historians, or from amateurs like Komnenos Pyromaglou, who is labeled "one of the great literary contributors to modern Greek history" (p. 136). The result is an oversimplification of problems in the light of popular Marxism.

DIMITRI KITSIKIS
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DIMITRIS KITSIKIS. *Istoria tou Ellinotourkikou Horou apo ton E. Venizelo ston G. Papadopoulos, 1928–1973* [History of the Greek-Turkish Area from E. Venizelos to G. Papadopoulos, 1928–73]. Athens: Vivliopolion tis "Estias." 1981. Pp. 364.

DIMITRIS KITSIKIS. *Synkritiki Istoria Ellados kai Tourkias stou 20% aiona* [Comparative History of Greece and Turkey in the Twentieth Century]. Athens: Vivliopolion tis "Estias." 1978. Pp. 311.

These two volumes by Dimitris Kitsikis represent an uncommon orientation in contemporary Greek and Turkish historiography. Both Greek and Turkish historians tend to treat the relations between their two countries from opposing viewpoints. Neither side finds much good to say about the other. Kitsikis boldly departs from this traditional mold. One of the few Greek scholars who can read Turkish, Kitsikis treats Greek-Turkish relations in the twentieth century—a very eventful period for both nations—with a remarkable degree of detachment and impartiality. He views with deep regret the animosity that often mars Greek-Turkish relations and that seems to subside only for very short intervals. He would like to see the two nations join in a confederation because, in his view, both belong to a single cultural and geopolitical area.

Many, including this reviewer, would agree that a close and uninterrupted cooperation between Greece and Turkey is in the mutual interest of the two nations. Eleutherios Venizelos, the Greek statesman who fought the Ottoman empire to liberate Greek-inhabited territories and bring them under the sovereignty of the Greek state, and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who founded the modern Turkish state, worked hard in the early 1930s to bring the two countries closer together. But the "Greek-Turkish Friendship" they fashioned never really took hold of popular imagination and loyalty in either country.

Since the Truman Doctrine in 1947, the United States has recognized the strategic unity of the area and has dealt with the two countries as though they were part of a single entity. The approach is historically sound. The lands where the states of Greece and Turkey are located today have been for many centuries under a single sovereignty—under the Romans, the Byzantines, the Ottoman empire. The Americans, of course, saw Greek-Turkish cooperation in the context of the East-West rivalry, with the two countries being part of the West, especially after joining NATO in 1952.

Kitsikis subscribes to a close cooperation between Greece and Turkey but not as part of the Western community of nations. According to the author, these two countries belong to an "intermediate region" (*enthiamesi periokhi*) distinct from his version

of "West" and "East." This novel geopolitical division is of particular interest. The intermediate region includes the entire landmass of the Soviet Union, the non-Catholic countries in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, Greece and Turkey, the Arab states of the Middle East, and the countries of northern Africa from Egypt to Morocco. The West includes Western Europe; Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary; Australia and New Zealand; and presumably all the countries in the Americas. The East includes India and Pakistan and all the countries south of the Himalayas, plus China, Japan, Korea, Indochina, Indonesia, and the Philippines. South of the Sahara, Kitsikis speaks of a "Black-African Civilization." The apparent criterion for this geopolitical construct is primarily cultural, but one cannot ignore its political implications. In this intermediate region the dominant power is unquestionably the Soviet Union. If Kitsikis's geopolitical view of the world is to be accepted as valid, one will have to accept the logical corollary that the affiliation of Greece and Turkey with the West is a departure from their cultural heritage allowing the West's intrusion into the intermediate region. Although Kitsikis does not advocate in these two volumes that Greece and Turkey should come under Soviet domination, he questions the notion that these two countries are part of the Western community of nations and leaves the impression that, in his view, they are culturally part of the Middle Eastern and North African milieu. Some may interpret this as an advocacy for Greece's Third World orientation.

In discussing Greek-Turkish relations during this century, especially in the second volume covering the years between 1928 and 1974, Kitsikis tries to interpret events through a basic dichotomy of political thought. He argues that in Greece (as well as in Turkey) political leaders and theorists espouse as a rule two basic orientations. One has traditionally favored the notion that Greece is part of the West; the other sees Greece as part of the East. The latter placed greater emphasis on the Eastern roots of Greek culture and presumably wanted close cooperation with Turkey. In Kitsikis's view, Eleutherios Venizelos was a Westerner while I. Metaxas was an adherent of the Eastern persuasion. By the same token, he sees Con. Karamanlis as a Westerner while he views the leaders of the colonels' dictatorship (1967-74) as Easterners because they supposedly favored a return to Eastern notions of Christian "Orthodoxy" and "Greekness." Because of his perception that the dictatorial regimes of Metaxas (1936-41) and of the Colonels were of the Eastern persuasion, Kitsikis treats them with a leniency uncommon for a Greek historian with a left-of-center background. Although both regimes favored good relations with Turkey and an emphasis on "Greek" values, there is no evidence, so far as I know, that either saw Greece as part of the interme-

diate region. In fact, their strong anticommunism would have been in fundamental conflict with such a geopolitical division in which the Soviet Union would be the dominant power.

In spite of reservations about the author's geopolitical views and about some of his detailed interpretations of key events or developments, this reviewer found the Kitsikis's two volumes a significant contribution to the study of Greek-Turkish relations, particularly because of his non-nationalistic, Greco-Turkish approach.

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ENVER REDŽIĆ. *Jugoslovenska misao i socijalizam* [Yugoslav Thought and Socialism]. Sarajevo: OOUR. 1982. Pp. 324.

ENVER REDŽIĆ. *Austromarksizam i Jugoslavensko pitanje* [Austro-Marxism and the South Slav Question]. (Biblioteka Studije i Monografije Jugoslovensko Pitanje.) Belgrade: Narodna Knjiga. 1977. Pp. xiii, 497.

The national quarrels that rent the old Austro-Hungarian empire were reflected in the polemical writings of the Marxist-oriented social democratic movements within the empire and inspired some of the most thoughtful and thought-provoking literature of the period by Austro-Marxist theorists.

The contents of *Austro-Marxism and the South Slav Question* are what the title suggests—a review of the Marxist classics on the national question as applied to the South Slav lands within the Austro-Hungarian empire, and to its enemy Serbia, in the period before the collapse of the empire in 1918. Separate chapters are devoted to summaries of the writings on the question by Marx and Engels, Karl Kautsky, Karl Renner, Otto Bauer, and Viktor Adler. All of these, of course, are more readily available to most scholars in the original. The summary of their views is no doubt very useful to Yugoslav readers and would be a convenient point of departure for non-Yugoslav scholars interested in a study of the national question.

Ideas such as Bauer's notion of "historical" as opposed to "unhistorical" peoples, which led to considerable heated polemics at the time, can now be dismissed as historical curiosities. For scholars interested in the study of multinational states today, however, a review of the ideas of "cultural" or "personal" autonomy might be fruitful. The Austro-Marxists considered the possibility of arranging the management of social and political affairs so that matters of interest to one nation—with each person declaring for himself his national affiliation—should be dealt with by representatives of that nation, while matters of interest common to more than one nation should be handled by a common administration.

This line of thought was taken up by the "Yugoslav" (actually, Slovenian) social democratic theorists, notably Etbin Kristan. This early and intense interest of the Slovenes, which appeared after 1896, and the later and less original but no less intense interest of the Croats, the Serbs, and the inhabitants of Bosnia and Hercegovina is competently reviewed in the second half of Redžić's book. This material is not readily available elsewhere, is of contemporary interest, and deserves a wider audience than it has heretofore had. Redžić does not, however, attach much importance to the fact that through most of the period that he treats the social democratic theorists were subject to press censorship and had to employ Aesopian language, at least to some extent. Readers should keep this caveat in mind.

Since Redžić's book is limited to a treatment of Austro-Marxism and the national question, it does not purport to be, and is not, a study of Marxism and the national question per se. Such a general treatment would have to include a study of the Macedonian and the two Bulgarian social democratic movements, which have their own lessons for us. As far as it goes, however—and it goes a long way—Redžić's account is a valuable contribution to the study of Marxism and the national question in the South Slavic lands.

The title of Redžić's second book, *Yugoslav Thought and Socialism*, suggests that it might be a sequel covering the period since 1918. That is not the case. It is principally a study of the national question in Bosnia and Hercegovina from the Austrian occupation until the beginning of the Second World War. The first half of the book is devoted to the period before the Sarajevo assassination; nearly one-half of that, or one-fourth of the whole book, is devoted to rehashing the history of Young Bosnia, the youth movement that bred the assassins. None of that has much to do with socialism. The second half of the book reads like a collection of articles on the post-1914 period. Three of those chapters concern Bosnian affairs, but the others are on other subjects. The second half of the book therefore lacks coherence except insofar as it treats various aspects of the national question. Conspicuous by its absence is any substantial treatment of the national question during the Second World War, even though the last chapters touch on post-World War II events. On the whole, *Yugoslav Thought and Socialism* is of only minor usefulness. We must await a worthy successor to *Austro-Marxism and the National Question*.

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JOHN H. MOORE. *Growth with Self-Management: Yugoslav Industrialization, 1952–1975*. (Hoover Institution Publication, number 220.) Stanford: Hoover Institution Press. 1980. Pp. xvi, 334. \$17.95.

Yugoslavia's experiment with market socialism and workers' self-management, although currently troubled, has also gone on long enough to have acquired a historical dimension. That dimension deserves the attention of development economists as well as of historians of modern Europe. John H. Moore is an economist, but his book will be useful to some historians.

Written from a macroeconomic perspective, Moore's work critically examines the Yugoslav record of aggregate industrial growth and related structural change from the earliest days of the Yugoslav departure from Soviet-style central planning to 1975. His first part briefly outlines Yugoslavia's postwar transition to an industrialized economy and the emergence of the self-managed enterprise during the 1960s. He is quick to emphasize, however, the ways in which the autonomy of the enterprise and the free operation of market forces were restricted again after 1965.

Moore's second part is devoted to explaining, in relatively jargon-free fashion, his own prodigious recalculations of the official Yugoslav record of industrial output. Conveniently for nonspecialists, he confines to a 100-page series of appendixes both the long statistical tables of physical output and the technical methodology by which he prices them to compensate for the insufficient weight officially given to depreciation and inflation. Moore's indexes reveal a still rapid rate of Yugoslav industrial growth across the period, albeit one that averages 8–9 percent a year rather than the official rate of 10 percent. His numbers also show industry in the politically troubled Kosovo region to have grown significantly more slowly than officially recorded. Overall, however, the structural shift of Yugoslav industry into modern branches of production is seen to have proceeded at nearly the impressive Japanese rate for 1952–71.

Moore uses his third part, the longest and perhaps the most instructive for historians, to appraise both the regional and national records. The official policy since 1957 of attempting to push the industrial growth of the less-developed southeast ahead faster than the northwest did not, somewhat to Moore's surprise, slow the national rate of growth, despite a number of notoriously wasteful projects. At the same time, he demonstrates that the heavy investments made under the policy have failed to close the gap in both industrial output and employment between less- and more-developed regions, especially Slovenia. He lists the reasons typically advanced by Western and Yugoslav economists for this now well-known failure but does not choose among them. Moore presents his own explanation for a national rate of Yugoslav industrial growth that has decelerated since the 1960s yet has been accompanied by a rate of net investment three times the American figure. He blames the lack of suffi-

cient private or enterprise-controlled investment and too much political intervention for this inefficiency.

The author's approach focuses too narrowly on the aggregate statistical record to allow the reader to judge from his evidence how the individual Yugoslav enterprises could or should have behaved and what economic role the communist political structure has played. Recent works by Laura D'Andrea Tyson and Steven R. Sacks on the Yugoslav enterprise and by April Carter and Steven L. Burg on the country's federalized political system provide the essential perspective for answers to these difficult questions.

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EDWARD D. WYNOT, JR. *Warsaw between the World Wars: Profile of the Capital City in a Developing Land, 1918-1939*. (East European Monographs, number 129.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1983. Pp. viii, 375. \$27.50.

Classical studies about cities have accustomed us to expect a characterization of predominant political and artistic figures, bankers, politicians, journalists, theater directors; a description of events and trends in development; and, finally, an account of the inhabitants generally, their uniqueness, passions, and dreams. *Warsaw between the World Wars* by Edward D. Wynot, Jr., is entirely different: the development of Warsaw between 1918 and 1939 is studied through city government and municipal planning and achievements. This in itself is a tremendously demanding enterprise. But when compared with Stefan Kieniewicz's *Warszawa w latach 1795-1914* [Warsaw, 1795-1914] (1976) the contrast is striking. Wynot's study lacks the warmth and imaginative power one might expect from its title, which indeed makes promises that the book does not fulfill. The same remark applies to chapter 3, "The Society of Interwar Warsaw," which would have been more accurately named "The Population of Interwar Warsaw" or "Demographic Trends in Interwar Warsaw."

Once the reader moves beyond this initial surprise, the book proves to be quite profitable and enjoyable. It is divided into nine chapters that include a long historical preface and studies of the economy, society, politics, urbanization, municipal services, and cultural and intellectual life. The picture emerges of a city increasingly placed under federal tutelage for the major decisions concerning its life, namely, government and finances. Of particular interest is chapter 4 on "The Politics of Inter-

war Warsaw," the pivotal chapter of the book, which confirms that Wynot is most at ease when dealing with political history. This chapter is indeed the most complete of all and the best written, for it shows the dynamics of political life, the internal tensions and contradictions affecting every municipal issue, and the measure of popular discontent with municipal policies. Furthermore, it is the only chapter of the book that shows how Warsaw interacted with other Polish cities and describes its role as the capital of interwar Poland, a question addressed in the introduction as a major issue.

Another picture emerges of a Warsaw whose Jewish minority was one-half of the population in 1917. Although giving much attention to Jewish Warsaw, Wynot surprisingly fails to do the same for the Catholics who accounted for 65 percent of Warsaw's population by 1939. He thereby reinforces the feeling that Poles equal Catholics and that one does not need to specify what was done by Catholic organizations, particularly in the area of schooling and human services.

The chapter about urbanization is well handled, although the lack of illustrations is disappointing. Only readers thoroughly familiar with Warsaw will be able to visualize transportation routes or the exact geographic location of suburban areas annexed to the city limits. The only visual aids are two maps indicating the various districts of Warsaw (pp. 104 and 105) and two sketchy maps showing the expansion of the city limits (pp. 171 and 174). The lack of illustrations also detracts from the description of architectural styles.

One of the merits of the book is to bring us the spirit of the Polish school of quantitative history, on whose findings and methods Wynot relies heavily. Actually, *Warsaw between the World Wars* fills an important gap in Polish historiography by bringing together the findings of several decades of Polish research. This is particularly noticeable in the chapters dealing with the economy, society, municipal services, and cultural and intellectual life; unfortunately, Wynot has a tendency here to limit himself to delivering data without processing them. Thus, he falls short of the mark in integrating this information into the fabric of the book, a characteristic especially evident in the chapter dealing with intellectual and cultural life.

Warsaw between the World Wars attempts to bring two worlds together: that of the American public and that of Polish contemporary history; undoubtedly, this adds a dimension of intellectual exchange badly needed to enrich scholarly endeavors. Examples of this can be seen in neologisms directly translated from concepts forged by Polish historians during the postwar years such as "communications-transportation link," "propagandizement," and "commercial-managerial." Although it may be some

time before the American public is ready to digest these unfamiliar terms, Wynot's study is a significant challenge to the world of American scholarship.

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ROMUALD J. MISIUNAS and REIN TAAGEPERA. *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence, 1940–1980*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 333. \$27.50.

Romuald J. Misiunas and Rein Taagepera have designed this book to continue the story begun by Georg von Rauch, *The Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The Years of Independence. 1917–1940* (1974), and they have performed this task remarkably well. The problem of combining the histories of the three small nations on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea seems deceptively simple and natural because it has been the practice to speak of them as a group, but in fact their common political fate of the last sixty years has been the exception in their history. The two authors express regret that they have been unable to use Latvian sources in the original language, but because they already command Estonian and Lithuanian between them, in addition to German, French, and Russian, they are better prepared to undertake such a study than most of their predecessors have been.

Although they pay considerable attention to economic and social trends, the two authors divide the history of the last forty years into four parts according to political and cultural development, each of the parts receiving more or less the same number of pages. From 1940 to 1945, the three states underwent incorporation into the USSR, occupation by the Germans, and reincorporation into the USSR. As if the destruction of war and social turmoil were not enough, they had to endure more devastation in the Stalinist years from 1945 to 1955 (Stalinism continued a while without Stalin), when guerrilla warfare and collectivization tore the societies apart. The authors see the period 1954–68 as one of "the reemergence of national cultures," when the three nations were able to revive certain pre-Soviet traditions and to deviate from rigid conformity with the norms of Soviet Russian culture. From the invasion of Czechoslovakia to the present, the authors see another era, marked by "centralization and westernization."

The format of covering each of the republics has both its advantages and disadvantages. The reader can easily see the similarities in the development of each and at the same time come to perceive that Antanas Sniečkus, Lithuanian Communist party secretary, may indeed have found a special course

for Lithuania within the confines of Soviet orthodoxy. The meticulous concern for balance and comprehensiveness, however, gives the work an encyclopedic style that pulls and pushes the reader back and forth. The work also contains useful appendixes that summarize the statistics used in the text. In all, this is a useful work that will quite likely become a standard reference and outline for the subject.

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IVO BANAC and PAUL BUSHKOVITCH, editors. *The Nobility in Russia and Eastern Europe*. (Yale Russian and East European Publications, number 3.) New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies; distributed by Slavica, Columbus. 1983. Pp. 220. \$18.50.

The nobility is an important subject and, in the context of Eastern Europe, a particularly awkward one. Noblemen might be titled or untitled, aristocrats or gentry, wealthy magnates, smallholders, or even landless. In some countries (notably Poland and Hungary) they enjoyed extensive legal rights and wielded considerable collective power; in others (notably Russia) they did not. Noblemen staffed courts and bureaucracies, later many entered the professions. They played vital roles in cultural development and figured prominently in the rise of nationalism.

This book, which originated as a series of guest lectures at Yale, concentrates on Poland and the Russian empire. Two of the seven contributions deal with Hungary and Croatia. Bohemia is hardly mentioned, the Romanian boyars not at all. Furthermore, the collection is heavily weighted toward the modern period. In a succinct introduction the editors sketch out present understanding of earlier developments and draw attention to some general themes.

Of the individual contributors, Andrzej Kaminski provides a fresh analysis of the Polish-Lithuanian *szlachta* and politics. In so doing, he draws attention to myths that fortified the "republicans" in resisting the state. Noble myths also figure in Wiktor Weintraub's essay on paradoxes in Polish Romantic literature—notably the idealization of the *szlachta*'s past role by emigré social radicals who dared not repudiate the ideological lynchpin of the national cause. But if Polish (and Hungarian) nationalists could exploit noble traditions, others, like the Ukrainians, could not. As Zenon Kohut shows, the nascent Ukrainian nobility was absorbed into the Russian gentry too soon for that.

Marc Raeff contrasts the amorphous, isolated

Russian nobility with the Prussian Junkers, who had a major role to play, corporate pride, and the resources to become agricultural improvers. The weakness of their institutional base, he argues, led many Russian noblemen to seek personal identities in cultural and moral spheres. The consequences were the formation of the intelligentsia and a delay in the emergence of legal consciousness. By contrast, the Hungarian nobility, a dominant political force, did not remain isolated from the people after their revolution of 1848–49 (dealt with by Istvan Deak). Many adapted to modernization by making careers, and the noble Hungarian image was preserved into the age of popular nationalism.

Ultimately, of course, modernization spelled the doom of the noble class. Marjana Gross deals with its disintegration in Croatia. Stressing economic aspects, she shows how the interests of the residual landed nobility and the affluent bourgeois who invested in land merged, how *declass  * nobles helped form new cultural climates, and how elements of the old noble life-style lingered on, adopted by the new elite. In Russia, however, there was a failure to integrate rather than disintegration. Terence Emons demonstrates that the landed nobility was slow to grasp its political opportunities after the Revolution of 1905. No gentry party emerged, and, despite a progressive rightward shift, nobles seem to have reflected a fairly wide spectrum of political views. Yet the landed nobility did form a significant part of the shallows on which so many of Stolypin's reforms foundered. To that extent, the Russian, like the Polish nobility long before, hastened its own end.

These essays constitute a valuable contribution to a fascinatingly complex and comparatively neglected field.

PHILIP LONGWORTH
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JOHN BASARAB. *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study*. (Canadian Library in Ukrainian Studies.) Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta. 1982. Pp. xxviii, 322.

The Pereiaslav Agreement of 1654 between Muscovy and Ukraine was a turning point in the history of Eastern Europe: it precipitated Poland's steady decline as a great power and the subsequent partitions; it allowed the backward and land-locked tsardom of Muscovy to forge the great Russian and, ultimately, the Soviet empire; and it began the close and often tortuous Ukrainian-Russian relationship that led to the demise of the newly formed Ukrainian cossack state and the outright annexation of Ukraine by Russia. Although the actual factors behind the loss of Ukrainian autonomy are multiple and complex,

they clearly started with Pereiaslav. The agreement produced both the juridical and the psychological bases for Russia's claims on Ukraine. It stood at the very heart of the tsarist myth of "one and indivisible Russia"; it also serves as the cornerstone of the Soviet, historically absurd concept of "re-unification of two kindred peoples," officially promulgated by the 1954 "Theses" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Given the obvious significance of this agreement, it is astonishing that no extant text of the original document exists. The earliest version, dating to 1659, is presented by the Russian side and is generally recognized as a doctored version of the original. Most modern scholars agree that Russia unquestionably violated the letter of the agreement, albeit not necessarily the spirit, in its policies toward Ukraine. It is no surprise, therefore, that a lively, often emotional, debate has ensued over the actual terms, goals, and broader implications of the Pereiaslav Agreement.

Ostensibly, this study reviews the voluminous historiography on the subject and the many aspects of the controversy. It begins with an analysis of the extant documents and their purely juridical implications. John Basarab makes no attempt to formulate still another theory, except to suggest that both sides probably interpreted the agreement as they saw fit. Technically speaking, the agreement became a dead letter in 1667, when Muscovy and Poland signed the Treaty of Andrusovo partitioning Ukraine into two spheres of influence. A review of the secondary literature follows, from contemporary cossack chronicles through various nineteenth- and twentieth-century interpretations. The final chapter is devoted to the changes in the Soviet interpretation, beginning with Pokrovskii's concept of Russia as the "prison of nations," through the "lesser-evil" formula, and the current variation of the old tsarist "one and indivisible" Russia. Translations of various pertinent documents, including the 1954 "Theses," are presented as appendixes.

This is a competent and timely study of a central issue in Russo-Ukrainian historiography. Although it lends support to what may be deemed a "Ukrainian" variant, this study cannot be faulted with national bias. Instead, it stands as a fascinating comment on the Soviet affinity for historiographical *mimesis*, namely, the tendency to observe history not as it occurred but as it should have occurred.

ALEXANDER SYDORENKO
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ROBERT O. CRUMMEY. *Aristocrats and Servitors: The Boyar Elite in Russia, 1613–1689*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 315. \$30.00.

Over the last decade Robert O. Crummey has labored to reveal and understand the Muscovite boyar elite who, as the title of the present book indicates, were neither true aristocrats nor mere servitors. Here Crummey undertakes a summary, a collective biography of the seventeenth-century boyars; he details for us exactly who held boyar rank in Muscovy, by what means they obtained that honor, and what the boyar experience tells us about Muscovite politics. Although some conclusions will provoke no surprise, the solid evidence that Crummey employs distinguishes his work from everything that has preceded it.

The usual route to the top in Muscovy was military service; many boyars did some time in the civilian chanceries, but the key was clearly army duty, almost always in the cavalry units that the New Formation Regiments gradually displaced. With the decline of the traditional army, an increasing number of boyars sprang from the Moscow civilian administration. Throughout, kinship played an important role in bringing new men into the boyar ranks, and what blood links could not achieve, affinal ties did, so that in Crummey's view the Muscovite elite married for station rather than property. Wealth, too, was part of the boyar distinction; as Crummey points out, much of this wealth followed, rather than preceded, being named a boyar, but it is nonetheless true that as a group the boyars were noticeably richer than their social inferiors.

Over the course of the century, increasing numbers obtained boyar rank; in 1613 Muscovy counted only twenty-nine boyars, but by 1690 there were five times that number. The greatest inflation in boyar rank took place during the regency, but Aleksei and Fedor also proved generous in the first years of their reigns. Evidently, during times of insecurity the Romanovs awarded boyar rank to prop up their somewhat uncertain hold on power.

The seventeenth century also witnessed the gradual dilution of Muscovy's princely families among the parvenus who gained boyar status. Whereas Mikhail, on the heels of the Time of Troubles, had resorted to naming surviving members of the sixteenth-century aristocracy, his successors relied more on the new men. Aleksei, for example, seems to have by-passed the aristocracy in order to reward outstanding performance, usually in the military. Later, most of the new men could claim elite rank neither by virtue of service nor birth; they were simply bribed. These were the boyars with whom Peter had to deal, and we may now better understand his disdain for them.

The book is extremely well written, as perhaps it must be, given the nature of the subject. There is also plenty of evidence mustered in defense of the

argument. Nevertheless, the reader is often obliged to accept Crummey's observations about general trends without being able to confirm them for himself from the book's evidence. Presentation of more of the material in tabular form would have helped extend the power of the evidence. There are tables on the size of the boyar elite and wealth among the boyars, but more could certainly have been used. For example, when Crummey argues that the boyar elite did not marry for property, it would help the case if he were able to introduce composite data in addition to anecdotal support. The service careers of the boyars would also seem to be suitable for such summary presentation, and would help extend the power of the generalizations.

Nevertheless, Crummey has written an important book that will improve our understanding of early modern Russia. As usual, Princeton University Press has produced a high quality book that deserves the praise of the academic community. But the press must also take the blame for errors in the index and misprinted headers on pages 227-45, 245-47, and 252-59, since they make it difficult to use the notes.

DANIEL H. KAISER
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BARBARA ALPERN ENGEL. *Mothers and Daughters: Women of the Intelligentsia in Nineteenth-Century Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 230. \$29.95.

Through the nineteenth century in Russia, women radicals were more numerous and more prominent in movements for social change than anywhere else in Europe. Most remarkable was their apparent equality with their male counterparts. In this informative study, Barbara Alpern Engel examines what such equality implied. Some women, especially members of the terrorist People's Will, participated in virtually every aspect of party activity, assuming positions of importance and responsibility. Others, Engel tells us, although treated with respect, were assigned gender-based tasks. Housework was "women's work." So, too, was typesetting. Women printed articles written by men. Engel considers this sexual division of labor less a consequence of male prejudice than of women's inferior intellectual preparation and their lack of interest in writing. When women did demand a larger role, they wanted to participate directly in terrorism. Indeed, it is Engel's thesis that the women were the more zealous revolutionaries. If there is a dominant theme in her work, it is that of the woman revolutionary's special emotional intensity and moral absolutism. The source of women's extremism Engel finds in religious values and precepts of self-sacrifice learned early from

their mothers. Moral integrity and conscience nurtured the heroine-martyr. Vera Zasulich derived her first moral lessons from the Gospels; yearning for the "crown of thorns" attracted her to the revolution. When Vera Figner sacrificed her medical degree for full-time revolutionary activity, she saw it as the victory of the Biblical principle "Leave thy father and thy mother, and follow me."

Figner also described the pessimism with which she and other women revolutionaries viewed their futures: they would "all perish." Yet the prospect of suffering caused Figner to become a revolutionary. One need not be an advocate of psychohistory to wish that Engel had probed further the more complex, dark side of female "altruism." Why did these women so eagerly seek martyrdom? Neither early training at home nor the trauma of a break with family and tradition seems an adequate explanation.

The women's terrorist exploits did not advance the revolution. Did they advance the "woman question"? Aspirations to personal sanctity made its self-serving aspects appear trivial. Engel points out that, after the early 1870s, women-oriented issues vanished from populist propaganda. Implicit in populism was the assumption that the peasants were purer and more moral than the revolutionaries themselves. Could populist women have failed to perceive the brutality of rural patriarchy? Evidently so, since women-oriented issues, Engel tells us, were also absent from their vision of the peasant future.

Engel does more in this rich work than discuss the *intelligentka* as revolutionary. We meet women in "nihilist" cooperatives, women students at the Alarchin courses in St. Petersburg and in female discussion groups around the city, and women studying medicine in Zurich and attending the Women's Medical Courses in St. Petersburg. The topical organization of the book requires that particular women be brought on stage briefly. A few, like Perovskaia, Figner, and Zasulich, reappear in subsequent chapters. Some we never meet again. The disadvantage of the kaleidoscopic approach with its thumbnail biographies is that we do not learn in depth about any particular woman, and so some emotional intensity is lost. It does, however, mirror the full range of activities engaging the women of the intelligentsia and illuminates with remarkable clarity what it meant to be a female in rebellion against conventional women's roles.

BEATRICE FARNSWORTH
Wells College

MICHAEL STANISLAWSKI. *Tsar Nicholas I and the Jews: The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia, 1825–1855*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1983. Pp. xvi, 246. \$18.95.

As Michael Stanislawski notes, recent scholarship on Russian Jewry has focused almost exclusively on the last decades of tsarist rule. Hence, his study of Jewish society in the reign of Nicholas I (1825–55) is intended to document the origins of many of those features of Russian-Jewish life that became apparent at the close of the nineteenth century. Stanislawski argues that the transformation of Russian Jewry was neither the product of recent developments in Jewish life nor the end result of long-range trends. Rather, he contends that the new Jewish communal structures, economic realignments, and cultural expressions that began to appear in those later years came as a consequence of the new policies initiated by the government of Nicholas I.

Stanislawski's work is a welcome addition to the literature on nineteenth-century Russian Jewry. The author's careful and imaginative reading of Russian and Jewish source materials in order to reexamine the key issues of the period is one of the main strengths of the book. Furthermore, mindful of other developments occurring during the reign of Nicholas I, Stanislawski consciously integrates the Jewish program of the regime with its concurrent domestic and cultural policies aimed at the other segments of the population. Additionally, the author's creative construction of tables on Jewish schools and on Jewish population growth also contributes to the overall usefulness of this volume.

The development of Stanislawski's thesis, however, does raise a number of questions that require clarification. For instance, the continuous growth of Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment) from the earliest years of the century and the abandonment of traditional educational institutions for "modern" alternatives were not the result of governmental actions. The assertion that the crown schools established by Nicholas I spurred the growth of this modern-oriented, enlightened, Jewish intelligentsia, if true, still does not answer the question of what gave rise to this group in the first place and produced a cadre of students for those schools and a willingness to enroll in them. Also, the impact of demographic change, touched on but not fully explored here, warrants more extensive analysis. Specifically, Stanislawski finds an increase of more than 30 percent in the male Jewish population in this period. He also notes that a substantial geographical shift took place as Jews moved from older, more established settlements to newer areas of residence. In the light of these findings, the question arises as to the impact that these developments had on the transformation of the traditional community (independent of those changes that the government's policies produced). In short, dynamic tendencies were emerging within the Jewish community at precisely the same time that Nicholas I was mandating change. These inter-

nal tendencies require comment and assessment, too.

Stanislawski has written a very good book. He has treated complex issues in a rigorous and well-informed manner. His work is especially well researched and his findings are stimulating. That his thesis points to further issues that now require exploration only means that opportunities for continued research in this field still exist.

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L. S. PROKOF'EVA. *Krest'ianskaia obshchina v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XVIII—pervoi polovine XIX v. (Na materialakh votchim Sheremetevykh)* [The Peasant Commune in Russia in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century and First Half of the Nineteenth Century (Based on Materials from the Sheremetev Votchinas)]. Leningrad: Nauka. 1981. Pp. 213. 1 r. 70 k.

A. M. ANFIMOV. *Krest'ianskoe khoziaistvo evropeiskoi Rossii, 1881–1904* [The Peasant Economy of European Russia, 1881–1904]. Moscow: Nauka. 1980. Pp. 237. 2 r. 70 k.

There is a bonus gained from joint review of these two books. L. S. Prokof'eva's work focuses on the peasant commune on estates of the wealthy Sheremetev family from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century; A. M. Anfimov's account covers the entire peasant economy of European Russia in the last decades of the nineteenth century and into the early years of the twentieth. Taken together, the two studies provide an opportunity to survey the peasant scene before and after the emancipation of 1861. Some striking continuities emerge.

At the turn of each successive century the peasants appear in a sorry situation: taxes were mounting, there was a growing shortage of land, the commune was constraining peasants, and the landlord was exploiting them. If some few peasants were prospering, it was only at the expense of their beleaguered brethren. Prokof'eva ends her narrative with an account of a local uprising in 1822; Anfimov leads up to the revolution of 1905—two points of peasant protest equidistant from the Great Reforms.

Prokof'eva's foray into the Sheremetev archive has provided a useful addition to the small but growing stock of recent Soviet literature on the commune in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Based on large-estate records, her book is subject to the limitations of its sources, and its findings cannot be assumed to apply to the many communes not on estate land or located on smaller estates. Yet, within its sphere, the work offers engaging detail on communal administration and courts,

land distribution and the *tiaglo* system, private contracts between serfs, and the entrepreneurial activity of enserfed peasants. As Prokof'eva presents it, the commune's egalitarian land practices reflected the peasants' concept of justice, yet the commune itself was an instrument of oppression.

Attempts to portray both the democratic and negative aspects of the institution are accompanied by shifting appraisals. Thus, in the period under investigation the commune became "more independent" (p. 33) yet "lost one right after another" (p. 45); its role in the regulation of land relations was "growing stronger" (p. 75) yet "became weaker" (p. 111). The author raises a challenging question in arguing that economic differentiation was increasing within the commune, since the supporting data, which show growing numbers of peasants with capital, also show a sharp decline in the wealthiest categories.

Anfimov's *Peasant Economy* constitutes the introductory section of a projected broader investigation of the peasantry of European Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Major topics covered here include the growth of the peasant population, peasant land use and land relations, material resources in agriculture, and agricultural performance. Discussion of peasant industries and taxes is reserved for later volumes. Some material in the present work is familiar from Anfimov's well-known earlier studies of the rural economy, but there is fresh information here, much of it conveniently summarized in the sixty-one tables accompanying the statistic-laden text.

As the author points out in his introduction, the historian inherits many unresolved debates from the 1920s about prerevolutionary Russian agriculture. In fact, the legacy also includes ongoing debates from the 1960s, concerning the level of capitalism in the prerevolutionary countryside. In the "development vs. backwardness" debate, Anfimov was a leading proponent of the latter position, stressing the retardant force of surviving remnants of the old serf order. Now, citing recent scholarship (especially, the work of Ivan D. Koval'chenko), he acknowledges "error" in his former views (p. 7) and the predominance of a capitalist order in rural Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet the text indicates that his surrender is not unconditional.

This study surveys the dynamics of postemancipation land redemption (which, Anfimov argues, was more complicated, more protracted, and more damaging to the peasants than generally recognized) and devotes new attention to the important role of the commune in the peasant economy. In connection with the latter, Anfimov disputes the claim that communal land redistribution was rapidly dying out in the late nineteenth century.

In Anfimov's judgment, although there was progress in agriculture as capitalism spread inexorably over the countryside, the result was a growing polarization of the peasantry, with a small number increasing their holdings at the expense of the remainder. Peasant landholding is presented as a zero-sum game, despite the fact that the amount of land held by peasants was growing overall.

It is notable that Anfimov, like Prokof'eva, takes a dim view of those peasants who improved their economic position, both assuming that the collective must pay somehow for the individual's success. This outlook, the outlook of the commune in its search for justice through equalization of property, may be the most striking continuity of all to emerge from these works.

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EDWARD H. JUDGE. *Plehve: Repression and Reform in Imperial Russia, 1902–1904*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 299. \$35.00.

Few tsarist statesmen have attracted as much opprobrium and as little sustained scholarly attention as Interior Minister Viacheslav Konstantinovich Plehve. Historians have typically dismissed Plehve as an opportunist and reactionary at least partially responsible for the Kishinev pogrom, Russia's entry into the Russo-Japanese War, and a wave of police repression that hastened the outbreak of the 1905 revolution. Edward H. Judge's work is the first extended study of the figure who came to dominate imperial politics in the critical period between 1902 and 1904.

The volume is essentially a traditional political biography, with its central theme Plehve's role as minister in the formation of state policy. This approach is no surprise considering the former policeman's intense and largely successful efforts to conceal his opinions and private life. After a review of Plehve's early service career, the study is divided between a narrative description of the minister's rise to power and an analysis of his programs. These latter include notorious initiatives, such as the rough handling of national minorities and the ill-starred experiment with "police socialism," and quieter efforts in the fields of administration and agriculture. The final section of the book concentrates on Plehve's counterproductive repression of liberal opposition and unsuccessful attempt to stamp out the terrorist campaign that ultimately consumed him.

What emerges from the text is a more balanced account of this admittedly unsavory character than we have had to date. Despite an occasional excess of enthusiasm (one wonders, for instance, why the

author refers to a "Plehve system" when he readily concedes the minister lacked a comprehensive program comparable to those of figures like Sergei Witte or Peter Stolypin), Judge capably reassesses Plehve without artificially rehabilitating him. On Kishinev, for example, the author argues convincingly against direct culpability but blames Plehve for contributing to a general atmosphere of antisemitism that made violence likely. Similarly, Judge rejects the claim that Plehve pressed for a "short victorious war" with Japan to distract attention from domestic problems but concludes that the minister irresponsibly encouraged adventurism to advance his own standing. Overall, Plehve is depicted as a man who recognized the need for reform but was too trapped by his own limitations to effect it. These were limitations not only of character—ambition, envy, and dishonesty—but also of experience. A lifetime bureaucrat, Plehve could envision change only under the paternalistic guidance of the state. As a former prosecutor and police chief, he interpreted that guidance in a most repressive, heavy-handed way.

A number of the topics covered here, such as police socialism and Plehve's campaign against Witte, have been treated elsewhere. Much of the source material will be familiar to specialists in the period. What Judge has done is to draw together information from different policy areas to give us a judicious evaluation of this most controversial figure. His study helps illuminate the basic contradictions in the notion of "reform from above" that bedeviled Plehve and other, more flexible tsarist statesmen as well.

NEIL B. WEISSMAN
Dickinson College

TERENCE EMMONS. *The Formation of Political Parties and the First National Elections in Russia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 529. \$42.50.

Terence Emmons's book is devoted to an important and insufficiently studied sector of twentieth-century Russian history: the formation of political parties and the first national elections during the first Russian revolution (1905–07). In regard to the first of these subjects, this study addresses a variety of questions, namely "how did the various political organizations come into being and ultimately coalesce into parties, in some cases even before October 17, 1905 under a regime that until then not only lacked a national parliament, . . . but prohibited any manner of political organizing?" (p. vii); the organization, membership, and social basis of those parties; and their strategies and programs. In regard to the elections, the role of these political groups is studied as well as the election campaigning and the electoral process itself. Both subjects are studied

with the focus on "constitutionalists," with only occasional consideration given to the partisans of "true autocracy" or the revolutionists. Among the "constitutionalists" the study concentrates on the Constitutional Democratic party (the Kadets) and the Union of October 17 (the Octobrists). To answer his questions the author has explored a wide range of source material, both archival and printed, which is abundantly quoted on the 107 pages of notes following the text. Among them, especially helpful were "the newspapers from virtually all the fifty-one provinces of European Russia, including small-town newspapers." A priceless guide in this connection was the report of Count V. A. Dmitriev-Mamontov (Witte's special assistant for the purpose of studying the elections), as the author has acknowledged in his "Note on Literature and Sources" (p. 399). This must have been a painstaking endeavor for Emmons and he must be congratulated on his patience and steadfastness of purpose.

The book starts with an introduction that gives the background of events, largely since the 1890s. It is clear and pertinent. One misses, however, a specific reference for the revealing quotation from Nicholas II's pronouncement in one of the initial mottoes (p. 1). What was its time and, especially, the context? One is also struck by the lack of precision of the author's reference to such a crucial text as that of Article 87 of the Fundamental Laws: these laws "and the laws concerning the institutions of the Duma and the State Council were ruled outside the sphere of application of this procedure" (p. 16). Which "institutions"? Are these the *uchrezhdeniia* of the Russian text only? A better translation would have been "organic laws." Or "institutions" might also cover the electoral laws (*postanovleniia o vyborahkh*). This very important restriction certainly deserved an explicit mention.

The book consists of three parts, of which part 1 is devoted to the "Formation of Political Parties"; first, "The Constitutional-Democratic Party" and "L'ouverture à gauche" and then "The Union of October 17 and Its Allies: *Raznosherstnaia Kompaniia*." A most searching study of the ideological, institutional, and social origins of the Kadet party is offered here to the reader. Against that background and in the context of ongoing events the early development of the party's program is traced, as well as its organization, strategy, and tactics (prior to the first elections to the Duma). Finally, the general characteristics of the Kadet leadership (with stress on the preponderance of "men of the 1880s") are studied, as well as the difficulties inherent in the coexistence within the party of diverse elements from the *zemstva* and the populist intelligentsia (or even the revisionist Marxists). In this connection the first two party congresses (those of October 12–18, 1905, and of January 5–11, 1906) have been thoroughly analyzed.

The origin of the Union of October 17, studied in

the second chapter, had common elements with that of the Kadets, but there were important differences. The Union also drew to a great extent on the *zemstva*, but largely from the more conservative "Slavophile" minority led initially by D. N. Shipov and constituted at the November 1904 *zemstvo* congress, when it voted against the constitutionalist resolution. This minority emerged after October 17 as a nucleus of the Union of October 17. The *zemtsy* were joined by urban elements (men in industry, commerce, and the professions), among whom Alexander Guchkov was prominent. More nationalist but less "Slavophile" than Shipov, Guchkov was also more defensive in regard to the revolutionary upheaval and thus more supportive of a government policy that, while upholding the Manifesto of October 17, was vigorously fighting the upheaval. This stand appealed more to the majority of the first party congress, convened on February 18, 1906, at which Guchkov displaced Shipov as the leader of the new Union. If the Kadets' policy was characterized by "l'ouverture à gauche," that of the Octobrists looked for allies "à droite," that is, among the business parties, less conservative government officials, and landowning nobility. Still, it certainly was not "the party of the gentry and the bourgeoisie," as is asserted too readily in the Soviet historiography. This is so in spite of the predominantly *zemstvo*-noble background of the Moscow leadership and the heavy weighting of the Petersburg group toward commerce and industry. The diverse groups on which the Union drew created problems in its future development, and it finally broke into several groups after 1911.

Part 2 is devoted to "The Parties, the State, and the Election Campaign." It also consists of two chapters, one on "The Kadet Bloc" and one on "The Octobrist Bloc." In both chapters the electoral campaign is studied very thoroughly, both in the organs of the campaign, its circumstances, and the groups that responded to the appeals of both parties. Important is Emmons's demonstration that even at these elections, supposedly free from administrative pressure, the Kadet campaign was hampered by the persisting state of emergency that allowed repressions. Important also is the observation that representatives of the revolutionary parties frequently appeared at Kadet meetings to brand the Constitutional Democrats as the party of the bourgeoisie and the gentry; the Kadets represented the Octobrists, constitutionalists though they were, as simply the party of reaction. Both attitudes point to future conflicts. Both chapters give a most useful picture of the development of Russian public opinion among constitutionalists of different hue at this crucial historical moment.

Part 3 deals with "The First National Elections" in their first stages, beginning with the preliminary elections and special city elections. It is a most

meticulous study which is hardly possible to adequately analyze in a few words. The Kadets emerged as the preeminent party in these elections, although nearly 60 percent of all provincial electors were nonparty electors. Their bulk, however, consisted of peasants from the rural curiae, who were universally preoccupied with the issue of land. They could be mobilized as a group in support of those who promised most in regard to the resolution of the land question from the peasant point of view, namely, the Kadets. Phase 2, the provincial elections, is studied next, again in a very meticulous and lucid way, province by province. Here again the same considerations acted in favor of the Kadets.

The final chapter is on "Results and Prospects." The composition of the First Duma, the elections to the Second Duma, and, finally, the implications of the first two elections for later political developments are examined here. Many pertinent remarks are formulated in this chapter with which this reviewer will readily concur. Disagree he must, however, with the author's unreserved retrospective pessimism, already expressed in the preface. As the reviewer pointed out in the subsection "Longterm factors" of his *The Russian Constitution of 1906* ([1976] pp. 416–25), there were in Russia in 1914 definite factors pointing at the possibility (if not outright probability) of a long-term development in the direction of major institutional progress. This possibility should be recognized by an objective historian!

This is an excellent study of an important topic and one may be sure that no study of the Russian revolution of 1905 and the Duma period as a whole will in future be possible without turning to Emmons's major performance.

MARC M. SZEFTEL
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JAY BERGMAN. *Vera Zasulich: A Biography*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 261. \$28.50.

The life of Vera Ivanovna Zasulich (1849–1919), Russian radical heroine of the nineteenth century, was filled with a "yearning for revolutionary unity" (p. 217) and a quest for the social origins of revolutionary morality. This quest took her from an extraordinarily unhappy childhood into a companionship of underground rebels, to an act of personal terror against a tsarist official, and then to an intellectual shift from populism to Marxism. Her life was, in some ways, a summary of the alienation, the social love, and the political passion that gripped her generation. Zasulich called for unity and for morally advanced personalities and structures that would prefigure and shape postrevolutionary society. But she could never decide on the relationship

between social existence or class affiliation on the one hand and moral ethos on the other. She shifted steadily from a faith in the ethical indebtedness of the intelligentsia (her own class) in the 1870s to a belief in the moral superiority of the proletariat (due to its lack of property and ambition) in the 1890s. After 1900 she conceded that all classes could behave with altruistic solidarity, but only in connection with the proletariat and under the tutelage of the intellectuals (now meaning Marxist ones). Zasulich's appeals were neither clamorous nor systematic but were couched in a series of minor literary works and in her numerous acts of conciliation, persuasion, and tactful diplomacy between warring factions of every sort. Through it all, she taught that power and success had to be subordinated to moral preparation. She once compared Lenin to Louis XIV; Lenin complained that in her "too much is built on moral foundations" (p. 215).

The two major segments of Zasulich's career—as a populist and terrorist of the 1870s and as the moral arbiter of the emerging Russian Marxist movement—are chronicled and analyzed with crystal clarity and common sense in Jay Bergman's book. The lengthy digression on the interaction of major events of revolutionary history with her life and temperament are intelligent and relevant. Bergman goes beyond Wolfgang Geierhos's dense monograph on Zasulich in the 1860s and 1870s and covers also her life as a Marxist. In my mind he is a bit too brief on the early years and on the last years, but his decision to keep the book short and focus on the middle years is commendable. The result is a compact, smoothly written, and illuminating study of an important secondary figure in the Russian revolutionary movement, whose ideas and feelings tell us much about the inner spirit of that movement. Taken together with the earlier works on Menshevism by Abraham Ascher, Samuel Baron, Israel Getzler, and Leopold Haimson, Bergman's biography of Vera Zasulich, a work of sober and eloquent analysis, reminds us once again of the importance of personalities, individual minds, and character in the shaping of the Russian revolutionary movement.

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HORST GÜNTHER LINKE. *Das zarische Russland und der Erster Weltkrieg: Diplomatie und Kriegsziele, 1914–1917*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink. 1982. Pp. 343. DM 88.

C. Jay Smith's *The Russian Struggle for Power, 1914–1917* appeared in 1956. Since then a number of American, German, Polish, and Soviet historians

have published specialized studies on aspects of Russian diplomacy during the First World War. Horst Günther Linke's Bonn University *Habilitationsschrift* represents the first attempt since 1956 to provide a general treatment of tsarist Russia's wartime diplomacy, 1914–17. Linke has been able to locate new materials on this subject in British, French, German, and Soviet archives. In the Soviet Union he was permitted to consult materials in the collections of the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the Council of Ministers at the Central State Historical Archives in Leningrad.

One particular merit of Linke's study is its demonstration of how political and economic constraints limited Russia's freedom of action in conducting wartime diplomacy. Russian diplomats, to be sure, hoped to make use of the war to strengthen the empire's economic, political, and strategic position in Europe at the expense of Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Turkey. But could Russia reasonably expect to replace Germany as the dominant power in central Europe and to establish hegemony in the Balkans and the Straits on the basis of an underdeveloped economy, an inadequately equipped army, and a society that was both unstable and divided? Russia's prospects for achieving economic leadership in Europe were not good, as Linke points out, for Russia was heavily indebted to England and France and showed little sign of being able to resume its prewar pattern of rapid capitalistic expansion without Germany as principal trade partner and without the assistance of German and other foreign technology and entrepreneurial skills.

Internally, the difficulty the tsarist government experienced in coordinating the war effort and in dealing with the political opposition and nationality problem did not create favorable conditions for the realization of Russian war aims. The Polish problem, which Linke discusses in detail, illustrates this point particularly well. It was clear that the major territorial gains Russia might make after an Allied victory in Europe would be in areas populated by Poles (East and West Prussia, Poznań, Upper Silesia, and western Galicia). Such gains, however, presupposed some sort of rapprochement and cooperation between Russians and Poles and abandonment of the repressive policy that had been followed in Congress Poland since 1863. Nicholas II and his most trusted advisers feared, however, that the granting of some degree of autonomy to the Poles could force the government to make similar concessions to other nationalities and, in this way, might undermine the unity and strength of the Russian empire. Several projects for reform in Congress Poland were prepared during World War I, but none of them was ever approved before Nicholas II abdicated in March 1917.

Linke's study is especially welcome because of the

attention he gives to the complex issues that made decision making so difficult for Russian diplomats and government leaders between 1914 and 1917. His treatment of these issues is well documented and convincing, even though he would seem to err—as did his predecessors—in accepting Maurice Paléologue's version of "Sazonov's Thirteen Points" as an official articulation of Russian war aims (see W. A. Renzi, *AHR* 88: 47–57). Linke has written, however, what must now be considered the standard work on Russian diplomacy and war aims during the years 1914–17.

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E. H. CARR. *Twilight of the Comintern, 1930–1935*. New York: Pantheon. 1982. Pp. xi, 461. \$22.50.

E. H. Carr died before the publication of this twilight volume in his massive *History of Soviet Russia*. That work will stand as a flawed monument to the scholar who produced it. It was massive because it expanded outward as Carr moved haltingly toward the Stalinist era, writing three volumes for the Bolshevik revolution from 1917–23, four for 1924–26, and six for 1926–29 (fourteen volumes in all, counting *The Interregnum*, 1923–24). The series was flawed because the author identified too strongly with the winners in history, often seeming to be an apologist for Lenin or Stalin, as he had earlier and in other works sometimes seemed to be an apologist for Hitler. The work is a monument because it is far superior to other general histories of the Soviet Union in its range and depth. This volume in particular displays more of Carr's virtues than his vices.

It is fitting that Carr's last days were devoted to the dying gasps of the Communist International, for it was one of the subjects best suited to his idiosyncratic perspective and research methods. Carr believed that the history of Soviet Russia required an exhaustive use of all published Soviet primary sources and he gave little credence to Western scholarship, frequently for good reasons. Until very recently most of the research and memoir material published in the West was distorted by tendentious anti-Soviet or anti-Stalinist feeling, especially in the history of the international communist movement. In order to escape that bias, Carr scrupulously avoided grand interpretive schemes or oversimplified Western stereotypes, like the world-wide communist conspiracy or the presumption that all Soviet leaders were paranoid monsters. But the result was that his work frequently seemed to some pro-Soviet rather than objective. His strengths were his clear prose style and his willingness to sift every scrap of

evidence before passing judgment, sometimes giving Soviet leaders a more sympathetic treatment than most Western observers would like. His weakness was that his focus on action at the top of the political pyramid made him indifferent to social or national history. As a historian of the Communist International, his strengths outweighed his weaknesses. For that subject has been explored for the most part only by strip mining, that is, by superficial and impressionistic accounts written by former communists or Western polemicists, works that scraped the surface of the subject. The history of the international communist movement has long awaited a scholar willing to sink a deep shaft and follow the rich veins below the surface before passing judgment on the inner politics of this conspiratorial organization. There has long been a pressing need for a probing and reasonably objective account of politics at the summit of the Communist International and Carr was well suited to the task of providing it. In some ways, however, the volumes in the *History of Soviet Russia* devoted to the Communist International are curiously out of place, for they are world history rather than Soviet history. They stand apart from the rest of the *History of Soviet Russia* and should be judged on their own merits. Carr recognized that fact by giving this volume a separate title, even though it continues where volume 14 of the *History* leaves off.

The consequences of the Great Depression dominate this volume. That event should have been a bonanza for international communism. As many historians have already pointed out, the Depression seemed to vindicate the Marxist claim that capitalism had run its course and was producing human misery rather than dynamic economic growth. The successes of the first five-year plan in the Soviet Union reinforced this impression by providing full employment and rapid economic growth in communist Russia while the capitalist West sank into its slump. But Carr goes beyond this simplistic view to identify the perils to Soviet communism. The Great Depression deprived the first five-year plan of trade, markets, and technical assistance. It heightened tensions between all European countries and seemed to strengthen the possibility of an anticommunist crusade to divert attention from the failures of Western capitalism. The most convincing proof of this new threat was the rise of new, militaristic, anticommunist, fascist political movements.

Historians have often mourned the paralysis of the German communist movement during the rise of Hitler. Trapped in the Stalinist dogmas of "class against class" and "social fascism," the communist movement in general seemed to contribute to the rise of fascism by underestimating its strength and durability and by failing to unite in the ranks with other socialist parties against the common enemy.

Most historians believe that the popular front against fascism should have come before Hitler, not after. With consummate skill, Carr guides the reader through the forest of concerns that led the Comintern to impotence. Comintern leaders and Stalin spoke of fascism as a movement that would pave the way to proletarian revolution by making public and visible the bankruptcy of its program. The remarkable gains of the German Communist party in membership and votes seemed to bear out this theory. Though a close relationship with Germany had been maintained for the decade since Rapallo, Soviet leaders had already become alarmed by German revisionism with regard to the Versailles Treaty. But it would not be until Hitler came to power that most Comintern leaders recognized the unique danger to Russia and communism posed by the Nazi movement. Carr attributes this blindness, at least in part, to the crisis in leadership in the Russian party. No decisive shift in Comintern policy was likely to come from Stalin when his own position in the Russian party was being seriously questioned at home because of the disastrous consequences of collectivization.

Carr also revises the traditional stereotype of a cowed and submissive Comintern. In the absence of any Russian directives in 1934, member parties were forced back on their own resources. When the initiative came for a popular front, it began with non-Russian leaders of the Comintern, like the Bulgarian, George Dimitrov; the Finn, Otto Kuusinen; the Italian, Palmiro Togliatti; and the Frenchman, Maurice Thorez. The French Communist party began to apply the policy at home even before it had gained decisive approval from the executive committee of the Comintern in December 1934. Even Stalin, according to Thorez, finally came out in favor of the policy and congratulated Thorez personally. The representatives of the old line in the Comintern perished in the purges, and those of the new went on to brilliant careers in their own parties. The absence of Russian leadership, Carr argues, was not so much a matter of tolerance as indifference. After the Seventh Comintern Congress in July 1935 no more were held and the international parties had to find their own way without much guidance from Moscow.

After staking out the major themes of Comintern history in this period, Carr provides capsule histories of the major Communist parties in the remaining two-thirds of the book. Some have objected to this format, protesting that it interrupts the chronological flow and makes the narrative episodic. In my opinion it is a necessary expedient in trying to deal with such a bewildering diversity of political movements and countries, ranging from the Far East to Spain. The book is a virtuoso performance, giving, as it does, a remarkably clear and authorita-

tive picture of the complex forces governing communist behavior in a period of world history dominated by intense and dramatic change and tragedy. It is a source of regret that Carr could not have lived on to trace the history of international communism during and after World War II.

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A. S. BLINOV. *Tsentral'nyi sovet fabzavkomov Petrograda, 1917–1918 gg.* [The Central Council of Factory Committees in Petrograd, 1917–18]. Moscow: Profizdat. 1982. Pp. 246. 75 k.

The title of this little book sums up its subject: the Petrograd Central Council of Factory Committees during 1917–18. It is the first monograph devoted to the Central Council, and there are several reasons why it might promise to be interesting. The Central Council was one of those key mass organizations that the Bolsheviks used to propel themselves to power; indeed, it became in the early summer of 1917 the first such body that they dominated. The complicated relationship between the Bolshevik leadership, the trade unions, and the factory committees in an interesting one and has led to stimulating research in the West (notably S. A. Smith's *Red Petrograd*). (The controversial nature of the relationship helps explain the delay in the appearance of a Soviet monograph.) And the relationship between communist governments and independent workers' organizations is a topical one for the early 1980s.

Given this potential, the book is a disappointment. It is a textbook aimed at trade unionists and students rather than an academic audience. The length is only about fifty-five thousand words, and much of this limited space is devoted to rehearsing the general events of the revolution or dealing with aspects of the workers' movement that have been more than adequately covered in earlier Soviet research. One suspects that another reason that it has taken so long to produce a monograph on the Central Council is simply that there is little information available on this rather ephemeral organization in the Soviet archives. Blinov uses archival material, but only to develop minor points; the great majority of his footnotes refer to published documents and Soviet secondary works.

The book's greatest shortcoming is its glossing over of the interaction between the new state, the trade unions, and the factory committees in the winter of 1917–18. Relations were often very strained, but little of this emerges in Blinov's book. Even the disappearance in March 1918 of the Central Council—swallowed up by the *Sovmarkhoz* (Economic Council) of the Northern Region—re-

mains unexplained; the same is true of too many aspects of the Central Council's activities.

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JAMES THROWER. *Marxist-Leninist "Scientific Atheism" and the Study of Religion and Atheism in the USSR.* (Religion and Reason, number 25.) New York: Mouton; distributed by Walter de Gruyter, New York. 1983. Pp. xxviii, 500. \$60.00.

James Thrower's *Marxist-Leninist "Scientific Atheism" and the Study of Religion and Atheism in the USSR* is of value to anyone interested in the contribution of Soviet scholarship to the fields of religion and atheism. Thrower recounts the well-known views of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on religion and then launches into a description of the developments within the Marxist-Leninist critique of religion that have occurred in the Soviet Union since 1917. He believes, correctly, that Soviet scholarship on religion has been neglected by Western scholars because of its lack of objectivity, scholarly standards, or independence from censorship. Although the author admits such problems do diminish scholarly work in the USSR, he nonetheless argues that the Soviets have provided insights, particularly regarding the source and staying power of religion. He thinks they have done valuable work in explaining the role that ignorance (especially in nonindustrial societies), alienation (in industrial and urban societies), and ideology (the false front of the exploiting class) play in sustaining religion. He does not hide the fact that he accepts the Marxist view on religion, but he readily admits that Marxism and Marxist-Leninist "scientific atheism" have not yet been able to explain why religion answers certain human needs, especially the longing for a divine standard of justice, and why some men persist in seeking fulfillment in a transcendent existence. He concludes that more work has to be done on the phenomenon of religion, and that while religion will continue to decline, it will probably never wither away.

On its own terms, the book is a worthwhile endeavor. Its assumptions, however, are basically the assumptions of Marxism-Leninism, and if one does not accept those, the book is found to be wanting. Thrower assumes that Marxism-Leninism is a science, whereas it is in fact an ideology that seeks to impose by force certain set abstract principles. It has, to use a Marxist term, a false front. It argues that it will bring salvation on earth, and it has built a political and social liturgy and a pantheon of saints to support its doctrines. But instead Marxism-Leninism has produced terrible and ruthless tyrannies. The author sadly lacks a sense of self-intro-

spection. He separates the antireligious and atheist precepts of Marxism-Leninism from the political realities of Soviet Russia, not seeing the relationship between the value system and the institutions of Soviet society. He rejects, of course, the concept of natural law, on which moral and intellectual virtue in Western civilization are based, and upholds in its stead Marxism-Leninism—but then he does not deal with the consequences of such a viewpoint. Thrower never seems to realize that he and the espousers of Marxist-Leninist “scientific atheism” are just as much believers (in some cases, fanatical believers) as the religious believers they examine and critique.

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NEAR EAST

HANS MÜLLER. *Die Kunst des Sklavenkaufs: Nach arabischen, persischen und türkischen Ratgebern vom 10. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert.* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, number 57.) Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz. 1980. Pp. xiii, 246.

EHUD R. TOLEDANO. *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression, 1840–1890.* (Princeton Studies on the Near East.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1982. Pp. xix, 307 \$28.50.

In the several decades since Charles Verlinden began studying and writing about slavery in non-American societies, much excellent comparative work on slavery has been accomplished. Yet Islamic slavery, which of all the slave “systems” had the longest life and may have involved the greatest number of slaves, has yet to attract the serious and systematic attention it deserves. Perhaps Islamic slavery itself requires a comparative approach, existing for more than a millenium and thriving on at least three continents.

Most studies of Islamic slavery approach the subject only tangentially or focus on one or another aspect taken somewhat out of context. Only three relatively short essays consider Islamic slavery as a whole: Robert Brunschvig’s “Abd” in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*; Hans Müller’s “Sklaven” in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*; and Frederick Cooper’s introduction to his book on plantation slavery in East Africa. The absence of a solid “core” study on Islamic slavery presents difficulties for those producing specialized studies, as can be seen in the two books under review here.

Hans Müller, the author of “Sklaven” mentioned above, presents an analysis and survey of essays on slaves, slavery, and the slave trade by Islamic authors over an 800-year period. These essays, the

earliest of which are in Arabic, and which later appear also in Persian and Turkish, consider slavery from a variety of perspectives and were written for many different purposes. Müller organizes these works within these two frameworks (perspectives and purposes) and provides an invaluable service for historians wishing to examine slavery in an Islamic context. Müller defines the two purposes: (1) literary, including entertainment, philosophy, and various elements of science; and (2) handbooks or counsels for those engaged in buying or selling slaves; and the many perspectives (for example, ethics, economics, cosmography, physiognomy) that appear in works in both of the first two categories, in ways that greatly facilitate our understanding of the subject. He tells us a lot about the authors, and analyzes carefully their written contributions.

Müller emphasizes two writers in the midst of several dozen whom he discusses: Amṣātī, living in Cairo throughout most of the fifteenth century, and the sixteenth-century Ottoman writer, Kinalizade, who provided, in his view, the “ideal compilation” of medical/physiognomic with ethnic/economic concerns. It is clear that the subject of slavery was of great interest to Islamic readers; and the quantity of literature this subject stimulated in Islam far exceeded that in the Judeo-Christian world. This reviewer would have included, along with Kinalizade, Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, whose *Meva’idü’n-Nefais* is a more sophisticated and complete discussion of slavery in the late sixteenth-century Ottoman empire.

Ehud R. Toledano’s study of the end of the slave trade in the Ottoman portion of the Islamic world avoids almost completely the issue of slavery as an institution in its social and economic role. The author makes clear his focus: “it deals with the Ottoman slave trade and its suppression, not with Ottoman, nor Islamic slavery and its abolition; it emphasizes the political, diplomatic, social and economic aspects, and only marginally addresses the ideational, intellectual, and psychological angles” (pp. xvii–xviii). Toledano further argues that the Ottoman slave-trading system can be “best understood in its Ottoman socio-economic and cultural framework” (p. xvii). The virtual absence of discussion of slavery itself, as the end of the slave-trading system, as an institution that had a very long historical development in the Ottoman empire and before, and which as a result played a singularly important role in Ottoman society, economy, and culture, makes it very difficult to understand the vitality of slavery in the face of much European and even Ottoman pressure to end it.

Toledano provides a very good analysis of the operations of the slave-trading system, in both its Caucasian and African branches, as it operated in the nineteenth century. It would have helped greatly to place both of these branches in their historical

context; both operated for centuries before the one under consideration. The bulk of Toledano's book concerns the efforts of European, mainly British, officialdom to persuade the Ottomans to end the slave trade; the reactions of Ottoman officials to this pressure (akin in many ways to contemporary efforts by some Western countries to influence "human rights" policies in developing countries); and the ultimate success in the trade's abolition. As an exercise in diplomatic history, this book is very good indeed.

The study's ahistorical nature produces some odd statements, however. "If we center on the third quarter of the 19th century as the period during which the slave trade to the Ottoman Empire was at its peak" (p. 90) is certainly a wrong premise. Slaves passing through the Crimea in the mid-sixteenth century to Istanbul were twice as many as the figures Toledano provides for the "peak" in the nineteenth. Toledano, in his conclusion, points out that "accepted by custom, perpetuated by tradition, and sanctioned by religion, slavery was an integral part of Ottoman society." This reviewer wishes that the author had made a greater effort in the text of his study to demonstrate this point of view.

Both the Müller and Toledano books should be read, however, by those interested in slavery in its comparative aspects, and by historians of the Ottoman empire and the Islamic world. They should engender further study, and make as clear as possible the need for a basic study of Islamic slavery.

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JOHANNES REISSNER. *Ideologie und Politik der Muslimbrüder Syriens: Von den Wahlen 1947 bis zum Verbot unter Adīb al-Šīshaklī 1952*. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, number 55.) Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz. 1980. Pp. xii, 455.

This study of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood is divided into four sections and concentrates on a narrow time-frame, the five-year period from 1947 to 1952, when the brotherhood was finally suppressed under Adīb al-Šīshaklī. As a prelude, section one deals with "Social Change and Westernization," in which Johannes Reissner gives an extremely useful account of Syrian politics from the end of Ottoman rule in 1918, Syrian hopes for full independence, the imposition of a French mandate against the wishes of the population, and the eventual acquisition of independence in 1946. Not only does the author furnish a skillful analysis here—based, like the entire study, on Arabic sources—of the rise of various social classes from the "big families," the Azms, Kaylānīs, and Barāzīs, down through the middle and lower-middle classes and

the workers' movement to the ulema; he also shows that this last group was no longer following its traditional role, as it had under the Ottomans, but was fragmenting and losing much of its power and influence. Neither were the Sufi orders active; they appeared to be in decay throughout Syria.

Part two is concerned with the organization, spread, and ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria. It seems clear that the Syrian organization was never a branch of the Egyptian group, but rather an independent development, arising from a political club (*jam'īya*). Yet it did have—particularly at the end of its existence—close ties to Hasan al-Bannā's organization. Reissner discusses a number of these Syrian political clubs and finds common factors among them; but the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood had by far the best leader, Mustafā al-Sibā'ī, educated at Al-Azhar in Cairo and both a prolific writer and active chief of the growing organization. Reissner shows that the ideas of Sibā'ī and his fellow ideologues appealed primarily to the lower-middle-class Sunnīs of the Syrian towns and cities and that in many respects, the brotherhood's program resembled that of the earlier *Salafīya*.

In part three, the author traces the growth of an antagonism between the Syrian government and the Muslim Brotherhood, culminating in the brotherhood's temporary suppression in 1949 under Husnī al-Za'im, and then once again—permanently—under the dictator Shīshaklī three years later. To some degree, the Syrian brotherhood was a casualty of the defeat of the Arab armies in Palestine and their volunteer allies, another of those features of an old political landscape associated with the massive failures of "pre-revolutionary" regimes.

In part four, Reissner deals with Islamic socialism and policies of neutrality, with a long but useful discussion of the meaning of Islamic socialism, then the problem of Islam as a state religion, and finally the issue of Palestine and how Arabs could exploit great-power rivalries over this matter. A bibliography, short biographies of leading Syrian politicians, an index and some appendixes (with German translations) of important political documents round off this superior study.

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CHRISTINE MOSS HELMS. *The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of Political Identity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1981. Pp. 313. \$28.00.

More than any other state in the region, Saudi Arabia epitomizes Western mythology about the Arabs. The imagery of religious fanaticism and political pragmatism against a backdrop of stark deserts, marauding Bedouin tribes, and omnipotent

sheikhs that feeds the mythology is particularly associated with the history of Saudi Arabia. Moreover, as Christine Moss Helms observes, "the history of Saudi Arabia is generally presented as synonymous with Al-Saud history."

The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia is a welcome addition to the limited literature available on Saudi Arabia. Rejecting the traditional view that interprets history "as a product of powerful individuals and of international machinations," Helms attempts to analyze the formation of Saudi Arabia as a geopolitical entity in the context of the unique social, economic, political, military, and religious environment of the Arabian peninsula. The result is an ecological approach to the evolution of the Saudi state that divides its development into sets of internal (part 1) and external (part 2) factors.

In part 1, composed of four chapters, Helms systematically examines the relationship between Central Arabia's geography and the social, economic, and political relationships that challenged the consolidation of centralized power. Social adaptation to the unique environmental conditions of Arabia resulted in the development of patterns of decentralized political authority based on segmented tribal organization and a hierarchical social structure based on pragmatic dependent and interdependent tribal alliances. The tribal segmentary system, the basis of the flexible sociopolitical structure, made the establishment of centralized political authority in Arabia difficult to maintain, as both the Ottomans and British learned.

Abd al-Aziz b. Abd al-Rahman Al-Faisal Al-Saud succeeded in establishing centralized authority by breaking down the status hierarchies among the tribes and the traditional patterns of authority within and between nomadic and settled populations. The basis of this process was the effective union of political-military organization and religious ideology through the propagation of the Wahhabi doctrine. Helms carefully examines the basic tenets of Wahhabism and relates them to Saudi politics in the formative years of the state. The development and role of the *Ikhwan* as a military and police force and Saudi taxation policy, both fundamentally related to Wahhabism, are examined as the major mechanisms of the process.

In part 2, also composed of four chapters, Helms examines the factors of foreign intervention and internal dissent that culminated in the geopolitical formation of Saudi Arabia and the evolution of its political identity. The mandate system of nation-states imposed on the Middle East by Western powers after the First World War profoundly influenced Abd al-Aziz's policies of expansion by bringing him into border conflicts with Britain as well as with local and regional authorities. Helms examines four of Abd al-Aziz's territorial disputes—al-

Khurma and Turaba, Iraq, Kuwait, and Transjordan—as illustrations of the issues of legitimate authority, rights to territory, allegiance of populations, tribal raiding, and emigration that were of primary importance to the Arab leaders involved and of secondary importance to Britain.

Of special significance in these territorial disputes was Abd al-Aziz's use of the *Ikhwan* to further the expansion and consolidation of Saudi authority. As a result, however, the *Ikhwan* were emerging as a powerful force in Central Arabian politics. Ultimately, Abd al-Aziz found himself sandwiched between the demands of the *Ikhwan* on one side to continue the expansion of Wahhabism, and the British on the other to stop *Ikhwan* raids across the borders of territories under its mandate or protection. Saudi acceptance of the nation-state system provoked an *Ikhwan* rebellion against Abd al-Aziz. In the final chapter, Helms examines the nature and consequences of the *Ikhwan* rebellion on the formation of the Saudi state.

The Cohesion of Saudi Arabia is a scholarly study integrated through the framework of a systematic theoretical approach. By focusing attention on the interplay between politics and the life patterns of people, Helms emphasizes the mundane over the sensational aspects of Saudi Arabia's emergence. It lays the groundwork for a deeper set of questions and a broader perspective in the study of this anomalous country.

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AFRICA

PAUL E. LOVEJOY. *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*. (African Studies Series, number 36.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 349. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$12.95.

The study of slavery within precolonial Africa, a result of the simultaneous development of research in African history and New World slavery, has produced in recent years a very impressive body of scholarship. Paul E. Lovejoy was at the center of this work almost from its inception, and his synthetic study is, thus, authoritative and thorough. Readers can learn a great deal from it about the various forms of slavery within Africa and their relationship to economic contact with the outside world, as well as the methods by which slaves were acquired, transferred from one owner to another within and outside Africa, and emancipated before and after the beginnings of colonial rule.

Such an achievement is sufficient to earn high marks for this volume. Lovejoy is less successful in a

second and equally difficult task: bringing his material together in a coherent argument. There is, after all, no one system of slavery in Africa, so the problem becomes one of identifying its various "transformations" with either a single external influence or a theoretical notion of social change. Lovejoy attempts both tacks, but apparently without full conviction.

The front flap blurb states that this book "is particularly concerned with the relationship between the external slave trade and the spread of slavery within Africa." The subsequent text pays considerable attention to the role of foreign demands for slaves and commodities produced with slave labor. The major point the author makes here is that Africans responded to such commercial opportunities by adapting slavery to their own purposes, which ran a considerable gamut, from expansion of household or kinship units to the establishment of new institutions for increasing production or political and social control. But Lovejoy never claims that this is a particularly novel argument nor does he carry it farther to suggest that the specific forms of slavery within Africa are determined by some kind of capitalist world-system. He exerts greater effort in pursuing the more autonomous issue of an African "slave mode of production."

Despite frequent utterances of this phrase, with its Marxist implications, Lovejoy tells us right away that "'slave mode of production' is meant to be a descriptive term whose theoretical significance is not developed here" (p. ii). In the final chapter he states that "The lack of transformation in the productive process should not disguise the transformation in enslavement and trade" (p. 275). In other words, whatever the slave mode of production describes, it is not production, since this does not change when carried out by slaves. Such a conclusion is consistent with Lovejoy's earlier statements (and silence) on the topic of production, but it creates a certain tension between the rhetoric and the substance of the whole work. If slavery really represents an expansion but not a transformation of the core relationships within African political economy, it might be more enlightening to recognize this situation as a point of departure. Africa's integration into the world economy then appears far more limited, and the social formations that include extensive slavery remain less distinguished from those that preceded them in Africa than from the capitalistic plantations of the New World, with which they were commercially linked.

The problems with Lovejoy's approach become evident in his nonetheless very valuable chapter on early colonial emancipation. Much of this section is dedicated to a convincing demonstration that slaves themselves, rather than European administrators,

took primary responsibility for the achievement of freedom. The explanations for this process, however, seem to miss the point, since they stress "contradictions between different modes of production" (p. 247). Instead, the success of slave revolts and the persistence of slavery should indicate both the weak hold that African masters had over their slaves and the compatibility of this not-so-peculiar institution with the demands of external capitalism, both before and during colonialism.

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BRUCE FETTER. *Colonial Rule and Regional Imbalance in Central Africa*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1983. Pp. xv, 223. \$17.00.

Did colonial rule benefit the colonized or the colonizer? In seeking an answer to this ambivalent question Bruce Fetter goes back—as any good historian might—to the Talmudic record of Roman rule in Palestine. The opposing positions taken by Rabbi Judah and Rabbi Simeon on whether or not "all that the Romans made they made for themselves," including "marketplaces for harlots," (p. 1) provide Fetter with a point of entry into his subject as well as a concluding philosophical thought about the cruel fate that befell Rabbi Simeon (renamed Shimon) for "his remarks critical of the colonial state" (p. 203). Much of what the author has to say between the entry and exit of these rabbinical figures has its own Talmudic quality: the commentaries on the commentaries of "dependencistas" and "modernizationists" (*sic*)—not to mention that *rara avis*, the "balanced urbanizationists" (p. 25)—strike this reviewer as so much irrelevant babble. At any rate the commentaries have little to do with the spatial dimensions that the author proposes to explore, but these, in turn, seem equally unhelpful in elucidating the question raised at the outset.

Fetter's argument, in brief, is as follows: whether the benefits of colonial rule accrued in the main to the colonized or the colonizer requires attention to the spatial discontinuities that have accompanied the penetration of a Western infrastructure and technology. Specifically, "if public works were located away from concentrations of African populations we can conclude that the expenditures were made without reference to the needs of the aboriginal inhabitants" (p. 2). Thus, much of the argument about the effects of colonial rule must revolve around a spatial analysis of colonial history. Malawi, Zambia, and Zaire are the quarries from which the author extracts the empirical data to substantiate his thesis. Although the trip is highly rewarding, at no time does the reader get the impression that he is headed for a specific theoretical destination.

The problem, in a nutshell, is that Fetter proceeds from a false premise, namely, that the costs and benefits of colonial rule for the colonized and colonizer can be inferred from the uneven spread of modernization. Spatial variables are, of course, crucial to an understanding of disparities in the distribution of social and economic benefits among Africans; yet, their relevance for analyzing the roots of unequal exchange between Africans and Europeans is nowhere clearly established. As it stands, the author's argument adds little to what we already have learned from Karl Deutsch's discussion of the effects of social mobilization on national integration. Fetter's gloss on "modernizationists" and "dependencistas" is cruelly revealing of his ignorance of the basic literature on the subject, and what little he has to say about people such as Poulantzas and Wallerstein appears oddly irrelevant to the crux of his argument.

Yet, for the reader interested in the "use of maps from the geographical literature" (p. 16), something can be learned from the author's discussion of the merits and demerits of choroplethic, dasymetric, and isoplethic maps (p. 17). These, unfortunately, are of little help in charting our way through the complexities of spatial discontinuities or, for that matter, through the Talmudic debate initiated by our friendly rabbis.

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CYRIL A. HROMNÍK. *Indo-Africa: Towards a New Understanding of the History of Sub-Saharan Africa*. Cape Town: Juta. 1981. Pp. xxv, 168. R 15.75.

Cyril A. Hromník, a Czechoslovakian historian currently working in South Africa, presents in *Indo-Africa* a superficially very compelling reinterpretation of southern African history. Arguing that "the entire complex known . . . as the Negro Bantu Iron Age is an ideological concept which suits the prevalent trends of political development in Africa," he advances his own theory that he is convinced takes into account the "wider context of African history" (p. 81). He believes that Africanists have been too insular and have placed too much reliance on insubstantial archaeological evidence. He particularly regards the association between metalworking and Bantu-speaking Africans as nonproven. Using comparative vocabulary analysis and classical, medieval, and Portuguese texts from Europe and Asia, he suggests that southern Indians came to Africa to exploit gold, perhaps as early as the second millennium B.C. Indonesian Bugi were brought in as laborers and together with the Indians were responsible for such ruins as Great Zimbabwe, which he insists on calling Sonakota. The Black Africans,

termed Bantu Negroids throughout the book, were later used as laborers. The advanced technology created by the Asian immigrants began to decline after A.D. 1000 as a result of this infusion.

Throughout the book Hromník points out how seemingly Bantu words and place names, even as far west as Nigeria where he sees an Akkadian word origin for Nok, really have Indian derivations. He provides a salutary message about the need to be aware of the Indian presence and its possible linguistic contribution to various Bantu languages. His warnings about trying to connect present-day languages to rather insecure archaeological evidence should be heeded. His book, however, is more representative of outdated theories of Asian involvement in African history than of a progressive redirection in African historiography. He presents no tangible proof for a sizable Indian presence in southern Africa. He attacks the archaeologists for producing so few Negro skeletal remains associated with first millennium A.D. metal-age sites but fails to mention that no recognizable Indian skeletal remains have been found in Africa. There is certainly no evidence of gold exploitation before the first millennium A.D.

In order to prove his case Hromník makes several completely untenable statements, of which it is possible to mention only a few. First, he describes rock paintings of Orientals (p. 126), presumably done by late Stone Age hunters-gatherers, which he never bothers to illustrate. Second, he claims that beads are "the most numerous single item found in archaeological sites" (p. 80), whereas ceramics, which he rejects as evidence, are far more abundant. Beads are found on very few first-millennium sites, and often in small numbers. What he does not tell the reader is that Oriental imports have been found on relatively few interior sites and that the exotic ceramics, numbered only in hundreds of sherds, come from the Persian Gulf and China, but not India, and date largely from the second millennium A.D., when Arab seafaring was at its height. He totally rejects the Arab presence, even though it is supported by recent archaeological work on the coast. Unconvincingly, he explains that the Indian presence has been obscured by the secret behavior of Indian merchants. Third, ignoring such people as the Yao and Nyamwezi, he claims that "long distance trade was quite alien to the Negroid Bantu" (p. 116). Finally, he rejects any suggestion that Africans could have developed metalworking within sub-Saharan Africa. This last contention shows the parochialism of his own interests, wherein West Africa becomes relegated in importance to South Africa in his polemical views of African history. His position reveals an ignorance of the wealth of new evidence that clearly traces copper metallurgy in the Sahel back to the second millennium B.C. and iron

working back to nearly 1000 B.C. in both West and Central Africa, far too early for it to have been brought from southern India.

Hromník, although using a more scholarly style than previous denigrators of African achievements in technology and agriculture, is, nevertheless, just as reactionary. At times he resorts to a reliance on outdated South African sources, particularly those dealing with blood groups and Hottentot origins. He cites a thirty-year-old textbook, Sonia Cole's *Prehistory of East Africa*, out of context to try to prove that iron hoes were not used by East African Bantu speakers until relatively recent times (p. 86). He relies on work done by Al Idrisi, an Arab scholar who did not visit eastern Africa, as a prime medieval source and, thus, overlooks studies by several scholars who did on-site research. Such a highly selective approach to source material clearly reduces the credibility of his arguments. Only by answering his valid strictures, however, will African scholarship emerge strengthened and will untenable, but possibly more romantic, theories be shown as completely without substance.

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RAY A. KEA. *Settlements, Trade, and Politics in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1982. Pp. xvii, 475. \$29.50.

This substantial work should enliven the interpretation of the early modern period in Africa. It focuses on the nature and evolution of the domestic social order in the Gold Coast in the time before slaves became Africa's primary export, when this was the region of most intensive European contact with Africa. Ray A. Kea is Braudelien in his attention to the structures of everyday life, Marxian in his concern with elaborating laws of social motion, and meticulous in his distillation of the voluminous but disparate primary sources on the Gold Coast.

Kea constructs the image of a veritable seventeenth-century golden age, whose hallmarks contrasted sharply with those of the succeeding militaristic era. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the production and export of gold sustained the growth of towns and the coalescence of small but robust polities. Merchants dominated the towns and surrounded themselves with artisans. Kings collected money rent from peasants; peasants sold their produce to townspeople to obtain gold dust. Slaves imported into the region (mostly from Benin and Ardra, to the east) worked as miners in both pits and placer fields and produced agricultur-

al surplus on the outskirts of the towns. Population and output grew steadily, while political life centered on shifting alliances among kingdoms; warfare, carried on by small, elite armies, was only minimally destructive. The commercial class dominated Gold Coast society, and its most successful representatives were the Akani merchants of Assin, who gained control of the bulk of gold exports.

But the emergence of large and centralized states signaled the end of this social order: Akwamu grew dramatically from the 1670s and was followed by Denkyira, Asante, and Fante. Military leaders turned to the levée en masse and firearms, and their rise to dominance brought such changes as the decline of the towns, displacement of artisans to the countryside, the replacement of peasants' money rent with payments in kind, and the replacement of slave labor with free labor in the mines. Even the flows of gold and slaves came to be reversed—the region began exporting slaves and even imported gold for a time.

Most of the data and many of the interpretive lines are new. Kea presents his material in three sections of roughly equal length, addressing in turn the institutions of settlement, politics, and commerce. The numerous maps, tables, extensive notes on sources in seven European languages (plus Twi and Ga), and the references to secondary theoretical and historical works combine to provide an immensely erudite study. It is not, for all that, an easy book to read. Kea has eschewed the narrative approach in all but occasional summaries in order to present a topical, cross-sectional portrait of Gold Coast society in the seventeenth-century period of "expanded reproduction." Thus, since the section on commerce follows that on politics, his analysis of the Akani merchants follows by three chapters that of the military leaders who caused their eclipse. Even his descriptions are at times difficult to assimilate because, given the thoroughness of the analytical framework into which he has organized his vast array of material, the details of evidence tend to be overshadowed by the categories into which they are set. In demonstrating, for instance, that peasants paid land rent in gold to their rulers—the crucial link in his depiction of the tributary mode of production—he falls short of showing the reader how precisely his sources verified that such land rent was the general practice.

Kea's new picture of the seventeenth-century Gold Coast, while presented in a complex fashion, is nevertheless both provocative and broadly convincing. His striking contrast of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century social structures raises compelling questions about the cause of such a transformation. Kea tends to emphasize the contribution of domestic social conflicts to this change, but it may be that an external factor—the quadrupling of Atlantic

slave prices between 1690 and 1730—also contributed significantly to the transformation. For this issue and such others as the development of towns, the gold trade, and land rent, Kea has drawn together evidence on the domestic aspects of social change, but he has left the door open to setting the analysis into regional or intercontinental context. This important book must be studied rather than read, but it is worth the effort.

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ROBERT O. COLLINS. *Shadows in the Grass: Britain in the Southern Sudan, 1918–1956*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 494. \$40.00.

Shadows in the Grass is the fourth book in Robert O. Collins's series on the modern history of the southern Sudan, the previous volumes being *The Southern Sudan, 1883–1898* (1962), *King Leopold, England, and the Upper Nile* (1968), and *Land beyond the Rivers: The Southern Sudan, 1898–1918* (1971). The new volume surveys the political history of the British administration from the end of World War I to the end of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in 1955. It is a long book, the culmination of twenty-five years of research, and with *Land beyond the Rivers* constitutes a historical survey of the Condominium south.

It is impossible in a short review to summarize Collins's treatment of the modern history of the southern Sudan. In chapter 1 he deals with the immediate postwar period and provides some retrospective treatment of the first two decades of Condominium rule. Chapter 2 is concerned mainly with political events outside the south. In subsequent chapters Collins deals with familiar themes in the Sudan's history: "pacification," the introduction of indirect rule, "Southern Policy," economic development, border disputes, education and language, the rush to independence after World War II, and so forth. Collins is at his best when unraveling and reweaving the tangled strands of local, provincial, regional, national, and imperial history. Very complicated political issues are elucidated with a disarming deftness that will be admired by historians who have concentrated only on local or imperial affairs.

Any book of this length will have errors of detail, and *Shadows* is no exception. These are found in nomenclature, spelling and grammar, neologisms, terminology, dating, and occasionally in other matters of fact. Some readers may find the exposition too casual and personal, the use of metaphor too extensive, or that historiographical convention has been sacrificed for readability. For example, the repeated reference to high officials by nicknames, the descriptions of their political activities by reference to their careers as Oxbridge "Blues," and the generally conversational tone may be thought inap-

propriate. In this and other respects the book will inevitably be compared with Lilian Passmore Sanderson and G. N. Sanderson's *Education, Religion, and Politics in Southern Sudan* (1981), a more detailed and conventional account. But it is no mean achievement to hold the reader's attention for over four hundred fifty pages of text, as Collins does.

Because Collins does not shrink from conclusions and generalizations, there is much in the book that will be debated. Only a few instances may be suggested here. Collins restates the view that Egyptian *mamurs* in the south "frequently abused" their freedom of action (p. 16), but cites no evidence of this. That Sir Harold MacMichael was a force behind indirect rule is unquestionable, but that he was the "most outspoken advocate" of it in the Sudan (p. 46) is not: he was, in fact, criticized in the 1920s for his caution in the matter. Was Sir George Schuster, not MacMichael, the real author of "Southern Policy" (p. 171)? Was there really no "financially or politically viable alternative" to indirect rule (p. 158)? Other conclusions relating to policies and personalities are still open to debate, and will no doubt be taken up in more detail elsewhere. But if Collins occasionally overstates a case, he more often provides brilliant expositions of policy making, such as the imposition of southern policy in the western Bahr al-Ghazal (chap. 5), and lays to rest the idea that the Christian missionaries were agents of imperialism (chap. 6).

Shadows makes clear that Collins has retained his fascination for British administrators and his ability to share that fascination. He has, uniquely, been able to provide an account of their rule that few of them would endorse uncritically but in which all of them (and others) would find mirrored the people who were the shadows in the grass.

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CYNTHIA BRANTLEY. *The Giriama and Colonial Resistance in Kenya, 1800–1920*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1981. Pp. xiii, 196. \$30.00.

The Giriama, the largest of the Mijikenda cluster of nine ethnic groupings who live on the Kenya coast, are the subject of Cynthia Brantley's book. In nine brief but detailed chapters, the author carefully examines the socioeconomic and political life of the Giriama and the transformation it underwent during the period 1800–1920. In the process, she sets the stage for an analysis of the Giriama rebellion of 1914.

The author argues that the Giriama, who numbered approximately five thousand in 1800 but increased to approximately sixty thousand by 1914, had a complex socioeconomic and political system that facilitated a steady growth toward economic

autarky. Basically an acephalous (or noncentralized) society, the Giriama had by 1800 evolved a system of rule based on councils of elders (the *kambi*) and age-sets. Endowed with several sociocultural and political strengths, although lacking the cohesion of an autocephalous (or centralized) polity, the Giriama adapted to the changes that came with the abolition of the Arab slave trade in 1876 and slavery itself in 1907. The changed relations between the Giriama and Afro-Arabs, which resulted from the abolition of slavery by the British, did not destroy the Giriama economy but did produce changes, such as migration. Moreover, despite such adversities as the famine of 1898 and several inter-ethnic and intraethnic conflicts, the Giriama had by 1900 become economically prosperous and self-sufficient.

After Kenya became a British protectorate in 1895, however, British intrusion increased and the Giriama became the target of incessant labor demands to develop coastal plantations owned by British companies and absentee landlords. The protectorate administration intervened in 1912 on behalf of the planters. The Giriama resisted the labor demands even after taxation was deliberately increased to induce their labor. When the protectorate administrators, such as Charles Hobley and Arthur Champion, persisted in their labor demands and the Giriama were forced to evacuate the fertile Sabaki Valley, the Giriama resisted in order to protect their economic interests. Against this background the rebellion of 1914 occurred. The Giriama quickly lost the war because their bows and arrows were no match for British firepower. The British relented in their demands for labor after World War I, however, because the coastal plantations had proved uneconomic. Meanwhile, the Giriama economy had been debilitated and the people had been excluded from settler capitalism, from which the Kikuyu, Luo, and Luvya, among others, benefited in the subsequent period.

Drawing heavily on both oral and archival sources in Kenya and Britain, Brantley has written a very good book. The work is the first detailed study of the Giriama and their resistance against colonial intrusion. It is also a case study of African response to colonialism in Kenya. It underscores the centrality of the economic factors in the Giriama's movement toward rebellion and further demonstrates that the noncentralized polity of the Giriama was not a major impediment to their organizing a formidable, if unsuccessful, rebellion.

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PHILIP BONNER. *Kings, Commoners, and Concessionaires: The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth-Century Swazi State*. (African Studies Series, number 31.)

New York: Cambridge University Press. 1982. Pp. viii, 315. \$49.50.

In August 1982, Sobhuza II, the Lion of Swaziland, passed away at age eighty-three. The royal councilors had chosen him as their future monarch in 1899, and he officially served as "king" from his installation in 1921 until his death sixty-one years later. Few leaders in modern world history have reigned as long, and his passing called attention to the remarkable stability and deep historical traditions of this prosperous though little known and much misunderstood African country.

Philip Bonner, Senior Lecturer in History at South Africa's Witwatersrand University, has shed important new light on the formative and most critical years of Swaziland's history, the early nineteenth century to 1889. Marshaling and mastering a truly exhaustive quantity of archival and oral material, he has woven a fascinating yet complex tapestry of racial and ethnic interaction and class conflict in southeastern Africa. Following a chronological and, at times, a tediously meticulous approach, he shows that the Swazi state was formed as much in response to external pressures as from internal dynamics. The major unifying force in early Swaziland came not from the challenge of Europeans and Western institutions but from neighboring African states, particularly Zululand.

Through extensive fieldwork on the major clans and chiefdoms, Bonner traces, dryly but cogently, the emergence of a conquering aristocracy that alternated between tactics of peaceful chauvinistic incorporation and violent nonassimilation. Bonner credits Sobhuza I with laying the institutional foundations of the modern Swazi nation. Indeed, the homogeneous, Connecticut-sized kingdom survived through the courage and brilliant diplomacy of Sobhuza and his immediate successors. By the 1860s it had developed an interdependent relationship with the Afrikaner republics. It was born of weakness and poverty and of a convergence of economic and military interests.

Swaziland did less well after 1881, in its struggle to survive the intense pressures from Afrikaner and British intruders seeking mineral, commercial, and farming concessions. In painful detail, Bonner describes the political and economic subversion of the country by the concessionaires. The king, terminally ill and beleaguered by the intrigues of whites posing as his friends and advisers, succumbed to this "concession invasion." Concessions were granted for a wide range of economic activity, including mining, grazing, manufacturing, wool washing, and photography. By 1889, the mineral resources and best winter pasture lands had passed to the whites, and the Swazis became squatters on their ancestral lands. They also became pawns in a wider imperialist game played by British officials, Afrikaner politicians, and

mining magnates. By the time Swaziland was declared a British protectorate in 1902, it had lost its economic independence.

Bonner has given us a refreshingly Afrocentric, though balanced, perspective on a kingdom that influenced, or was influenced by, nearly every major historical event in nineteenth-century southern Africa. His labyrinthine narrative also provides exciting new insights and information on the politics and diplomacy of the Transvaal Afrikaners in the 1850s and 1860s. Bonner's work, divided into eleven chronologically arranged chapters, is enriched by eleven useful maps and over eleven hundred footnotes. This is a book for the specialist with a solid background in southern African history and an interest in nineteenth-century African leadership and nation building. It is a fine complement to Leonard Thompson's brilliant study of King Moshoeshoe and the emergence of Lesotho. It will also help us to understand the conservative nature of contemporary Swazi politics and the regime's ambivalent relations with white-ruled South Africa.

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ASIA AND THE EAST

ESTHER S. LEE YAO. *Chinese Women: Past and Present*. (Women in History, number 83.) Mesquite, Tex.: Ide House. 1983. Pp. viii, 260. Cloth \$20.95, paper \$14.95.

This book deals with a broad subject that covers about half of China's large population and spans three thousand years. Such a difficult endeavour is timely since most colleges offer courses in various disciplines relating to Chinese women. Esther S. Lee Yao's book, although more descriptive than analytical, is an ambitious effort to synthesize past research in both English and Chinese. It is the author's intention to "present a genuine portrait of Chinese women" to the general public, Sinologists and non-Sinologists alike.

The bulk of Yao's book follows closely the format of Chen Tung-yuan's *Chung-kuo fu-nü sheng-huo shih* (History of the Lives of Chinese Women) originally published in Shanghai in the 1920s. Yao divides pre-1949 China into four periods: (1) before 208 B.C.; (2) Han to Five Dynasties; (3) Sung to Ming Dynasties; and (4) Ch'ing Dynasty to the Republic before 1949. Subjects include the historical background, women's family life, education, legal restrictions and inequities, social status, customs, taboos, employment opportunities, costumes and fashions, and famous stories of model women in each period. The author follows Chen Tung-yuan in repeatedly emphasizing the disadvantaged condition of women

in traditional China. The last two chapters of the book deal with women in mainland China and in Taiwan separately and concludes with a perceptive comparison. Yao makes use of both primary sources and secondary literature in Chinese and English languages.

There are a number of shortcomings in the book—misspelling, stylistic imperfections, annoying translations, errors in romanization, and misconceptions—for which the author and the publisher should both be responsible. Yao confuses "matrilineal" with "matriarchal" throughout the second chapter. Liu Hsiang's *Lieh-nü chuan* should be rendered *Records of Various Women* instead of *Records of Virtuous Women* (p. 10 and p. 48), since Liu includes evil women in the volume as well. *Records of Virtuous Women* only appeared in the dynastic histories after Han. It is unfair and inappropriate to blame neo-Confucian scholars for the prevalence of infanticide (p. 91), although they did contribute to the misfortune of Chinese women in a number of ways. Yao's suggestion that infanticide might be a means of population control is untenable. On the back cover the publisher claims that the unique feature of the book is the treatment of "minority women in China both on the Mainland and on the island of Formosa," which is nowhere to be found in the book.

Typographical errors due to carelessness are found in numerous places; thus "marital relations" appear as "martial relations" (p. 24), and "throughout" becomes "thoughout" (p. 105). Departures from standard romanization include "Youngtze River" instead of "Yangtze River," and "Chin" Dynasty or "Jurchen" is rendered into "King." The author explains in the preface that she employs the Wade-Giles system in romanization, but we find "Lü K'un" transliterated into "Liu Kuang," and *Kwei-fan* into *Kwai Fan* (p. 87). The selection of pictures is far from inspiring; it fails to offer readers "a genuine portrait of Chinese women." Oracle bones, Shang bronzes, Sung Buddhist printing, Sung porcelain, and Japanese paintings of Chinese philosophers bear little relevance to the subject.

In note 18 on page 39 the author cites an article by Mou Hsun, a source that is actually taken from my book *Chung-kuo fu-nü-shih lun-chi* (Readings in the History of Chinese Women [1979]). She was not aware that one character is missing from the name, having been deliberately deleted by the publisher in Taipei for political considerations. The correct name is Mo Jun-sun.

Chinese Women: Past and Present is still a valuable pioneering effort in synthesizing up-to-date research for the general public. It is informative and interesting despite its flaws. Yao's work could definitely provide supplementary materials for classroom discussions.

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NEIL L. WATERS. *Japan's Local Pragmatists: The Transition from Bakumatsu to Meiji in the Kawasaki Region*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 105.) Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1983. Pp. x, 174. \$20.00.

Neil L. Waters's book describes sociopolitical conditions in the Kawasaki region between 1860 and 1890. Unlike other local historians, Waters has chosen an area that was free of antigovernment uprisings. Waters's first chapter is a discussion of the historiographical circumstances in which local studies have come to seem increasingly important. A second chapter addresses the Tokugawa status quo in Kawasaki ca. 1860. The author provides fascinating details about the organization of post towns on the Tōkaidō, intervillage cooperative associations for irrigation and the like, and the exceptional looseness of central administration in this region. The third chapter examines the region's response to the Meiji change during its first ten years. Despite kaleidoscopic administrative reorganization, local *gōnō* remained in leadership positions. They used local influence successfully to expedite the Meiji education reforms and to minimize military conscription. Kawasaki saw some enterprising solutions to the sudden loss of post-town traffic, such as enticing pilgrims to Heigenji by placing *jūrikisha* shaped like ducks at the Kawasaki station.

Waters's fourth chapter explores Kawasaki's response to the political events of 1878–90. Administrative patterns again changed, this time for good and with some loss of *gōnō* authority. *Jiyū minken* ideals were articulated enthusiastically by *gōnō* leaders but did not generate a mass movement. The main interests of these *gōnō* were to preserve their voice in local affairs and to strive for tax reduction. There were no rural uprisings in Kawasaki pursuant to the Matsukata deflation because the *gōnō* reduced their tenants' rents, easing their burden and thereby preserving order. Waters suggests that *jiyū minken* in Kawasaki never became a class struggle because local leaders resorted effectively to traditional paternalism. *Jiyū minken* did exist, however, in the form of selective resistance to government policies by the *gōnō*.

Waters concludes that between 1868 and 1890 the inhabitants of the many regions that eschewed rebellion were not passively oppressed but rather moved actively to remold and deflect government policies. Horizontal links among numerous *gōnō*, continuing unbroken from the "cooperative association" days, made this possible. Waters argues that Kawasaki does not fit "orthodox Marxist" stereotypes because *gōnō* leaders were "neither exploitative nor parasitic" but rather "paternalistic" and because they were not coopted by the regime.

One interesting feature of Waters's work is that it

inadvertently confirms another Marxist premise, that changes in technology and social organization led to a growing disparity of wealth in the villages and to the social dominance of an ambitious class of landlord-entrepreneurs, the *gōnō*. Waters describes a benign dictatorship of the *gōnō*. He tells his story through *gōnō* eyes and *gōnō* personalities. Most of his story is an account of *gōnō* leaders' dealings with Tokugawa and Meiji central authorities. Kawasaki, a lightly administered bakufu *tenryō*, had become a squirearchy run by the local well-to-do. It is a small wonder that they were enthusiastic about Rousseau and Mill and were rapidly assimilated into the *Jiyūtō*.

Waters's presentation is workmanlike and solid; although it meanders a bit in the first chapter where, for example, two and one-half pages on the Ashio copper mine may not be necessary. The author skillfully draws meaningful insights out of diverse data about a region where "nothing happened." I believe all scholars interested in the local impact of the Meiji change will want to look at Waters's volume.

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RICHARD H. MITCHELL. *Censorship in Imperial Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 424. \$35.00.

"We are told that the Japanese are the most loyal people in the world," observed the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* in 1930, "but they are treated by their own rulers as though they were the most disloyal and undependable." Richard H. Mitchell's survey of censorship in prewar Japan raises this interesting paradox without attempting to resolve it.

Systematic government censorship, according to Mitchell, began in the Tokugawa period with the prohibition of works on Christianity. By the end of the period censorship had been extended to books that showed disrespect to the ruling dynasty, questioned constituted authority, or threatened popular morals. But it was not until the creation of the Meiji state that censorship took off.

Mitchell traces its development meticulously. He lays out the historical background of each new change in the censorship system and provides summaries of the pertinent laws and regulations. Readers familiar with modern Japanese history will not learn much from the background exposition, and summaries of censorship regulations do not make for lively reading, but it is by the massive accumulation of detail that Mitchell puts forward the main arguments of his book.

Mitchell amply demonstrates that censorship grew steadily stronger from the Meiji period onward. The years of "Taishō democracy" offered no respite from the relentless efforts of politicians and

bureaucrats to curb seditious thought. If one could plot the growth rate of censorship it would follow an upward accelerating curve, unbroken by sharp spurts up or down. The censors, lodged mainly in the Home Ministry, were ever eager to expand their domain. In the 1920s with the appearance of new media—radio and cinema—the censorship apparatus rose to meet the challenge, issuing a flurry of new regulations, including some to ensure that the imperial voice would not be broadcast inadvertently on the air waves. Although censorship reached new levels of efficiency in the 1930s, it differed in quantity, not in kind, from previous decades.

The book also makes clear how quickly journalists came to accept the state's authority to censor. In the mid-1870s feisty newspapermen like Suehiro Tetsuo and Narushima Ryūhoku fought back when the government tried to clamp down on the press, but by the late 1880s Maruyama Ryūhei, editor of the *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, scanned his newspaper daily to cull articles that might offend the government. In the 1930s editorial self-censorship, encouraged by direct and indirect pressure from the censorship apparatus, had become routine.

Politicians, Mitchell argues, were as enthusiastic as officials for controlling freedom of expression. It was not only Ministry of Justice mossbacks like Suzuki Kisaburō and Hiranuma Kiichirō who worked to broaden antisubversive legislation but also party leaders like Hara Takashi and Katō Takaaki. In 1934 the lower house of the Diet, once the bastion of libertarians like Ozaki Yukio, even authorized the cabinet to prepare "a plan to unify national thought," ushering in a new and more thoroughgoing era of repression.

The picture is rather bleak, perhaps too bleak. Mitchell does not deal much with the opponents of censorship. However futile their efforts, a handful of academics, editors, and intellectuals kept up a struggle to maintain freedom of expression—whether by major confrontations, as in the trial of Morito Tatsuo, or minor skirmishes over the use of *fuseji* to demonstrate how much the censors were cutting from a text. Mitchell's perspective—that of the censors—does not allow much attention to this side of the picture.

In his concluding chapter Mitchell suggests that censorship in prewar Japan was no different from most other modern authoritarian states. If anything, the Japanese authorities were much milder in their treatment of "thought offenders." Mitchell also reminds us that even societies with strong civil liberties traditions like the United States and Great Britain have practiced censorship of one kind or another in recent times. Censorship, in other words, is normal, its absence not—an altogether disheartening observation.

This is a very solid piece of work based on

painstaking research. It is unlikely to appeal to a wide audience but will certainly be an indispensable reference for anyone working in the political, literary, or intellectual history of modern Japan.

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JOE MOORE. *Japanese Workers and the Struggle for Power, 1945–1947*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1983. Pp. xx, 305. \$22.50.

Labor unions were organized in Japan before World War II, but they remained small in size and influence because of government and employer hostility, and they were even banned during the war. Under the American occupation unions were encouraged, with the result that by the end of 1946 they had enrolled more than 3.5 million members. This early period of union growth was marked by a good deal of radicalism, which is the subject of Joe Moore's book. It is not surprising, given the conditions that prevailed, that the union movement should have veered to the left. The government was discredited, the economy was in shambles, food was scarce, and workers had little sense of job security.

The author covers this turbulent period in great detail. He has read widely in both Japanese- and English-language sources and succeeds in enlivening the material. He describes labor conflict in coal mines, workers exercising production control in the Yomiuri newspaper and other places, and the attempt to organize a general strike in 1946, which was banned by the occupation.

Moore argues that the period from 1945 to 1947 was a watershed in Japanese history when there was a potential for an anticapitalist revolution propelled by a radical working class. "While working-class radicalism was at its height during the first nine months of the occupation, the socialist alternative to the old guard's program of straightforward restoration was a living possibility and was at the center of the battle between labor and capital" (p. xiv). In the author's view there was no revolution because the government and business leaders fought the radical unions and favored the more cooperative enterprise unions. The occupation cracked down on left-wing unions, and the Japanese Communist party, which was active in some unions, preferred at this time a bourgeois-democratic revolution by peaceful means to an immediate social revolution (pp. 225–26).

In all this, the author's basic assumption is that a revolutionary working class existed in Japan at that time. The author presents evidence that individual radical workers whose goal was a socialist revolution were present, but whether a working class imbued

with revolutionary ideology existed is another matter.

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ASHIN DAS GUPTA. *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700–1750*. (Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, Südasiens-Institut, Universität Heidelberg, number 40.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. 1979. Pp. x, 305. DM 44.

The book in its contents follows the title. It is chiefly concerned with the merchants of Surat and their affairs and wrangles during the fifty years during which the great port of the Mughal empire went into decline. The personal characters and conduct of selected merchants (and, less noticeably, the behavior of the merchants of Surat as a group) form the central theme of study (chaps. 2–5), while the introduction and chapter 1 provide the setting, describing the port, its commerce, and its hinterland and analyzing the factors behind its decline. All this lies in a field of which Ashin Das Gupta is the recognized master.

The conventional view that Surat declined because the English shifted to Bombay is long obsolete, and Das Gupta naturally gives it scant attention. It is interesting that he should have found one major factor in the collapse of the Mughal empire, which, as he shows from abundant material, caused a contraction of the hinterland, until it came almost to be confined to the city and its vicinity. He discovers complementary factors in the contraction of the Persian and Near Eastern markets, again owing largely to political circumstances. All these are good reasons, but Das Gupta offers information that suggests that a key factor lay further beyond. A Dutch estimate shows that some years before 1710 the annual influx of treasure from the Red Sea ports to Surat had amounted to 6 million rupees (about 70,000 kilograms of silver), which thereafter declined to one-third of that figure (p. 146). Quite obviously, the imports of bullion on such a scale could only have come from Mediterranean Europe. One suspects that it was because the markets in these countries began to be served increasingly by the English and Dutch companies that the Red Sea commerce decayed, pulling Surat down with it. If so, far from helping the Indian economy, as K. N. Chaudhuri has so confidently affirmed, the two European companies choked off alternative inlets of bullion inflow and supplanted Indian merchants in the carrying trade.

Das Gupta's narrative of the merchants' conduct when faced with a succession of crises—in which they were the victims of armed blackmail by the Dutch, the English, the Marathas, and the Mughal

officials—is admirable for its detailed exposure of individual motives, in a manner of which Sir Lewis Namier would surely have approved. The skepticism with which he treats pious declarations and a consistent fluency of style enable him to sustain interest in the small details of the numerous, rather slow-moving episodes that form the substance of his narrative.

Das Gupta tells us that his study is based "almost exclusively" on Dutch and English records (p. 293). These he has explored with a most admirable perseverance, and there is no doubt that a study of Surat has to rest heavily on such material. One could, however, legitimately regret the absence of any reference to the very informative diary (in Persian) of 'Imad 'Ali Khan, *Mir'atu-l-Haqa'iq* (Bodleian Library Ms. Bodl. 257=Fraser 124), covering three years of that official's stay at Surat (1724–27). A bibliography would also have been helpful.

As one would expect from a historian of his stature, Das Gupta shows a close grasp of the Mughal system of administration. It is therefore with some surprise that one finds him writing *fauzdar*, *bakshi*, *daroga*, and *sirpah* for *faujdar*, *bakhshi*, *darogha*, and *sir-u-pa* and Hejaj for Hejaz. Nor did Princess Jahanara, Aurangzeb's sister, live at Surat "at the turn of the 18th century," as is stated on page 31.

We are indebted to Das Gupta for a mass of unique information on the commerce of eighteenth-century India. We may also wish for a serial tabulation of interest rates and prices of staples, as has been furnished by him for shipping (in appendix A). But this may well be deemed cavilling when we have before us so valuable and charming a book as the present one.

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DHARMA KUMAR and MEGHNAD DESAI, editors. *The Cambridge Economic History of India*. Volume 2, c. 1757–c. 1970. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 1073. \$99.50.

The materials for writing the economic history of the Indian subcontinent since the British conquest, despite certain vital gaps, present the researcher with an *embarrass de choix*. Anybody setting out to write or edit a volume on the subject is likely to be overwhelmed unless certain strong principles of selection and organization are followed.

It would appear that this all-too-predictable fate has overtaken Dharma Kumar and Meghnad Desai, the editors of the second volume of the *Cambridge Economic History of India*. The volume is divided into three parts, "The Land and the People," "The Beginnings of Modern Economy" (dated 1858 on-

ward), and "Post-Independence Developments." But we are treated, for example, to separate sections on the regional economies of northern, eastern, western, and southern India for the period 1757–1857 in the first part but not in the second, whereas the fiscal system is treated separately in the second but not in the first part. Did regional differences somehow vanish or become insignificant once the modern economy had begun (miraculously with the assumption of direct rule by the British Parliament in 1858), or was there no fiscal system in British India before 1858?

Apart from the haziness regarding the principles of organization, the volume also suffers from the editors' lack of control over the length of individual contributions. Several chapters look bloated with methodological digressions. Yet the editors cut footnotes and allowed only brief bibliographies to be appended to individual sections or chapters. Some of the more glaring omissions from the bibliographies are H. H. Wilson on the external commerce of Bengal, John Malcolm on central India, W. H. Sleeman on Oudh, R. Jenkins on the territories of the Raja of Nagpur, A. C. Lyall on the Berars, M. L. Darling on the Punjab, A. K. Banerji on the balance of payments, N. S. R. Sastry on the growth of large-scale industry, C. N. Cooke on banking, and Pramit Chaudhuri on the Indian economy in recent times. Such omissions are probably as much the fault of the individual authors as of the editors. However that may be, the volume cannot be recommended as a useful bibliographic reference.

The editors claim that they have refrained from imposing any thematic unity on the authors. The contents must be judged in terms of the quality of individual chapters. It seems that a revisionist view of Indian history is peeping out of a straggly empiricism in many of the chapters. Essentially, according to this view, it is possible to ignore the presence of a foreign power as rulers in India before 1947 and write India's history as just that of a primitive, semicommercialized economy. In the zeal to further such a view, some authors have fallen seriously short of the usually accepted standards of scholarship. Alan Heston's chapter on national income is perhaps the best exemplar of this genre. He has produced a fantasy of figures and called it a national income series. On the basis of the argument that official statistics underestimate the growth of agriculture (an argument he had failed to clinch in his debate with Ashok Desai), he simply assumes the positive growth of per capita income he wants the figures to generate, despite the contrary evidence of ecological degradation, decline of handicrafts, and devastating famines. Dharma Kumar's section on the economy of south India suffers similarly from her inability to believe the plentiful evidence of decline in most areas of economic life during the

period covered. A successful revisionism would have to be built on more hardy materials than an unconquerable optimism about the modernity ushered in by the colonial regime.

In some of the other, better-researched chapters a different perspective on Indian economic history emerges. Tapan Raychaudhuri presents a perceptive chapter on the eighteenth-century background. The late Eric Stokes follows with a very readable and reliable section on agrarian relations in northern and central India. Then there are competent contributions by B. Chaudhuri and H. Fukazawa on agrarian relations in eastern and western India respectively. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya has presented a well-rounded picture on the changes in the regional economy of eastern India from 1757 to 1857. Leela Visaria and Pravin Visaria, in an excellent chapter on India's population growth, have summarized the hazards to which the population was exposed in different periods. Elizabeth Whitcombe gives an authoritative account of the development of irrigation works. The accounts of railway development and price movements by John Hurd and Michelle McAlpin, respectively, have been competently executed. (I wish, though, that they had used the excellent PhD thesis of A. K. Ghosh, prepared as long ago as 1949 for the London School of Economics, on India's price movements.)

One or two chapters have been rendered somewhat out of date by recent research. This applies, for example, to J. Krishnamurty's chapter on the occupational structure. The work of Raghavendra Chattopadhyay and others would have led to a revision of the idea that the share of the secondary sector in employment remained static from 1881 to 1931. Other chapters are fundamentally flawed by their failure to take adequate account of the existing literature. A. G. Chandavarkar's chapter on money and credit displays no awareness of the work of C. N. Cooke, J. B. Brunyate and H. Sinha and is an unreliable guide to the subject. Morris David Morris seems to be unaware of the basic reasons for regional differences in patterns of industrial growth, and his homiletic comments are a poor substitute for the macroeconomic analysis that the subject demands. A. Vaidyanathan's chapter on the postindependence economy similarly lacks an analytical focus, partly because he fails to reckon with the work of Ashok Mitra, Prabhat Patnaik, Suresh Tendulkar, and others. K. N. Chaudhuri presents a competent account of the aggregate trends in India's foreign trade. He fails, however, to utilize the important conclusions of H. H. Wilson's monograph on Bengal's external commerce, and the sketchy account of India's balance of payments given by him suffers because of his inability to incorporate the authoritative work of A. K. Banerji on the subject.

This volume, then, is not the reliable survey of the

field that scholars have come to expect from similar ventures sponsored by the Cambridge University Press in the past. By the same reckoning, it is a poor companion to the splendid first volume of the *Cambridge Economic History of India* (edited by Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib).

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LEWIS D. WURGAFT. *The Imperial Imagination: Magic and Myth in Kipling's India*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 211. \$24.95.

The marriage of psychology and conventional history has provided one of the most exciting new opportunities to interpret the past with tools not heretofore available. Unfortunately, the practitioners of the new technique have often been charlatans or not sufficiently educated in both history and psychiatry or psychology to provide the necessary scientific bases for the arguments developed. All of this is now changing, and a new breed of appropriately trained psychohistorians is emerging. The author of *The Imperial Imagination*, Lewis D. Wurgaft, has both a doctoral degree in history and professional training and experience as a psychologist; the breadth of his background is reflected in the excellence of his work.

What Wurgaft provides the reader is a highly sophisticated yet readable analysis of the complex effect of India on the British psyche. Without the usual pretension, he helps focus psychoanalytic, sociological, and anthropological theory on the interplay of two diverse cultures with often contradictory world views. It is a study in ambivalence—the attraction of mysterious, seductive, female India as opposed to the expression of more manly British virtues such as order, power, and the right of the conqueror to rule.

Wurgaft tells how the British developed a heroic mythology based on magic and magical thinking to deal with the uncertainties and insecurities that beset them. A significant focus of the book is the discussion of the Punjab and the "Punjab style" of orderly administration epitomized by the Lawrence brothers and Curzon on the one hand and expressed literally in the tales of Rudyard Kipling on the other. Wurgaft appropriately identifies the Indian Mutiny as the great watershed in the history of British India. The barbarous behavior by both sides in the struggle created a gulf that could never be bridged. Its causes are not the author's concern, but he points out that to the British the mutiny con-

noted betrayal, that it legitimized in their eyes any excesses that ensued, and that as a consequence they abandoned reform and replaced it with a zeal for permanence based on manipulation and the exploitation of traditional social and regional distinctions.

When a self-conscious Indian middle class began to emerge and, with it, the demands for a broader Indian role in the politics and administration of their country, the British did not embrace the development as signifying the success of their "civilizing mission" but rather fought what was after all a very polite form of nationalism as disloyalty and sedition. Social isolation, of course, went hand-in-hand with political antagonism, and it brought with it ever-increasing ignorance and intolerance of things Indian. Racism, which had largely been absent during the early days of the Raj, now became the order of the day, and the Indian to whom the British related was not the swarthy, effete Bengali babu but the light-skinned, masculine Pathan warrior of the Northwest Frontier.

All in all, *The Imperial Imagination* is an expression of what psychohistory can and should be. It is filled with provocative and revealing insights, and one can only hope that the author will expand his canvas to include other lands where European conquerors ruled over men of color.

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JUDITH E. WALSH. *Growing Up in British India: Indian Autobiographers on Childhood and Education under the Raj*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1983. Pp. xii, 178.

Despite the wealth of historical writings on Indians during the British period, little has been written on the history of actual human beings caught up in the process of intercivilizational encounter with the West. Like Jews, perhaps, Hindus seem to inspire caricature rather than realistic depictions of personal qualities. Even major anthropologists tend to discourage Hindu individuation or bury it in their grand schemes on life negation and the caste system.

For this reason, and from one point of view, Judith E. Walsh's book on life stories of Hindu persons represents a humanistic departure from a sterile tradition. By means of one hundred autobiographical materials written in English by articulate westernized Hindus, Walsh attempts to describe and interpret what it meant to be a child and adolescent in British India. She accomplishes her task in a book that is less than two hundred pages long and divided into seven chapters, three of which are intensive studies of Bengali intellectuals suffering psychologi-

cally either as Anglophiles or Anglophobes. Although writing about intellectuals, Walsh is less interested in ideas than in circumstances of birth, parental contact, and the impact of education.

The questions raised in each chapter suggest that Walsh has read deeply of Eric Erikson's psychohistorical writings and is especially interested in his work on adolescent identities in crisis. Her judicious use of Erikson on the identity problem as applied to young Hindus torn between traditional duties imbibed in the family and "Western" values imbibed at school provides a unifying theme that presumably transcends historical, linguistic, and regional differences in South Asia. Erikson's own success with his biography of Gandhi indicates that identity crisis is certainly not a problem confined to the Western experience. Among Walsh's principal findings, largely gleaned from Bengali autobiographies, are that the young men were attracted to rationalism, liberalism, and other "Western" values in English schools; sought to change their life styles accordingly; and were resisted in the process by "orthodox" fathers and other family members. They often broke completely from caste and kin and joined the Brahmo Samaj or other socioreligious reform movements. Attempts to achieve equality under the British in professional and other contacts were rebuffed by racism and other manifestations of cultural imperialism. The young men reacted to their situation with considerable cultural and psychological ambivalence. Whether born into families relatively untouched by Western influence, as in the case of Gandhi, or into families deeply imbued with Western values, as in the case of S. N. Banerjea, young Hindu men could not avoid the pitfalls of the intercivilizational encounter and experienced much trauma in their "attempts to forge a cohesive and integrated adult identity" (p. 73).

In this reviewer's judgment, the author raises the right questions and focuses on the right problem, but the book in its present form does not go far enough, or goes off in the wrong directions, and serves primarily as an introductory survey. The main difficulty is that there are some serious limitations that cannot be justified simply because the work was initially a doctoral dissertation. In the first place, considering the fact that Walsh is a Bengali specialist, it should come as no surprise that her most convincing chapters are the three comprehensive studies of Surendranath Banerjea, Subhas Bose, and Nirad Chaudhuri. Instead of pursuing the lives of other Bengalis with different patterns of identity crisis from a wealth of autobiographical material in the Bengali language, she made the unfortunate choice of generalizing about non-Bengali regional elites from English sources.

Secondly, the work lacks historical precision. Except for the chapter on the generational clash between fathers and sons, Walsh ignores chronolo-

gy as she compares stages of human development in persons far removed in time. Nowhere does she causally relate episodes of Indo-British encounter to specific time frames and contemporary values. Starting each topical chapter with apt questions from the work of a leading psychologist does not absolve the historian from the responsibility of dividing a century and one-half of intercivilizational encounter between the British and Indians in a meaningful fashion.

Nevertheless, as already intimated, the book is an important pioneering effort to distinguish human Hindus from their stereotypical image. This is no small accomplishment when one reads some of the literature that has passed for scholarship on Hindus during the last two hundred years. The author should also be praised for the intelligent and sensitive way she has written the book.

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D. N. DHANAGARE. *Peasant Movements in India, 1920–1950*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 254. \$28.00.

Had this book appeared shortly after its completion as a doctoral thesis at the University of Sussex in 1973, it would have been a significant piece of research. In its present form, with few revisions, however, it reads like yesterday's newspaper; its contents are no longer of compelling interest. The familiar ring to the work also stems from the fact that almost all of it has been published previously in other forms.

The opening chapter presents an uncritical analysis of the peasantry as a class comprising rich, middle, and poor peasants. To this D. N. Dhanagare adds a fourth category of landless laborers. He then offers a critique of the classic and then-current theories regarding the peasantry. The principal target—and an easy one—is the sweeping generalizations of Barrington Moore, Jr., especially about the passivity of Indian peasants.

Following a discussion of "Agrarian Structure and Peasant Revolts in India before 1920" (chap. 2), this study devotes a chapter each to six major instances of large-scale peasant actions: the Moplah rebellions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Bardoli *Satyagraha* of 1928, the Oudh movements of 1920–22 and 1930–32, leftist involvement with peasant organizations between 1925 and 1947, the *Tebhaga* movement of 1946–47, and the peasant insurrection in Telangana in 1946–51. Although Dhanagare's consideration of these is not without flashes of insight, it lacks the wealth of empirical data and sharpness of perception that recent investigations have had. For instance, his account of the

Moplah and Oudh movements cannot match the depth and detail of the books and articles that have appeared on the subject in the last decade.

A concluding chapter attempts to supply the glue to hold together the studies of these disparate movements by providing a comparative analysis aimed at "discovering what kinds of social structure and historical situations produce peasant movements and revolts, and further, of what types" (p. 213). Although quite astute, too much of the discussion is spent classifying peasant collective action and violence and not enough on why, when, and how such outbreaks occur. Here, as throughout the book, sufficient attention is not paid to the nature and effects of superordinate control, to the processes of peasant mobilization, or to the complex relationships existing between the growth of class, community, and religious identities and the rising agrarian tensions of the twentieth century.

Peasant Movements in India is commendably ambitious in its scope but regrettably outdated in its findings.

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GAIL MINAULT, editor. *The Extended Family: Women and Political Participation in India and Pakistan*. Columbia, Mo.: South Asia Books. 1981. Pp. xiii, 312. \$18.00.

This symposium has an interesting title. Has the extended family, with its complicated networks of kinship and connection, facilitated or impeded the participation of women in the politics of India and Pakistan? In fact, the contributors pay scant attention to this question. The editor, Gail Minault, shrewdly points out that, although the extended family is still regarded as the norm, it is not and may never have been the predominant living pattern in the region. This observation prompts other questions—for example, the extent to which norms are matters for elites—but such puzzles are also neglected. The book had its beginning in a conference on the history of women held at Mount Holyoke College in 1978, but only three of the eleven papers originated there. The others were either presented at other conferences or specially commissioned for this volume. The result is that some significant questions raised by particular authors do not seem to have occurred to others. There is, in short, a certain lack of coherence.

Some authors write of "the Indian women's movement" as if the meaning of the term were self-evident, but Geraldine Forbes points to its vagueness and to a general tendency to apply it to any association or event that included a number of women. Is it meaningful to speak of a "women's movement" in India or Pakistan, either today or in

the past? The question is not squarely faced, but different authors show how in campaigns for women's rights leadership was often assumed by men and how even in recent times, when women have become more prominent, such campaigns have usually been confined to specific regions and communities. The aims of many of these campaigns were of interest only to high-caste women. Gandhi warned such reformers to remember that the masses had no child marriage and no prohibitions against widow remarriage.

Ardent nationalists tended to regard all campaigns for social reform, including women's rights, as a distraction from the struggle against British rule, and Gandhi urged women to participate in the nationalist movement, especially in civil disobedience campaigns. "Free India means free womanhood" was one of the slogans of those years, as Minault reminds us, but developments since independence have hardly justified it, and Mary Fainsod Katzenstein points out that the prominence of women in contemporary Indian politics is due more to the visibility of a few women than to the participation of a significant number. In Pakistan, in the heady years after independence, a substantial political impact was made by the All-Pakistan Women's Association. Sylvia Chipp-Kraushaar shows how their campaign for formal procedures to regulate and restrict polygamy and divorce culminated in the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of 1961. But this was denounced by many religious leaders as a Western innovation, and in the present climate of opinion in Pakistan its fate seems doubtful.

Several contributors look back to the nineteenth century to enquire how far British rule introduced or encouraged ideas of women's rights. In one paper it is suggested that the East India Company's government prohibited the burning of widows as a consequence of pressure from the Bengali reformer Ram Mohan Roy. In fact, he advised against prohibiting the practice on the ground that such an interference with tradition would arouse dangerous hostility, although he also tried to persuade Hindus that there was no scriptural warrant for it. David Gilmartin, on the other hand, argues that in the Punjab British support of customary law had the effect of excluding women from the inheritance of land and that the introduction of Islamic law after independence not only undermined the structure of tribal authority that the British had found so convenient to prop up but also improved the position of women in this particular matter.

This is, in short, a volume of considerable significance, although it may not fully satisfy the expectations that its title could arouse.

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KEITH WELLER TAYLOR. *The Birth of Vietnam*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 397. \$38.50.

Keith Weller Taylor takes three hundred pages to trace the creation of Vietnam to its presumed birth, which, however, occurs when the infant is already twelve hundred years old. Indeed, it is not the birth of Vietnam that is the subject of this book but rather its historical debut. What Taylor analyzes is the evolution of Vietnam "from a preliterate society within a 'south-sea civilization' into a distinctive member of the East Asian cultural world," under the tutelage of its northern neighbor, China. That evolution, the author proposes, segments into six distinctive phases. To each, he devotes a chapter, with the exception of the T'ang phase, when the dynasty of the same name ruled the "Protectorate of An-Nam" for a rather long three hundred years, and which therefore demands two chapters.

The book is a straightforward narration of twelve centuries of Vietnamese history, very carefully and systematically culled primarily from Chinese dynastic histories and interspersed with tightly knit interpretations and analyses of data. Although there are few original interpretations to be found in this work, students of Vietnam, and of history in general, should feel heavily indebted to the author for presenting such a pleasantly written, rich, and thoroughly researched account of an extremely dry period of the Vietnamese past. I tend to agree with the interpretations presented here, with one or two exceptions. The first reservation concerns nothing more than a fault of omission.

Although Taylor writes quite abundantly on Buddhism and Taoism, he appears to skirt the issue of Confucianism. Indeed, the only mention I noted of the subject is on page 83: "this was a period [Han-Viet] of cultural realignment in Vietnam. Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism all flourished in varying degree." As a matter of fact, following that period, Confucianism continued to flourish, for local men were regularly selected for official positions in the Chinese imperial administration according to well-established Confucian criteria: "energetic, intelligent, pure and upright" (p. 210). The issue certainly deserves more than a simple mention. A second problem for which I wish the author had provided a more thorough examination is the role played by the Vietnamese language in the evolution of Vietnamese society. Every student of Vietnam states as self-evident that the Vietnamese retention of their native language contributed decisively to their grip on independence. But the Cantonese, the Fukienese, and many other ethnic groups in China also kept their languages, which, nevertheless, failed to prevent them from becoming pervasively Chinese. The interplay of language, ethnicity, and

political independence is fascinating, complex, and deserving of a far more profound and nuanced probing than Taylor was willing to undertake.

This book comes well equipped with fifteen appendixes dealing with questions of textual criticism, sources for specific events, corrections of minor errors in interpretations. A glossary of Vietnamese and Chinese names (with their Chinese characters), a bibliography of primary sources and secondary literature, and an index complete the book. I was surprised not to find three titles in the bibliography: the Vietnam Social Science Committee's Vietnamese history; O. Janse's report on his excavations in Indochina; and C. Bakus's work on the Nan Chao kingdom. The bibliography, however, most impressively reveals that Taylor belongs to a rare breed of scholars. To write this book he obviously had to be fluent in French, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Japanese. He used, profusely and astutely, materials written in all these languages. Best of all, his own native English is smooth and rendered in a style that is light, pleasant, and, at times, elegant.

All in all, this is an outstanding work. For researchers, it is a mine of historical sources interpreted and analyzed. To teachers, it provides a solid foundation for data on a period of history that hitherto yielded scanty conclusions even to those who had the nerve to sift through tons and tons of material. Congratulations and many thanks to the author.

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DAVID P. CHANDLER. *A History of Cambodia*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1983. Pp. xvi, 237. \$25.00.

David P. Chandler's *History of Cambodia* is an uneven, puzzling, problematic work. It is impossible to understand the book without some previous knowledge of Cambodian history, without some awareness of the current debate about the role of Marxist ideas in the interpretation of the history of Southeast Asia, and without some familiarity with the personal relationships and professional conflicts among modern scholars working in Khmer studies. Despite the claim in the introduction, this is not a book for the nonspecialist and the undergraduate student, particularly those whose knowledge of Cambodia comes from the *Reader's Digest*. Unfortunately, the author, an American living in Australia, is out of touch with American students and American public images of Cambodia.

The book is short, 195 pages divided into ten chapters covering Cambodian history from its beginnings to 1953. Events from 1953 to 1982 are summarized in four and one-half pages at the end

of the final chapter. Chandler justifies his decision to end his study in 1953 with the statement that the last three decades have been adequately covered in other publications. This would be a legitimate decision for the author to make if it were not for the fact that the events of the last half of the 1970s dominate the entire volume. The history of Cambodia is presented as a history leading up to Pol Pot, whose shadow falls backward across much of Cambodia's past. The failure, therefore, to discuss the period from 1953 to 1982 is a serious omission and a source of genuine frustration to the thoughtful reader.

The interpretation of Cambodian history that modern radicals have promoted has left its mark on Chandler's work. Interpretations shift from one chapter to another. The introduction promises a new outline of Cambodian history, one based on a series of transformations in Cambodian life (the formation of an Indianized polity, the rise of Angkor, the rebuilding of Angkor after the Cham invasion of 1177, the conversion to Theravada Buddhism, the abandonment of Angkor, entrapment between Thailand and Vietnam, French colonialism, and the introduction of a new political ideology), a promise that is only partially carried out. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 are straightforward, reasonable accounts of Cambodia's history from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries based on Portuguese and Spanish sources and on recent research, much of it non-Marxist. The remaining chapters are problematic. The author is not consistent in his treatment of Angkor, he shifts from a fairly positive attitude toward Angkor at the beginning of the discussion to a much more negative one at the end, apparently sharing the views of modern radicals who are highly critical of Angkor. The events chosen for consideration in chapters 8, 9, and 10, from the French protectorate to the present, are those emphasized by modern nationalist and radical interpretations of Cambodian history. Several of the statements made in these latter chapters contradict those made in earlier parts of the book.

By placing the burden of Pol Pot directly on the backs of the Cambodian people and by integrating him into the mainstream of Cambodian history, with minimal reference to two Indochina wars, Lon Nol, the United States, and the People's Republic of China, the author does the Cambodian people a disservice, leaving them with little reason to take pride in the past and no hope for the future.

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KERNIAL SINGH SANDHU and PAUL WHEATLEY, editors.
Melaka: The Transformation of a Malay Capital, c. 1400–1980. In two volumes. New York: Oxford

University Press. 1983. Pp. xxix, 816; xxix, 784. \$148.00.

The great majority of the authors whose forty-six essays fill the 1,600 pages of these two massive volumes are either Malaysian scholars or have held academic posts at Malaysian universities at some time—a welcome demonstration of the massive expansion of higher learning in the country and of its range and quality. The theme of this collection edited by Kernial Sing Sandhu and Paul Wheatley is the history and development of Melaka (Malacca) from its heyday as a Malay sultanate in the fifteenth century to the present day.

The first section sets the historical context of Southeast Asian kingdoms in which Melaka was born and describes the ecological environment. Then follows a series of studies of the sultanate, the long period of colonial rule, the painful experiences of the wartime period and of the Emergency, leading finally to the postwar political scene. Owing to the illness of an intended contributor there is no essay on the Portuguese period, although some specialized essays deal incidentally with it. The remainder of volume 1 comprises essays on the economy of the town of Melaka and its countryside, the port, the inner city, suburban fringe, street traders, architecture, and fort of Melaka.

Volume 2 begins with a sequence of ethnographic studies of the several distinct ethnic communities, small as well as large, of Melaka. The next section is a varied collection of essays on the theme of the modernization of Melaka. Finally, the joint editors contribute a long interpretative summary. A list of maps and drawings of Melaka and a lengthy bibliography are added as appendixes. The book is abundantly illustrated with photographs, maps, and diagrams. The subject index, however, is not as detailed as a symposium of this kind requires.

The contributors conform to the editors' requirements in the use of the current Malay spelling of words and the placing of footnotes at the end of each essay. But they were free to approach their subjects in their own way so that every chapter can be read as a self-contained essay. There is considerable variation in length, style, and method among the essays, with some gaps or overlap in consequence. As a result, the reader has to search thoroughly to pick out the passages on a particular subject. For example, modern politics in Melaka are discussed in chapter 13 on the Melaka-based Malay-an party; in chapter 28 on Malay traditional values in United Malays National Organization ideology; and in chapter 43 on local UMNO organization. There is, however, no entry for "Politics" in the subject index.

The general standard of the individual essays varies from acceptable to excellent. The ethno-

graphic studies, Irwin's account of the fort and the description of the Federal Land Development Authority land settlement scheme at Kemendor by Tunku Shamsul Bahrin and others particularly interested this reviewer. The individual judgment of a specialist will influence each in his or her assessment of the book and its contents. There is really no alternative but to look through the book carefully and decide what—in quality and relevance—it offers to the individual reader. This is the price of gathering into one book so much varied material contributed by fifty-one different authors.

Some contributors make the mistake of supposing that an abundance of figures, preferably in the form of percentages or tables, is a substitute for interpretation of the data. In opting for a sociohistorical and anthropological approach, John Clammer (vol. 2, p. 157) rightly says that this is a better means of achieving "an understanding of process." To take one inevitable example (vol. 2, p. 273), we have yet again a count of houses with roofs of atap (palm thatch), zinc, and asbestos respectively. Studies of low-income urban communities have been doing this for the past thirty years, and it still illuminates very little.

Melaka is only a part of modern Malaya, and this fact raises the problem for some contributors of relating the general themes to local circumstances. For example, in an interesting study of the Emergency period Zakaria Haji Ahmad and K. S. Sandhu (chap. 12) expressly reject a study of the local Emergency situation in Melaka territory as likely to be "misleading" and say very little of it. Yet the preceding chapter 11 on the Japanese occupation by Yoji Akashi shows how the local effects of a Malayan event can—and should—be described.

The essays on the period of the Melaka sultanate are uneven in quality. In this reviewer's opinion, the best is Muhammad Yusof Hashim's study (the only essay in the book in Malay) on the society of imperial Melaka.

By its subtitle, the book declares the aim of giving a picture of the "transformation" of Melaka over the centuries. Khoo Kay Kim and others, however, make the point that "Melaka has a remote past and a recent past" (vol. 2, p. 71). Is there sufficient inherent continuity to permit the book to achieve its theme? The reviewer doubts it. Malay political culture, the main legacy of the sultanate, was driven forth in 1511 to take root elsewhere in Malaya. The trade center of the fifteenth century had dwindled to nothing by the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is no surprise that the predominant theme is the remaking of Melaka in the last two centuries to become a provincial town with an agricultural base to its economy. Its historic past and surviving monuments may have to shape its future as a tourist center (vol. 2, p. 567).

This comment should not dissuade the reader from using the book as a storehouse of much excellent material. As an attempt at an integrated study of a theme, however, it does not quite succeed. The final interpretative summary (chap. 46) complements rather than unifies what has gone before. The editors and the publishers are alike to be congratulated on the high standard of their respective work in putting the book together.

J. M. GULLICK
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CHIN KIN WAH. *The Defence of Malaysia and Singapore: The Transformation of a Security System, 1957–1971*. (International Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 219. \$39.50.

Given the material and moral costs of colonialism, Britain was reluctant to rule Malaya longer than was necessary to secure the succession of a stable Malayan regime in turbulent Southeast Asia. A factor that speeded the independence talks to a successful conclusion was the willingness of the leaders of emergent Malaya to maintain their links with Britain after the transfer of power. In 1957 Malaya achieved independence, but it also remained within the Commonwealth and concluded a defense agreement with Britain. In this way, the integrity of the new state was guaranteed while Britain's continuing economic and strategic interests in the country were safeguarded. The formalization of Britain's commitment to defend Malaya was paradoxically part of the wider process of British disengagement from the region. Like other alliance systems, the Anglo-Malayan (later Malaysian) Defense Agreement imposed unequal burdens on partners: Britain was the anchor. But, as Chin Kin Wah points out, it had a unique feature in that it embraced two associate powers, Australia and New Zealand, which were both consumers and subproviders of alliance security. To begin with, the colony of Singapore, which was used as a base for SEATO manoeuvres, lay outside the Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement (AMDA). As the island advanced to independence within the new federation of Malaysia in 1963, it was included within AMDA. Indonesia's attack on Malaysia led to a closing of the ranks among the five members of AMDA, but, as this external challenge petered out, tensions and suspicions came to the surface. First the Kuala Lumpur–Singapore axis fractured when Singapore left the federation (but not AMDA) in August 1965; then the British Labour government, unable to ignore Britain's diminishing capabilities as a world power, embarked on a review of its commitments east of Suez. The defense agreement that had helped in the transition of Malaysia and Singapore to nationhood and in Brit-

ain's retreat from empire now imposed too rigid an obligation on Britain and "in accommodating the overlapping interests of the allies, AMDA institutionalised an ambiguity" (p. 182). Thus, in November 1971 Britain weighed anchor and AMDA was replaced by a looser defense arrangement among Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, Singapore, and the United Kingdom.

In this revision of his London doctoral thesis, Chin Kin Wah has written a very useful and workmanlike account of the origins, development, and eventual replacement of the security system based on the Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement of 1957. Of course, he has not had access to confidential government papers of the period, but he has gutted relevant published sources held in libraries in Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, Singapore, and the U.K. and has conducted confidential interviews with participants whom he has discreetly chosen not to name. This book throws light on international relations in Southeast Asia between 1957 and 1971, on the foreign policies of AMDA members, and on the domestic politics of those countries.

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NICHOLAS TARLING. *The Burthen, the Risk, and the Glory: A Biography of Sir James Brooke*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1982. Pp. 465. \$45.00.

Sarawak consists of a coastal strip, 450 miles long and varying from 40 to 120 miles wide, on the northwest coast of the island of Borneo. A tropical country, much of it remains inaccessible to this day. A century and one-half ago it formed a comparatively insignificant part of the territory of the sultanate of Brunei. Then in 1840 came the romantic English adventurer James Brooke in his armed schooner from Singapore to help the local governor suppress piracy and tribal rebellion.

As a reward for his efforts Brooke was made raja of Sarawak, thus becoming the founder of a dynasty that was to rule that unique Eastern kingdom for over a century. The story of his career, told in painstaking detail and with meticulous documentation by Nicholas Tarling, provides fresh insights into the mechanics of colonial acquisition and expansion, as well as into the peculiar nature of the "White Man's Burden."

Having won the raj of Sarawak by his own exertions, Brooke made strenuous efforts to gain the backing of the British government and the support of English public opinion for his strange regime. Naturally, he proclaimed the highest motives: the development of the country's resources, the welfare of the native peoples, the expansion of British trade,

the spread of Western civilization. His ambitions even extended to the whole island of Borneo, which he visualized as a "second Java" (p. 73). He used the "foreign powers" argument that if the British did not take over, others would, threatening to negotiate with the Dutch, the French, or the Belgians.

But successive British governments were too clever for Brooke. They steadfastly refused to become involved, avoiding formal recognition of his regime while providing occasional naval protection. For a time they made use of Brooke for their own ends as a kind of commissioner-general for Southeast Asia, sending him on a diplomatic mission to Siam in 1850. English public opinion, voiced by the radical leaders Cobden and Hume, was suspicious of Brooke's motives and disturbed by reported massacres of "pirates" and the destruction of coastal villages in northern Borneo carried out with the support of the Royal Navy.

As time went on Brooke, convinced of the rightness of his cause, became increasingly frustrated, resentful, and cantankerous. He disinherited his nephew and presumptive heir who disagreed with his policy and called for his abdication. Family feuding and bickering produced voluminous correspondence and continuous journeying between Sarawak and England. Eventually, before Brooke's death in 1868, the British government reached a typical compromise in recognizing Sarawak without guaranteeing its protection, much less taking it over.

For Brooke the raj, once a source of pride and glory, had become an intolerable burden, and in that respect his story seems to epitomize the ultimate fate of colonial adventurism as a whole, whether private or public. In his own person he embodied the basic qualities of the typical Raffles-like adventurer of the age: ambition, courage, determination, and ruthlessness. In his career he combined high principles with low cunning, possibly an essential qualification for leadership in any age.

Quoting extensively from Brooke family papers, Tarling has provided a thoroughly sound if somewhat labored addition to his earlier authoritative studies on Britain and Borneo.

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UNITED STATES

RICHARD C. BERNER. *Archival Theory and Practice in the United States: A Historical Analysis*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1983. Pp. xv, 219. \$35.00.

What archivists do is vitally important to historians, not to mention genealogists, government research-

ers, and others. One problem is that most historical researchers only have a general idea of the challenges that face archivists. A bigger problem is that archivists have not reached agreement on how they should deal with those challenges. This latter problem is the chief concern in this slim volume by Richard C. Berner, a veteran university archivist.

Berner's work is neither a book of theory nor a history of the development of archival practices in the United States. What he offers is a series of analytical essays on the development of archival theory and practice in America, emphasizing the functional essentials of the arrangement and description of archives. Unfortunately, he eschews dealing with the third basic practice—a particularly knotty one—the appraisal of records.

Berner analyzes the impact of the divergent views on the administration of public archives and historical manuscripts that developed early in the twentieth century. This he does very well, showing how archivists adopted the European principle of provenance so that they could treat records in groups, according to who created them, and how manuscript curators emphasized chronological and subject-matter arrangements of papers. This split between theory and practice would pose serious problems in servicing materials. Although provenance became the dominant operating principle in dealing with unpublished materials by the 1950s, theory and practice remained muddled because of the lingering influence of the historical manuscripts tradition and allied library methods. As Berner indicates, this is reflected in the American Library Association's *Anglo-American Cataloging Rules* and the Library of Congress's *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*.

Although one can suggest that Berner exaggerates the current differences among those who administer archives and manuscripts, he makes a good case for the proposition that archivists must strive to refine the theory underlying their work and the arrangement and descriptive practices that stem from that theory. This is all the more necessary, as Berner points out, as the challenges by automation become more pressing for archival and manuscript repositories. Berner offers many interesting suggestions for improving archival practices. There is a serious question, however, as to whether his suggestions will fit in with a general archival theory acceptable to most members of his rather pragmatic profession.

Berner's work is certain to shake up the thinking of archivists and it will probably outrage many librarians. Yet they, and historians, can learn from his thoughtful and bold analysis of the problems of archival administration and from his models for better information retrieval. Never mind that he occasionally overstates his case or assumes that ar-

chivists have the resources required to implement his suggestions. Berner's is an important challenge to archivists to reassess theory and to improve their approaches to arrangement, description, and, necessarily, training and appraisal. The question that remains unanswered, in the absence of a theorist-teacher of the stature of a Solon Buck, Ernst Posner, or Theodore Schellenberg, is how archivists are going to do so.

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ROBERT G. DUNBAR. *Forging New Rights in Western Waters*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 278.

People born and raised in the semiarid and arid West have to cross the 98th meridian to experience what goes on in the humid East—weird moths with huge wingspreads banging against the windows at night, locusts the size of sparrows chattering in the trees by day, crickets and June bugs that do not hide in the cracks in the concrete but come right out and look you over. And the humidity? It has to be lived in to be believed. How can the Easterners stand it?

For their part, Easterners may well wonder at what Robert G. Dunbar discusses in his study of the development of Western water law. Suffice to say that for the people who pioneered and whose descendants live in the West, development of the West's water resources has meant the growth of the West itself. Its availability has determined the prosperity of the region; its scarcity has been the cause of many conflicts.

Dunbar traces the evolution of Western water use from aboriginal times to the present. Spanish pioneers found and used irrigation ditches dug by their Indian predecessors. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Mormons confronted an environment that offered minimal rainfall, while farmers and ranchers from Montana south to Texas and from the Dakotas west to California wrestled with the need to provide enough water to make agriculture profitable and urban growth feasible. They soon found that the water laws of the humid East, based on English legal precedent, did not work very well in the West. Under riparian law, landowners living by watercourses had little obligation either to conserve water or see that their neighbors got a fair share. Western settlers quickly recognized the impracticality of such logic and worked out their own solution—the doctrine of prior appropriation, or "first in time, first in right."

Characteristically, states in the West went their own ways in shaping Western water laws. Colorado early tried to create a comprehensive system of water rights; Wyoming tried harder, developing an

administrative structure copied and modified by other Western states and territories. As the West developed, complicated questions arose. What about rivers that originate in one state but course through one or more neighboring states? The interstate compact idea promised to resolve such issues, but it has provided plenty of litigation and headaches for federal courts.

Along with laws and policies on surface water, groundwater use has aroused controversy over its distribution and consumption. Meanwhile, many Westerners have raised an alarm over the federal government's infringements on state water rights. The historical record overflows with lawsuits, many of which drag on for years. California lawyers, for example, have enjoyed decades of business generated by the state's confusing acceptance of both riparian and prior appropriation doctrines. Critics have despaired of attempts to twist the appropriation doctrine to meet the challenges of an increasingly complex society.

Dunbar, with the credentials of almost four decades of exploring the mysteries of Western water law, argues effectively that the appropriation doctrine, for all its modifications and imperfections, is the West's best answer to its unique needs. His book, the only modern survey of its kind, offers an opportunity for understanding how important the water issue is in shaping the economic and social future of the West.

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ALBERT E. COWDREY. *This Land, This South: An Environmental History*. (New Perspectives on the South.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1983. Pp. xii, 236. \$23.00.

The American South has been written about from almost every angle, but now an ignored part of its history has been covered in this fine book. *This Land, This South* is a clear and pungent environmental history that has long been needed.

Albert E. Cowdrey, a medical historian for the U.S. Army, has ably traced the environmental development of the South from its prehistoric beginnings to the reemergence of the South as a part of the magical "Sunbelt." Especially valuable to the professional and layman alike is the discussion of the fragile nature of the southern ecology. From the beginning of European penetration of the Southeast through its development as the center of plantation economy and on to the exploitation of sharecropping and twentieth-century ravages, the environment has been the subject of unbelievable abuse. The fact that the ecology has survived and

the area still remains fertile and a major source of American agricultural products is a testament to the dedicated, hard-working southerners who were determined not to let their major resource die.

Especially interesting is Cowdrey's analysis of the Indians as environmentalists. He ably debunks the belief that they were "natural ecologists" who understood the delicate balance of nature and lived in harmony with it. He argues that they radically transformed the environment by exploiting it ruthlessly through hunting and the extensive burning of forests. Persons who hold the idealistic view of the original inhabitants will not agree with this assessment, but the evidence is well presented.

In some ways the environmental history of the South has only just begun. Efforts in the twentieth century to halt the decline and destruction of the southern environment have been well intentioned but sometimes ill conceived. The results have been mixed. The interest in the environment since the mid-1960s has focused new attention on the South; the future story is yet to be written.

This is a fine addition to the "New Perspectives on the South" series of the University Press of Kentucky, under the general editorship of Charles P. Roland. It should become the standard environmental history of the region.

DONALD W. WHISENHUNT
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WILLIAM CRONON. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hill and Wang or McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Toronto. 1983. Pp. x, 241. Cloth \$15.95, paper \$6.95.

This book is going to have a long and happy life in the classroom—long because it is succinct, clearly and clearly written, modest in its aims, and authoritative in their achievement; happy because it summarizes a great deal of familiar material on the Indian and colonial societies of New England but enhances and unifies it by placing it in a novel ecological context. Moreover, it is perfectly suited to the undergraduate survey or the graduate seminar. Free from jargon, it is interdisciplinary in the best sense because William Cronon ventures with open eyes and serious intent into the various perspectives and ideologies of several disciplines and subdisciplines; his footnotes and bibliographical essay sweep deftly through the literatures of ecology, anthropology, ethnohistory, and colonial history. Perhaps most important, he clearly respects each of his subjects—Indians, colonists, and the land. All this, in a paperback on decent stock in signatures at a reasonable price, can only spell success.

Cronon reminds us—without preaching but with some regret—that Anglo-America was founded on

a philosophy of expansive capitalism and environmental waste. He does not argue that all of the environmental changes in New England or all of the changes in Indian culture were caused by the European invaders; his is not a caricature of Puritans falling first on their knees and then on helpless trees and aborigines. But he rightly argues that the social and political invasion of Indian New England entailed a host of "fundamental reorganizations in the region's plant and animal communities" (p. vii). Not all but "much" of the changing ecology of New England was the product of "the colonists' more exclusive sense of property and their involvement in a capitalist economy" (p. viii). "Economic and ecological imperialisms reinforced each other"; "capitalism and environmental degradation went hand in hand" (pp. 161–62).

If Cronon's conclusion is not startling, much of his analysis forces us to rethink the colonizing process. We have long known that European plows and concepts of fixed property stymied the Indians' shifting subsistence strategies and forced the natives into sedentary economies resembling those of European peasants. More recently we have learned how destructive of native life were epidemics of imported diseases, which "liberated" Indian corn fields and village sites for the launching of some fifty New English towns. Cronon also demonstrates, for example, that both Indian society and the land were altered as much or more by the colonists' grazing animals, which in most towns claimed from two to ten times more land than agriculture. Cattle competed directly with the Indians for food by eating their corn and rooting in their clambanks and storage barns, but also indirectly by promoting deforestation with the need for new pastures, grain lots, and fences. Together the soil compacted under their hooves and the denuded landscape altered drainage patterns and climate, making New England "sunnier, windier, hotter, colder, and drier" than it had been before colonization (p. 123).

Errors are surprisingly few in this first book by a specialist in western urban history. The only sign that Cronon's personal predilection overshot his evidence is his unproven assertion that "few Indians . . . actually starved in precolonial times," "much less frequently than did early colonists" (pp. 41, 55). Other speculations are duly marked and carefully offered—one more reason why this nifty book is headed for modest but enduring success.

JAMES AXTELL

College of William and Mary

STEPHEN INNES. *Labor in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth-Century Springfield*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 463. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$7.95.

Stephen Innes's *Labor in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth-Century Springfield* functions on at least three levels, and on two of them well.

As a portrait of the entrepreneurial drive that made first William and then his son John Pynchon the economic and political masters not only of Springfield but, until 1689, also of the entire Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts, the book is nearly a total success. Innes is somewhat ambivalent about the effect they had on Springfield's seventeenth-century society, but then who would not be? This "community" was largely a collection of often feckless people (with their families), indebted to a Pynchon for their jobs, for their rented lands, and literally indebted for loans. Individually, these settlers fell out with one another and with their ministers; collectively as a town, they turned again and again to a Pynchon to solve their financial problems, granting him the best lands and monopoly privileges in return. Who but a Pynchon could have provided credit, land, labor, and steady, decent leadership for a collection of persons so initially without resources, so prickly, whose characters eventually landed them in so remote and dangerous a frontier town? The Pynchons were the prototype of the gentleman-entrepreneur who, over and over again, would create a social and economic order in some of the more miscellaneous corners of the American frontier, rather more rapidly than such an order would otherwise have evolved.

Innes's work is also a healthy reminder that such entrepreneurs were on the scene from the beginning in seventeenth-century New England. The Willards in the Merrimack Valley and the Otises in Barnstable somewhat duplicated Pynchon's role as patrons of networks of acquisitive individuals, although neither family so dominated for so long so atomized a town as Springfield. Eleazer Lusher in Dedham, also had some of the features of a leader, mediator (with higher authorities), and entrepreneur, although he in turn was set within a still more balanced local economy and a still more developed communal consciousness, and so was even more restricted in his ultimate influence. Henry Phillips tried the same role, but found it occupied by Lusher and limited by the Dedham community, and so he moved to Boston. Such types were as much a part of the study of early New England as were the communalistic town covenants that most of them signed and by whose limitations some, like Lusher, were bound and from which others, like Phillips, fled.

But when Innes leaps from that rare apotheosis of the entrepreneur, Springfield, when he sweeps in sometimes unrelated scraps of evidence on social and religious diversity in other New England towns, when he encompasses the growth of Boston and Salem as cities, and invokes the whole trend of English history as he races along, reaching the

conclusion that "when viewed in the larger historical setting it was not Springfield's commercialism but Dedham's corporatism that appears anomalous" we must be allowed a certain caution. Anomalous of world history, yes, and of the trend of New England history, but not of its seventeenth-century reality. Even William Pynchon, after all, began by signing a town covenant.

The covenantal theology of the New England Puritans at first found an explicit reflection in dozens of town covenants setting the rules of mutual decency that were to prevail in the secular life of these communities. Never written at Marblehead, perhaps not in Watertown either, shredded by William Pynchon at Springfield, quickly outgrown in Boston, eventually outgrown by 1680 in Salem Port and by 1710 in Dedham, already under strain in the religious life of the lower Connecticut Valley in the seventeenth century, and widely outgrown in many towns by 1750, the covenantal ideal and actuality, not the entrepreneurial or the merely diverse, nonetheless remained the explicit modal pattern of community settlement in New England for the first two generations. The ideal was to be embodied in the consensual ideology and communal self-discipline of scores of small backcountry towns and separate congregations in the eighteenth century.

It was a lost cause, Innes is right in this. But one cannot understand the violent reaction of the poor parishoners of rural Salem village to growing diversity, commerce, and cosmopolitanism; the three-generations long localism of the Cleaveland family as documented by Christopher Jedrey; the local communitarianism of the separates of the Great Awakening; Michael Zuckerman's consensualists; or the intense localism of small Massachusetts towns in the constitutional discussions of the later 1770s, without understanding that the covenantal mode that preceded them all was not only the powerful and normative ideal statement on local society with which New England began, but a statement with a wide enough basis in initial seventeenth-century realities, and a sufficiently wide basis in continuing eighteenth-century realities to prove startlingly long-lived in New England's history.

Springfield is a part of a wonderful and complex counterpoint, and in its diversity, although less so in its mastery by a single entrepreneur, it was indeed an early encroachment of the inevitable future. By 1750 that future was to erase most local covenants and to make a more diffuse localistic consensualism itself a minority experience. But to imply, as Innes does, that Springfield is therefore more typical than Dedham of the New England experience up to 1689 is profoundly to miss the unique point of the early New England town experience, which was a powerful if ultimately doomed resistance to all that such

exceptional communities as Springfield, and (eventually) Salem Port, represented. To go beyond this, as Innes does, to imply that New England society became *less* factious and stratified in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth is to use the peculiarities of the Springfield experience to distort the seventeenth-century evidence, in a speculation that needs Zuckerman's erroneous deduction from his peculiarly small and hence still peaceful eighteenth-century towns. The weight of the evidence is still that diversity, contention, and the power of higher authority generally increased with time, as witness the repeated reactions to this very trend that mark the history of New England. Innes is simply right in pointing out how early this process began and how quickly it progressed.

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JAY COUGHTRY. *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700–1807*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1981. Pp. xiii, 361. \$37.95.

A decade ago Gilman M. Ostrander announced that the triangular trade in rum, slaves, and molasses between colonial New England, Africa, and the West Indies was actually "a myth, for no such pattern of trade existed as a major factor in colonial commerce" (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 30 [1973]: 635–44). In this interesting monograph, the first systematic account of the Rhode Island slave trade, Jay Coughtry demonstrates that colonial merchants from Newport and Bristol did in fact pursue a triangular pattern of trade on a large scale. Coughtry has found a great deal of solid evidence about this trade, and in a long appendix he presents a detailed list of 934 Rhode Island slaving voyages between 1709 and 1807.

By no means all of these voyages were triangular. In the early days the Newport merchants shuttled many of their slave cargoes straight back to Rhode Island. But from the 1760s onward Coughtry establishes that most of these voyages were routed from Africa to the Caribbean and back to New England, and that the Rhode Islanders exchanged rum for slaves for molasses, just as the textbooks say. Coughtry estimates that the Rhode Island slavers carried 106,544 Africans to the New World. Sizable as this figure is, the Rhode Islanders were always very minor practitioners compared with the Liverpool slavers who carried about three hundred thousand Africans to the New World in a single decade, 1791–1800.

As Coughtry shows, the Rhode Islanders operated in a style significantly different from their English competitors. The ships they sailed to Africa were only about half the tonnage of English slave

ships; they paid for their slaves in fiery Guinea rum rather than in English textiles, beads, and guns; and they were generally able to get away from the African coast more quickly than their rivals because they loaded many fewer slaves per ship—only 99 on average in the 1780s when the English ships were loading 324. Before the American Revolution the Rhode Islanders marketed their slaves principally in Barbados, Jamaica, and other English sugar islands. After the Revolution they turned to Cuba, South Carolina, and Georgia. In 1787 the Rhode Island legislature abolished the slave trade and in 1794 and 1800 Congress legislated against it, but despite the efforts of Quaker abolitionists to enforce this legislation through the courts, the Rhode Island merchants brazenly evaded prosecution. Indeed 32 percent of the known Rhode Island slaving voyages took place between 1795 and 1807, and Coughtry's tabulations indicate that the slavers shipped over thirty-five thousand Africans during these years. Just what happened when the British and American governments jointly closed the trade in 1808 is unclear; the Rhode Islanders either went underground or dropped out. Coughtry believes that they dropped out very quickly, as Rhode Island's traditional overseas commerce stagnated and the local entrepreneurs turned to another slave-related business: cotton manufacturing.

Much of the recent literature on the Atlantic slave trade has been exclusively quantitative, so it is a pleasure to encounter an author who combines statistical data with merchants' correspondence, court testimony, newspaper reports, insurance records, and other kinds of evidence. Drawing on these variegated sources, he discusses how the slavers manned and freighted their ships, how they operated on the African coast, and how they marketed their slaves in America. On occasion he is too uncritical, romanticizing the slavers' entrepreneurial success and understating their barbarity. For example, he considers the slave mortality rate of 12 percent on Rhode Island ships during the middle passage to be commendably low, but surely the telling point here is that the English slavers were reducing their mortality rate from 8.5 percent in the 1760s to 4 percent in the 1800s while the Rhode Island rate (according to Coughtry's figures) remained at 11.8 percent during the closing decade of the trade.

For reasons not clear to me, the summary tabulation (pp. 27–28) of voyages and slaves shipped during the years 1709–1807 frequently fails to correlate with the detailed figures in the appendix for these years (pp. 241–85). Coughtry has only spotty data on the first 172 voyages, those between 1709 and 1753, and he assumes that these early voyages carried 114 slaves apiece because that is the average size of recorded Rhode Island slave cargoes

from 1754 to 1807. But the 19 early ships on which he does have cargo information averaged 87 slaves apiece, which leads me to suspect that his estimates for these years, and his grand total of 106,544 slaves shipped from Africa, are somewhat exaggerated. One of the best features of Coughtry's appendix is that it shows where 509 of the ships marketed their slave cargoes in America, but the diagram summarizing this information on page 168 is defective, since the key to the figure mislabels the graph lines for Charleston, Barbados, Jamaica, and Cuba, and the graph line for Savannah is omitted. Such mistakes are not trifling, and they detract from an otherwise excellent book.

RICHARD S. DUNN
University of Pennsylvania

JERRY L. SURRATT. *Gottlieb Schober of Salem: Discipleship and Ecumenical Vision in an Early Moravian Town*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 243.

The American Moravians have been an intriguing subject of study for both scholars of religion and historians. In this work, Jerry L. Surratt combines his knowledge of the two fields to produce a life and environment biography of Gottlieb Schober, a controversial figure in the evolution of Salem, North Carolina.

Founded in the 1760s, Salem was to be the theocratic center of Moravian activity on the Carolina frontier. In keeping with Moravian practice, church leaders organized Salem's economic and social life along a disciplined, communal pattern that, although pietistic, required participation in the secular world. To be in the world but not of the world was the historical challenge faced by the inhabitants of this community into which Gottlieb Schober came from Pennsylvania. The subsequent conflict between his strong Moravian religious indoctrination and his ambitious desires for worldly success in the evolving frontier town of Salem comprises the underlying theme of Surratt's work.

From the first, Schober found the conflict nearly impossible to resolve. Receiving no encouragement for a ministerial career, he directed his talents to his own economic aggrandizement. As he advanced from weaver's apprentice to storekeeper, millowner, and lawyer, he infringed on Moravian economic regulations that controlled competition and operated businesses for the good of the entire congregation. Not surprisingly, he was often at odds with the Salem overseers. Nevertheless, Schober's "aggressive economic individualism" (p. 60) in time brought him recognition as a community leader and even gave him overseer status. It also inspired other Moravians to emulate him in developing private

economic interests that eventually transformed Salem from theocratic community to "civil community more characteristic of the American scene" (p. 226).

At the age of fifty-four, Schober gave up a few of his business enterprises to confront Moravian exclusiveness in yet another area by departing the congregation and becoming a Lutheran minister. For the remainder of his life, he worked for an ecumenical perspective in that denomination while maintaining his residence and several businesses in Salem. This anomalous situation was further complicated when the Salem overseers recognized him as a Moravian brother at his own request several years later.

Theocratic order could not be maintained in the face of inroads from both economic individualism and non-Moravian religiosity. At Schober's death, Salem was only a decade from abolishing the remnants of its theocracy.

Surratt's work is clearly a labor of love growing out of his earlier study of Salem. It was encouraged by Schober descendants and published with the assistance of the Wachovia Historical Society. It is not without imperfections; it has too many digressions, flashbacks, and lengthy inset quotations. Still, it is worth examining both for a case study of controversy and contradiction in a religious community, and for the insights Schober's career yields into the transformation of Salem from a closed religious society into an open, secular one. These insights constitute the more valuable part of the work for social historians of the American frontier.

W. CALVIN SMITH
University of South Carolina,
Aiken

ANTONIO ACOSTA RODRÍGUEZ. *La población de Luisiana Española, 1763-1803*. (Trabajos monográficos sobre la independencia de Norteamérica, number 5.) Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. 1979. Pp. xi, 499.

This is the most comprehensive study yet published on the free and slave populations of Louisiana Territory during the period of Spanish occupation that immediately preceded its annexation by the United States. Antonio Acosta Rodríguez has divided the forty years into three periods (1763-77, 1778-88, and 1789-1803), which he sees as representing distinct stages of population growth and of social, political, and economic change. Each period is treated successively in the same manner. Rodríguez starts with an overview of the social, political, and economic developments of the period. Then he describes the distribution and growth of the free population, its composition by sex, age, and marital status, fertility and household characteristics. The

slave population is described only in terms of spatial distribution and growth by age and sex. The numerous text tables are supplemented by 145 pages of detailed tabulations and graphs in appendixes. There are also appendixes on methodology and sources, in addition to the bibliography. The chapter outline is at the end of the book; unfortunately there is no index.

Until well into the nineteenth century, population enumerations were generally carried out on an ad hoc basis and lacked uniform procedures and definitions. This bedeviled Rodríguez's task and left him with a patchy data base consisting of statistics for groups of people identified with, or identifiable as belonging to, varying numbers of settlements in the territory. Thus, for the first period (1763-77), one or more figures are given for the free population in sixteen communities while figures are given for twenty-nine settlements in the second and fourteen in the third period. Data for the slave population cover fewer communities, perhaps because not all settlements had slaves. The upshot of this is that the individual trees do not create a forest and the overall pattern of population distribution and growth is not evident.

The data for population by sex are reasonably good but statistics on the population by age, marital status, and household composition are available for only a limited number of settlements. Rodríguez has used the three primary age groups of youth, reproductive, and postreproductive years (under 15 years of age, 15-49, and 50 and over, respectively). These reveal that, although there was surplus of men in the reproductive ages, there were also large numbers of women, both in the free and the slave population. Thus both populations seem to have been capable of reproducing themselves, and of growing, without the aid of immigration. The limited data may not be representative, but they suggest an average completed family size of 4-5 living children. They also indicate the presence of substantial numbers of widows and, to a lesser extent, widowers in the adult population. Single persons were usually under twenty years of age, almost invariably under twenty-five years.

The author might have used a broader range of techniques for the analysis of his data and all of the raw data should have been presented, with sources, in an appendix so that others could carry out additional analysis. The editors and publisher should have consolidated the appendix tables in order to reduce the number and to make them easier to use. The value of the large number of graphs is questionable and those showing sex ratios could easily have been deleted without loss. The labeling of tables and graphs is often incomplete or unclear, and sometimes incorrect. The headings of the columns "Total hijos" and "nº. madres" in the

tables on pages 431–32, for example, are reversed. This further complicates understanding tables that are poorly laid out in partially labeled stacked panels rather than horizontally. Similarly, raw data are given in columns on the graphs but are not identified as such. The essential map is hidden in the appendix with the graphs, on page 335, and it is inadequate since not all settlements are shown. Such criticisms are, however, essentially peripheral. Rodríguez has made an important contribution to the demographic history of the New World. His book is based on exhaustive research. It is well written and devoid of jargon. An English translation would be welcome.

JACK ERICSON EBLEN
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Switzerland

RICHARD M. MCMURRY. *John Bell Hood and the War for Southern Independence*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1982. Pp. xi, 239. \$19.50.

He stood on the high ground above the village of Franklin, Tennessee on an Indian Summer day in 1864. General John Bell Hood, only thirty-three years old, was aged before his time, as was the Confederate dream. Both were wasted by November 1864, when Hood's shabby Army of Tennessee arrived on the Franklin slopes.

How far the young Kentucky officer had come from the early war days. From a modest beginning as a cavalry captain, Hood by September 1862 was a major general who led a division in Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia at Antietam. Within scarcely eighteen months, Hood was a lieutenant general and corps leader on the western front in Georgia. In July 1864 he took charge of the Army of Tennessee, one of the South's two main armies.

But on the Franklin field, John Bell Hood was a tragic, broken man, maimed both physically and spiritually. One arm had been shattered beyond use at Gettysburg and a leg amputated on the field at Chickamauga.

The trail of events that followed the Chickamauga wound has been told often. A Richmond convalescence wrought a love affair with a stereotypical Dixie belle and a close bond with President Jefferson Davis. A frustrated Davis, eager for action on the Georgia front, dispatched young Hood there after sanguine promises of results. The ambitious Hood capitalized on the government's displeasure with General Joseph Johnston's command policies and conducted a clandestine correspondence with Richmond officials that indicated rebel affairs on the western front were in chaos. Johnston was removed, Hood was given command of the Army of Tennessee, and promptly that army was decimated in the bloody assaults at the battles around Atlanta. By

early September 1864 the once mighty Army of Tennessee mustered scarcely twenty-three thousand effective infantry.

Undaunted, Hood marched his army into Tennessee, on a visionary expedition to cross the Ohio River. His dream ended shortly after he arrived on the Franklin slope and ordered a suicidal assault against the Federal army entrenched in the valley below. Within five hours, some 1,750 rebel troops were killed and another 5,500 wounded or captured. The death rate was higher than that of the much larger Union forces in campaigns such as the Seven Days and Chancellorsville. Soon after this tragedy, the feeble remnant of Hood's army was obliterated at the battle of Nashville. A broken Hood resigned in disgrace.

Why did Hood experience such disaster after assuming command at Atlanta? Richard M. McMurry, in a heavily researched biography, attempts to reconcile the discrepancy between Hood's splendid reputation in Lee's army and his dismal performance on the western front.

Some of McMurry's conclusions are certainly not original, but are simply discussed more fully. Others have suggested that Hood's idolatrous worship of Robert E. Lee brought him to grief. Clearly Hood did want to be a Lee and imitate the Virginian's tactics of aggressive manoeuvring, but he lacked Lee's command talents. Also, Hood's conception of achieving success by imitating Lee's bold attacks was outdated by 1864. The period of his two wounds and long convalescence did something to stop Hood's mental time clock and the changing war had passed him by. Lee was in the Richmond-Petersburg trenches in 1864 when Hood still had visions of the open-field assaults of 1862. Other historians have suggested that Hood was a victim of that entrapment whereby one rises to a level of responsibility above his competence. A good attack subordinate, Hood lacked the intelligence, discipline, or managerial experience to command a vast army.

McMurry moves closer to original thought when he speculates that Hood was destroyed by the same body of ethics that had nurtured the antebellum South. His romantic values of physical prowess, braggadoccio, and combativeness were outdated in the America of 1864, when Hood stood on the ridge at Franklin. He was part of a myth but perhaps also, part of a reality. Hood might be a potential case study for Bertram Wyatt-Brown's concept of the Southern sense of primordial honor.

McMurry is a fine campaign historian and excellent researcher. He chronicles the events of Hood's life well. But the ideas he suggests are not given enough space. Perhaps more could have been done to interweave the qualities that brought Hood down with those that destroyed the entire South.

THOMAS L. CONNELLY
University of South Carolina

W. W. ABBOT *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series*. Volume 1, 1748–August 1755; Volume 2, August 1755–April 1756. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1983. Pp. xxviii, 390; xxiv, 385. \$25.00 each.

The long-awaited initial volumes of the papers of George Washington are a contribution of first importance to the documentation of American history of the second half of the eighteenth century, and the editor, W. W. Abbot, his associate editor, Dorothy Twohig, and their staff of assistant editors deserve high praise for their enterprise and scholarship. This, hopefully, will be the definitive edition, as John Clement Fitzpatrick only published letters and other writings by Washington, leaning entirely on the letterbooks rather than the addressees' copies. True, although previous editors—Jared Sparks in 1853 and Stanislaus Hamilton in 1898–1902—included some incoming letters, relatively few of the thousands of letters sent to Washington have hitherto been printed. Based on a worldwide search for Washington correspondence, the editors have identified, copied, and catalogued more than a hundred thousand items, more than half of which are in the Library of Congress.

To illustrate the sheer volume of material embraced in this new edition, it should be noted that the Abbot edition includes 324 items for the year 1755 against 163 items in the Fitzpatrick edition. Of course, sheer volume does not denote inclusiveness. Missing from the present published volumes are Washington's "Notes on Journey to Boston," taken from his "Ledger of Accounts." Perhaps the editors are planning to publish ledger books elsewhere or separately, as they have done with the diaries, but it would seem to this reviewer that these "Notes" belong in their proper chronological place in the series, especially since correspondence on the Washington trip is so sparse on this topic, and the journey seems in retrospect so significant in shaping Washington's attitude toward the imperial authorities.

Considering the immensity of the task ahead, the editors have made a prudent decision to initiate not only this series dealing with Washington's colonial career, but two other series as well, one on the Revolution and another on the presidency. We are promised the initial volumes of the latter two series fairly soon.

The present series, paralleling the *Diaries* that preceded them, and dealing with Washington's pre-Revolutionary career, will run to six volumes. As with all of the founding fathers, letters are relatively scarce for Washington's childhood. For the years 1745 to 1753, there are only twenty-eight items in the first volume. What has survived is a series of memoranda, boyish poetry, various professional surveys made by Washington, school exercises of the 1740s, and a court case (1751) where a female

servant was sentenced to fifteen lashes for stealing Washington's clothes while he was swimming—a rather severe punishment for what sounds like a prank! Significantly, there are no letters to his mother in these years, two to Ann Fairfax Washington, the wife of Washington's half-brother Lawrence, and one to an unidentified Sally.

The most consequential material in the first two volumes relates to the French and Indian War, for which only two of the original letterbooks survive. In each case Washington went through them later in life to correct and polish the language. In his revisions, the editors assure us, he was scrupulous to preserve the original meaning while desiring the image of his younger self to be preserved for posterity as a youth who could write with greater clarity and elegance than the evidence warrants. The editors believe that Washington made the first set of these corrections as late as 1786 and 1787, and the second set as late as 1797. One exception is his January 7, 1755 letter to Sarah Carey Fairfax replying to her request that he cease writing her (I: pp. 308–309), in which letter Washington made significant changes.

Appropriate annotations identify places, people, and events. One would like to know what happened to the original of Washington's letter to John Augustine Washington of May 31, 1754, with the memorable passage: "I heard Bullets whistle and believe me there was something charming in the sound." We could have used here an editorial comment on why this is published from a copy, which seems to have been made by Edmund Pendleton. Might not this have been copied from the account published in England, and thus be a third- or fourth-hand attribution?

Herein are set forth all the big events in which young Washington participated, events surrounded with controversy—the capitulation at Fort Mifflin (for which the published *Diaries* in the previous series must be consulted), and the disastrous Braddock campaign, the circumstances of which and Washington's heroic role therein are published with impeccable annotation.

The editorial rules adhere rather closely to those adopted in the various ongoing statesmen's series. One might object to the pedantry of retaining dashes as punctuation when a period is called for, and might wish that further liberties in paragraphing might be taken in later volumes in the interest of readability. In the end, though, each editor has to make decisions based on the character of his or her material. In sum, all scholars will be lastingly indebted to the editors for producing the initial volumes that bid fair to assuring us of an exemplary edition of a major statesman's papers.

RICHARD B. MORRIS
Papers of John Jay,
Columbia University

ALONZO THOMAS DILL. *Carter Braxton, Virginia Signer: A Conservative in Revolt*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1983. Pp. xii, 284. Cloth \$23.50, paper \$12.25.

Because Carter Braxton signed the Declaration of Independence, early nineteenth-century historians placed him among the leading patriots of the American Revolution, a distinction denied him during his lifetime. Conservative and aristocratic, Braxton was viewed with suspicion by many Revolutionaries. He opposed democratic innovations and accepted independence with reluctance. His signature on Jefferson's declaration represented only a lukewarm endorsement of its contents. Shortly after independence was declared, Braxton lost his seat in Congress because of his sentiments, and during his subsequent career as a wartime merchant, he was frequently denounced as an unscrupulous profiteer. "In his heart," William Aylett wrote, "I am confident he is a Tory, but his Interest binds him in favour of Independence" (p. 132).

It is against such aspersions that Alonzo Thomas Dill seeks to defend Braxton. Eschewing any ambitious thesis, Dill attempts to establish Braxton's patriotic credentials by documenting his full role in the Revolution, a challenging task in light of the fact that most of Braxton's papers have disappeared. The record, Dill finds, shows that, whatever Braxton's reservations about independence and democracy, he was much involved as a Virginia legislator in establishing the state's Revolutionary government, and as a merchant he contributed to the American cause by importing military supplies. Furthermore, as a conservative, Braxton was a valuable conciliator in the early days of the Revolution. "The moderation shown by . . . Braxton at the outset of hostilities," Dill suggests, "may well have dissuaded or neutralized many Tories and prevented the growth of a strong Loyalist party in Virginia" (p. 55).

Through painstaking research, Dill succeeds in writing a definitive factual account of Braxton's life, but few readers will find Braxton more than a minor figure in the Revolution. What is of interest here to current historians is not Braxton the Virginia signer or the conservative Revolutionary but Braxton the tidewater nabob. Although Dill does not explicitly say so, it is clear that the one thread running through Braxton's life was his unswerving allegiance to the values of his social caste, the James-York river aristocracy. The Revolution, it seems, did not change Braxton's perspective. Under new circumstances, he continued to fight the old colonial battles in defense of the wealth and power of the James-York planters and yearned for the old trappings of privilege long after they had become meaningless. In this sense Dill gives historians a

valuable glimpse of a neglected aspect of the Revolutionary era.

PHILANDER D. CHASE
Papers of George Washington

PETER S. ONUF. *The Origins of the Federal Republic: Jurisdictional Controversies in the United States, 1775-1787*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1983. Pp. xvii, 284. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$12.95.

To explain the formation of the American Union, various perspectives have been useful: political, legal, economic, and ideological. Peter S. Onuf adds another, the relationship of territorial problems to the questions of how and when the Revolutionary generation created a nation rather than a compact of sovereign states. He studies boundary disputes and western land claims during the dozen years before the Constitutional Convention to explore the nature of the Union and its foundation of federalism. His research is very thorough, his writing smooth although laced with innumerable quotations, and his interpretation credible and interesting.

Selecting three important boundary disputes, Onuf shows that the outcome of each contributed to an enlarged role of the Confederation Congress. One was the problem of the Wyoming district involving Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Here was the only instance where the procedure provided by the Articles of Confederation settled a case between two states, which in itself was a nationalizing precedent, and the more so as persistent difficulty about the rights of residents defied solution by Pennsylvania alone. Second, the author deals with the complicated story of Vermont, arrayed against neighboring New York if not the world. Although the Green Mountain boys certainly displayed their individualism, they had to rely on Congress and the Union to assure their separate status. Third, Pennsylvania and Virginia negotiated a dividing line; and in doing so, they were subordinating narrow interests to the general good.

Still more important as a nationalizing influence was the resolution of territorial issues in the West, where several states had extensive claims based on colonial charters. Large states could have been decidedly larger, to the dismay of so-called small states, if they had adhered to their most advanced positions. Instead, New York, Virginia, and others ceded vast areas to the Union, to be first administered as territories and then admitted as full-fledged states by Congress, according to the ordinances of 1784 and 1787. In this protracted process, Americans endlessly explored the concept of statehood

and, Onuf says, moved toward a more limited definition of state sovereignty. Indeed, he points out, the idea of national citizenship was appearing.

When the Constitution of 1787, "a miracle," was drafted, the nation had arrived at a type of federalism that calmed large- and small-state hostility, reconciled state and national powers, and found a way for two levels of government, both responsible to the sovereign people, to operate harmoniously. That this was possible derived significantly from the achievements concerning the territories of the United States during the "critical period." No doubt, Onuf does not mean to say that the territorial factor was the only, perhaps the main cause, but the reader should bear this in mind.

MAURICE BAXTER
Indiana University,
Bloomington

LYNN WARREN TURNER. *The Ninth State: New Hampshire's Formative Years*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 479. \$19.98.

This is an extremely comprehensive and detailed portrayal of the political development of New Hampshire from the close of the War for Independence to 1820. Although its approach and method belong primarily to an earlier generation of historiography, it is an important book because it handsomely fills the gap between Richard F. Upton's older and Jere R. Daniell's newer treatments of the Revolutionary era in New Hampshire on the one hand and Donald B. Cole's rendition of Jacksonian democracy in the Granite State on the other. Since there is also a body of fairly recent scholarship on colonial New Hampshire, there has now become available a more than respectable literature dealing in considerable depth with the society and politics of the northernmost of the thirteen original states from settlement in the 1620s to the middle of the nineteenth century. In addition, *The Ninth State* represents the culmination of the late Lynn Warren Turner's long, but necessarily part-time, interest in this period of the state's history. This was first expressed in his 1962 biography of William Plumer, governor and U.S. senator, who also emerges as a central figure of the present work.

Turner's argument centers on geography. Remark- ing that New Hampshire, though small, was "perhaps the least homogeneous" of the New England states (p. 4), he follows both Jeremy Belknap and Timothy Dwight in ascribing political divisions and conflict primarily to the state's persistent regionalism. For the purpose of explaining his period, 1780–1820, Turner chooses four geographic divisions: The "Old Colony," or the seaboard area settled in the seventeenth century; the Merrimack

Valley; the Connecticut Valley; and the "frontier," or the northern part of the state in which settlement had only just begun. Each of these regions differed from the others in the settlers' place of origin as well as time of arrival. Thus the natural geographic barriers among the regions and differences from place to place in the kinds of economic opportunity that nature offered were exacerbated by ethnic and cultural factors and by loyalties, economic ties, and in some cases easy access to older areas outside the state—for example, Connecticut in the case of the Connecticut Valley and Boston and eastern Massachusetts in the case of the Merrimack Valley. To help support his regional hypothesis, Turner supplements his elegantly written text with twenty-one maps showing votes by town in virtually all of the crucial political tests he discusses.

There is much more here, however, than Turner's regional argument alone. Making exceptionally painstaking use of an immense store of manuscript and early printed sources, especially the voluminous Plumer papers, Turner reconstructs the rise of partisan politics on the state level and reveals what once would have been called his "Progressive" assumptions by detailing New Hampshire's erratic journey from post-Revolutionary conservatism to "reform and freedom." In the process he overlooks some important recent scholarship, especially in matters of religion, and mistakenly asserts (p. 132) that the New Hampshire state senate is still apportioned according to taxable property rather than population, which has not been the case since 1964.

But *The Ninth State* is a splendid example of good old hard-nosed, sleeves-rolled-up scholarship, an immensely worthwhile contribution to the growing literature on the little political laboratory that was early New Hampshire.

CHARLES E. CLARK
University of New Hampshire

EDGAR P. RICHARDSON *et al.* *Charles Willson Peale and His World*. Foreword by CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS. (Barra Foundation Book.) New York: Harry N. Abrams. 1983. Pp. 272. \$40.00.

This book, together with the concurrent exhibition for which it served as a catalogue, is a marvelous celebration of Charles Willson Peale, painter, inventor, revolutionary, naturalist, and museum impresario of the founding era in America. It includes 189 illustrations, many of them full page, half of them in color. The three essays by Edgar P. Richardson, Brooke Hindle, and Lillian B. Miller offer valuable commentary and interpretation. The young Peale, as Richardson shows, was too intuitively American

to be dominated by English fashion. Returning to Maryland in 1769, after two years schooling under Benjamin West, he turned the "conversation piece portrait," which he had learned in London, into something strikingly original, making it "speak of his own people and of the landscapes of [Maryland]." Later, after he settled in Philadelphia and became the unofficial portrait painter of the American Revolution, Peale developed a distinctly national version of neoclassic portraiture, marked by strong, precise, admiring delineations of character without pictorial elaboration of any kind. On occasion Peale painted landscapes, recorded events ("Exhuming the Mastodon," for instance), and in the amazing "Staircase Group," without any precedent whatever, he began the American tradition of *trompe l'oeil* painting. But Peale excelled in portraiture; and what we remember best from this book and exhibit are the sunny, robust, intelligent, and happy faces that radiate from his canvases and seem to express the confident, enlightened republicanism of the new nation. He mounted many of the portraits in his "Gallery of Great Men," which he began in the long room added to his city house in 1782 and subsequently incorporated into his natural history museum.

Peale's museum—America's first—with its array of portraits hung high above the vast assemblage of fossils, animals, and natural curiosities, attested to the convergence of the worlds of nature and art in Peale's life and thought. The essays by Hindle and Miller offer contrasting interpretations of the interplay between these two worlds. Miller sees Peale as "foremost an artist, impelled by his sense of design in nature to create forms that were harmonious, rhythmical, and proportioned." His portraits were models of republican virtue in harmony with a benevolent natural order. Focusing on science and invention, Hindle sees Peale as a product of the artisan culture of his time (he was a saddler's apprentice), wherein painting was simply a higher trade or craft. Like Leonardo, he possessed a highly developed capacity for visual thinking, which, says Hindle, was the basis of nearly all preindustrial technology; and in this sense Peale's artistry was the key to his scientific and technical virtuosity, ranging from mechanical copying machines to bridge design.

The book contains a posthumously published foreword by Charles Coleman Sellers, who began the serious study of Peale half a century ago but did not live to see this fitting culmination of his labors.

MERRILL D. PETERSON
University of Virginia

R. DAVID EDMUNDS. *The Shawnee Prophet*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 260. \$16.95.

One of the best-known names in the history of the American Indian is Tecumseh, the Shawnee patriot. On the other hand, his brother Tenskwatawa, the Prophet, is almost unknown, a shadowy figure who surfaced briefly before the War of 1812 and then faded away. Historians have generally paid the Prophet scant heed, dismissing him as a religious fanatic of little importance and crediting Tecumseh with forging the anti-American coalition of western tribes that sided with the British during the war. Historian R. David Edmunds, however, makes a convincing case that Tenskwatawa was primarily responsible for the multiracial confederacy—"his teachings struck a responsive chord among his fellow tribesmen, and it was Tenskwatawa rather than Tecumseh who provided the basis for Indian resistance in the years before the war" (p. 190).

The Prophet's given name was Lalawethika. Born in early 1775, he gave no indication in his youth of later promise. In fact, he was something of a ne'er-do-well—a braggart, a drunk, and an object of ridicule among his fellow Shawnees. Following what may have been a stroke at the age of thirty, he claimed to have communicated with the spirit world and received instructions to establish a new religion that would allow Indians to achieve paradise on earth, one that would be free of the hated Americans who were moving westward relentlessly. He changed his name to Tenskwatawa, which means "Open Door" (symbolizing his new role as a holy man), and launched his nativistic religion, which attempted to revive traditional practices and reduce dependency on the goods and corruptive influences of the white man. Anti-American in tone, the religion appealed to the demoralized and dispirited Indians along the northwestern frontier. Indeed, it spread quickly to tribes in Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin, giving Tenskwatawa a large and militant following with headquarters at Prophetstown, a village on Tippecanoe Creek in western Indiana. Tecumseh may not have been a believer, but he used his brother's influence to develop political ties with the affected tribes and with British officials in Canada. Tecumseh promised Indian support in the anticipated war with the United States in return for food, weapons, and friendship.

The confederacy scarcely had time to develop, however, before William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, took matters into his own hands and forced a confrontation with Tenskwatawa and his followers. No matter that Harrison was the aggressor or that his army suffered greater casualties than the Indians in the Battle of Tippecanoe. It was the Indians who retreated, allowing Harrison to claim a major victory and causing the Prophet to lose face among his disillusioned followers. When Tecumseh later died at the Battle of the Thames, Indian hopes for protection from American territorial ambitions died also.

Tenskwatawa lived until 1836, but for most of his later years he was a pathetic figure. He was abandoned by his followers, alienated from his British benefactors, and mistrusted by the people of the United States, who did not allow him to return from Canada until the mid-1820s, when he used the Indian removal program to ingratiate himself with the federal government and to regain a measure of importance and respect.

Edmunds has blended a variety of anthropological and historical sources to produce an excellent biography. Although perhaps not as exciting as it could be, it is well written and thoroughly researched. Edmunds has also demonstrated that sources do exist for the Indian side of the story in the history of Indian-white relations, even though they may require considerable diligence and resourcefulness to find.

HERMAN J. VIOLA
Smithsonian Institution

DAVID F. LONG. *Sailor-Diplomat: A Biography of James Biddle, 1783-1848*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 312. \$22.95.

James Biddle's forty-eight years in the U.S. Navy were hardly uneventful, yet this is the first full-scale biography. As a midshipman, Biddle endured nineteen months' captivity in Tripoli. He participated in two successful War of 1812 battles, commanding the victorious *Hornet* in the second, and his cruise to the Pacific coast, 1817-19, was the first United States reaction to the Latin American revolutions. Subsequently, Biddle survived a cruise in the West Indies in which his flagship lost one-third of its men to yellow fever, served as commander in chief of the Brazil and Mediterranean squadrons, and established a school for midshipmen that David F. Long considers a forerunner of the naval academy. On his last cruise, 1845-48, the commodore commanded the East India Squadron, exchanging ratifications of the Treaty of Wanghia with China and ascertaining that Japan was not ready to open its ports to Western commerce, before crossing the Pacific to command the Pacific Squadron in the latter part of the Mexican War.

It might be said that the more we learn about officers of the early navy, the less amiable they seem. This is certainly true of James Biddle. Self-centered and aloof, very conscious of his Philadelphia social background, he had few close friends outside his immediate family. He never married, and Long's effort to find anything of importance in friendships with two women relatively late in life reveals only that Biddle was not averse to female attention. Some of his least attractive qualities became apparent to those unfortunates conveyed to diplomatic posts in Biddle's ships; his seemingly cavalier treatment of

the aging and ill Caesar Rodney resulted in censure by the Delaware legislature and burning in effigy in Wilmington! His ships' companies, however, generally found him attentive to their well-being, although of course determined to maintain the distinction between officers and men. Unlike many of his fellows, Biddle was a temperate individual who never fought a duel. Long considers his apology to a senior officer to avert a challenge "more sensible than heroic" (p. 104). Perhaps—but one suspects that taking the sensible course required its own type of courage at that time.

Although Long's work in restoring Biddle's reputation as a diplomat after the unwarranted criticisms of Samuel Eliot Morison and others is worthy of mention, his book is important mainly for its contribution to our knowledge of the pre-Civil War navy. The notes reveal research in a wide variety of sources—there is no bibliography—and Long displays the familiarity with the period that one would expect. He seems to be unaware, however, that each midshipman was required to keep a journal during his ship's cruise, and his statement with regard to the name of HMS *Carcass*—"British naval nomenclature of the time is often inexplicable" (p. 11)—is itself inexplicable; a carcass was a type of shell fired from mortars and so a fitting name for a bomb vessel, which the *Carcass* was.

ROBERT ERWIN JOHNSON
University of Alabama

MARC W. KRUMAN. *Parties and Politics in North Carolina, 1836-1865*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 304. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$14.95.

As the dates in the title indicate, Marc W. Kruman's book treats North Carolina politics from the inception of the Whig-Democrat, or "second," party system through the Civil War. Pointing out that other studies of Jacksonian politics in the South stop with the end of the national Whig party in the 1850s or at the latest with secession in 1861, Kruman correctly claims distinctiveness for his extended chronology. The time frame serves more than mere inclusiveness, for a principal theme of the book is that continuity characterized North Carolina political alignments from 1836 to 1865.

In developing this thesis of continuity, Kruman largely succeeds. Through a series of correlation coefficients he demonstrates that the same alignments that prevailed between Whigs and Democrats endured in North Carolina through the presidential election of 1860, name changes for the Whig side notwithstanding. Pearson correlations for the 1860 presidential election and the February 1861 election for delegates to a convention to consider secession

declined to .70 from correlations above .90 for all previous election pairs, but Kruman stresses that the coefficients remain in the positive category. After a brief hiatus at the beginning of hostilities, two-party politics resurfaced in North Carolina, and these wartime alignments had roots in the antebellum divisions. In essence, numerous Democrats joined most Whigs, mainly under Whig leadership, to form the Conservative party. By the gubernatorial election of 1864, however, so many Democrats had joined the Conservatives that meaningful party competition disappeared. Continuity and a political era had ended.

That North Carolina political divisions persisted is only one of the contentions in *Parties and Politics in North Carolina*. Kruman has other interpretations that he defends less successfully. Greatly influenced by Michael Holt's *The Political Crisis of the 1850's* (1978), Kruman argues that North Carolina's strong party competition, rather than ideological moderation, accounts for the state's rejection of secession on the election of Lincoln. Unfortunately, the book lacks evidence to sustain this cause and effect relationship and instead offers only the questionable logic that having recently witnessed close elections in their state, North Carolinians, unlike Alabamans or Mississippians, could conceptualize a shift away from the Republican party at the national level.

Kruman also fails to resolve conflicting evidence regarding ideological differences between North Carolina parties. On the one hand, he presents parties as holding fundamentally conflicting beliefs on the proper role of government in society, on white equality, and even on the constitutionality of congressional restriction of slavery expansion. Yet, Kruman shows repeatedly that party expediency blurred stands on issues into virtual sameness. By the 1850s Democrats as vigorously as Whigs promoted government subsidy of economic development; on franchise requirements "political circumstances" forced Whigs to adopt a position markedly like that of the Democrats; from early days both parties saw the need to worship "the two gods of the Southern antebellum political religion, Southern rights and the Union."

Finally, Kruman asserts that "the central mission of parties and politicians was to identify threats to republican government . . . and to repel them" (p. 5). *Parties and Politics in North Carolina*, however, offers neither examples nor philosophical exegesis of this teleological purpose. Rather, it provides straightforward narration of a long-lasting, closely contested political division, which engendered remarkably similar stands from its Whig and Democratic partisans.

JOHN V. MERING
University of Arizona

RANDALL M. MILLER and JON L. WAKELYN, editors. *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1983. Pp. vi, 260.

As Randall M. Miller and Jon L. Wakelyn point out in their introduction to this collection of essays, the study of southern religion has advanced remarkably in the last two decades, but the role of the Catholic Church has been largely neglected by historians. If this is, in part, because the South has always been an overwhelmingly Protestant region, there has long been, nevertheless, a significant Catholic presence, and this volume is intended to begin to rectify its past neglect.

The book is divided into two parts, the first of which deals primarily with the church's institutional development in the South. In this section, scholars discuss such major issues in American Catholic history as conflicts over trusteeism, the problems of institutional development facing a relatively small religious body in a not wholly friendly setting, and, inevitably, the church's position in regard to slavery. The second part of the book examines the role of Catholicism in the lives of its adherents, including essays on the relationship of the church to black southerners, slave and free, on the South's antebellum Irish-Catholic population, and on prominent Catholic members of the South's slaveholding elite.

There is much repetition among the essays; taken together, they provide a fairly unified picture of the church in the South. Catholics made an easy peace with slavery and seemed to have little trouble reconciling themselves to the other major institutions of southern society. In part this was because, as they show, Catholics never felt entirely at home in the Protestant South, despite the prominence of some Catholics in the region's elite, contributing to an almost obsessive desire not to rock the southern boat.

At the same time, the essayists show us a Catholic Church in the South that was often plagued by dissension during the antebellum period. Most of the divisions had clear, widely acknowledged roots in differences of region, class, gender, and, above all, ethnicity. These divisions, along with continual resource problems affecting Catholic institutions, made it extremely difficult for southern Catholics to develop a distinctive identity focused on the church. Internal weakness combined with external fears to create what coeditor Wakelyn sees as a mixture of assimilation and aloofness in the experience of southern Catholics. An understanding of that mixture should be of value to a broader appreciation of both southern social history and the processes involved in the development of the American religious experience.

This book is intended by its editors to define areas

for further research into Catholic history in the South. In this, it succeeds very well. And, if a couple of essays take us—in style at least—back to the days when much of southern church history was indistinguishable from denominational apologetics, the book as a whole stands on its own as a useful introduction to a neglected but important element of antebellum southern life.

DICKSON D. BRUCE, JR.
University of California,
Irvine

PATRICK CAREY. *An Immigrant Bishop: John England's Adaptation of Irish Catholicism to American Republicanism*. (Monograph Series United States Catholic Historical Society, number 36.) Yonkers, N.Y.: The Society, 1979. Pp. ix, 236. \$14.95.

"I profess in America what I professed in Ireland," John England once wrote. "I have not changed . . . a single principle, either political or religious, which I have cherished." Patrick Carey's excellent study of England's thought is largely successful in its attempt to verify that claim. He shows how England's republicanism was the outgrowth of his Irish experience and how he translated those principles to the American situation. In the process he makes clear that England provided the best rationale for the antebellum Catholic community's identity in a pluralistic society.

England received his political education as a young priest among a Catholic middle class that was awakening over the struggle for emancipation. A friend of Daniel O'Connell, England by 1816 was known as "the political priest" through his work as polemicist and political organizer among Cork's Catholics. For England there was a symbiotic relationship between political and ecclesiastical reform. Until the church in Ireland was free from the government's interference, it could not reform itself. Social and political reforms consequently dominated his concerns. But his republican sentiments were not confined to the area *extra ecclesiam*. The church itself in England's view was a voluntary institution whose members (pope, bishops, clergy, and laity) all had rights and limited power.

This cultural baggage England carried to America in 1820 when he was appointed to the see of Charleston. Two issues—trusteeism and nativism—soon provided the chief challenges to England's conviction that republicanism and Catholicism were completely compatible. Walking a middle road between local lay control and episcopal autocracy, England sought to build a Catholic community in Charleston in which bishop, priests, and laity worked together within the framework of a basic body of law that they had commonly adopted. The

constitution that he drew up for his diocese was unique in the history of American Catholicism. It established vestries composed of elected laity and president clergy for the governance of parishes (the Episcopal Church of South Carolina was an influence here) and annual conventions of representatives from the laity and clergy for the governance of the diocese itself. England was sure that not only would such a republican structure allow the church to flourish but would deflate nativist charges that the church was a cancerous presence within American culture.

England tried to extend his collegial vision beyond his own diocese. He prodded his fellow bishops into meeting as a body to set common legislation. The episcopal councils, however, only fueled nativist suspicions about Catholic power in America by increasing the authority of the bishops. Autocracy rather than republicanism became the organizing principle as ecclesiastical bosses like John Hughes increasingly dominated an immigrant church that put a premium on unity, discipline, and authority.

England made much of the church's tradition in adjusting itself to the local society. On the issue of slavery England parted company with O'Connell and other Irish reformers. Carey notes that England, once in Charleston, abandoned his political activism because the church in America was not persecuted. Such a parochial criterion might have improved the Catholic Church's image among nativists but it carried a price. To the extent that conformity prevailed, England's church was, as Randall Miller has observed, in cultural captivity. Its Americanism took on more and more the regional identification and countervalues that the Southern churches in general were providing for their society.

ROBERT EMMETT CURRAN
Georgetown University

CONWAY B. SONNE. *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890*. (University of Utah Publications in the American West, number 17.) Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983. Pp. xviii, 212. \$20.00.

Conway B. Sonne's *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890* is a volume that lovers of nineteenth-century seafaring and students of Latter-day Saint missionary efforts may treasure. Sonne has amassed an incredible amount of information about Mormon embarkations on the high seas, either as immigrants to Zion or missionaries to various parts of the world. He has described Mormons taking passage aboard sailing vessels and steamships of wide variety, describing the length, weight, capacity, rigging, construction, record of sailings, captains and crews, and even the time and

place of the ships' demise. Seemingly every journey that Mormons ever made on the seas in these years is recorded, so that genealogists particularly will find many leads to lost ancestors. Sonne borrows from earlier works to explain the Mormon gathering that brought so many to the New World. One cannot doubt the enormous effort that has gone into the gathering of such information.

But I am not certain that most historians will find all this enlightening. The subject matter seems too narrow to appeal to many, other than enthusiasts for sailboats and missions. There is too much of timetables and registrations. Although he tells of changing technology in the seafaring industry, he says little as to how this effected Mormon history. Also, the human side of the story is too often neglected. The potential for this is seen in Sonne's account of the wrecking of the *Julia Ann*, a 372-ton windship with twenty-eight Mormons on board, in 1855. After striking a coral reef en route to San Francisco, the passengers and crew made heroic efforts to stretch a line to the reef over which some could climb to safety. Building a raft of the wreckage, they sailed to an uninhabited island where they lived on rats, seafowl, shellfish, and turtles for seven weeks. More of this would have helped.

On occasion Sonne includes useful information on the social background of Mormon converts, particularly from England (p. 29). But there is no attempt to expand or modify what P. A. M. Taylor has already told us about the sociological background of Mormon converts. It would be unfair to compare the two works, for Sonne's purpose is different. Perhaps for most historians Taylor asks the more important questions.

MARVIN S. HILL
Brigham Young University

GERALD THOMPSON. *Edward F. Beale and the American West*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1983. Pp. xv, 306. \$24.95.

This book is the first comprehensive study of the fascinating career of Edward F. Beale, who is usually only remembered as an explorer participating in the Southwest camel experiment of the 1850s. A superficial biography published in 1912 overlooked many aspects of Beale's life; fortunately, Gerald Thompson succeeds in evaluating his role in opening the Far West and in placing his position more precisely within the framework of nineteenth-century American history. The author also carefully assesses Beale's character, portraying him as an adventurous, ambitious, and jovial person who profited from his governmental assignments and ruthlessly pursued his own business enterprises.

Beale served as a naval officer in California

during the Mexican War and his courage at the Battle of San Pasqual made him a hero. An important publicist for the California gold rush, he carried the first gold samples to Washington, D.C. In 1851 Beale and John C. Frémont sold beef to the government to supply the needs of the California Indians, and the next year Beale became the state's first superintendent of Indian affairs. He persuaded the federal government to devise a reservation system based on the former Spanish mission system. Although Beale feuded with the Indian Office and suffered dismissal, his concept of self-sufficient reservations eventually won adoption.

In 1856 Beale accepted a commission in the California militia as a brigadier general and assisted in quelling Indian disturbances in the southern San Joaquin Valley. After a brief tenure as sheriff of San Francisco, Beale supervised construction of a transcontinental wagon road in the Southwest that developed into a major commercial artery.

Beale, a southerner, initially participated in California politics as a Democrat, but in 1860 he became a Republican. The next year Abraham Lincoln appointed him surveyor general of California. Besides making the routine position more visible, Beale advanced his personal interests to acquire land both for himself and his friends. He enlarged his Rancho La Liebre, charging the government for its survey. Beale blatantly ignored the welfare of the small farmer and concentrated on benefiting railroads and large mining corporations.

Charges of incompetence and neglect of duty led to Beale's dismissal in 1864. After the Civil War, Beale settled in Pennsylvania dividing his time between his California investments and eastern politics. He became a vocal member of the radical wing of the Republican party and in 1871 purchased the Decatur House in Washington, D.C., making it an important social center for the stalwarts. Beale developed a close friendship with Ulysses S. Grant, who appointed him minister to Austria in 1876. Following a brief diplomatic service, Beale engaged in several business ventures such as petroleum development in California until his death in 1893.

In researching this excellent biography, the author consulted numerous depositories in California and in the East. The book contains chapter notes, an extensive bibliography, and superb photographs. Although it is generally accurate, the author makes a few misleading statements about the movement in the 1870s for a new California constitution.

BENJAMIN F. GILBERT
San Jose State University

KEVIN H. SIEPHEL. *Rebel: The Life and Times of John Singleton Mosby*. New York: St. Martin's. 1983. Pp. xix, 346. \$18.95.

John Singleton Mosby (1833–1916) was a Confederate officer who rose to prominence during the Civil War as a leader of partisan rangers in Virginia. Mosby's men struck at outposts, wagon trains, railroads, and other objectives behind Yankee lines. During the war's last year, Mosby's activities were so extensive that the Federal army had to divert a significant military force in an effort to control the area of north central Virginia known as "Mosby's Confederacy." In *Ranger Mosby* (1944) and *Gray Ghosts and Rebel Raiders* (1956), Virgil Carrington Jones argued that the activities of Mosby and other guerrillas so disrupted federal operations that the war and the life of the Confederacy were prolonged several months.

Mosby's Civil War activities deserve study, but is another book about the elusive, belligerent Virginian justified? Kevin H. Siepel believes that it is—especially one emphasizing his hero's postwar years. After 1865 Mosby became a supporter of several Republican presidents—an unpopular stand in the postbellum South. He served as United States consul in Hong Kong, attorney for the Southern Pacific Railroad, and as a government official in Nebraska and Alabama. Siepel details Mosby's activities in these posts and describes his ideas about such subjects as the opium trade ("no worse than that of spirits or tobacco" [p. 240]) and college football ("I hope the legislature will make these brutal games a felony" [p. 286]). Throughout Mosby's life, Siepel believes, ran a thread "of contrariness—not necessarily a refractoriness for its own sake, but a mindset that frequently took on that appearance. He was an incurable aginner" (p. xviii).

These ingredients offer the possibility of an entertaining book that might also help us understand late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century America. Siepel has done a good job of ferreting out the details of Mosby's life, and he usually describes them well. Unfortunately, Siepel has made virtually no effort to put Mosby's activities into a larger context, and the book therefore becomes little more than a listing of what Mosby did.

Examples of this tendency abound. Siepel does not really explain Mosby's role in the labyrinthine politics of postbellum Virginia. Was the corruption that Mosby found in the foreign service unique in the government, and was he the only one who opposed it? In the 1880s Mosby urged a greater use of American naval power along the coast of China and in the Marshall, Caroline, and Palau Islands where, he believed, American interests clashed with those of Germany. Was he alone in perceiving such a threat? Was Mosby the only American to oppose imperialism after the Spanish-American War? Was he the only one to denounce college football? Is there any psychological theory that might explain why Mosby was so often in opposition to others?

Siepel provides little information to answer such questions. Because he failed to put his subject in a larger framework, he missed a fine opportunity to produce a book that would provide important and useful insights into the Gilded Age and instead produced a chronicle of events that amuses and entertains but rarely instructs.

RICHARD M. MCMURRY

North Carolina State University

RUTH SCARBOROUGH. *Belle Boyd: Siren of the South*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 212. \$12.95.

This is the stuff of which the Lost Cause was made. Imagine a heroine who at age seventeen gunned down a drunken Yankee soldier in defense of her mother's honor; who provided important intelligence to Stonewall Jackson (his personal note of commendation being lost, of course); who, accused of espionage, was imprisoned twice by the Federal Army without proper charges; who was arrested as a blockade runner (subsequently marrying the Union officer who was her captor); who fled to England to write her saucy memoirs in exile; and, finally, who took to the American stage in postwar years to excite veterans' groups with dramatic recitals about her exploits as a Confederate agent. The foregoing summary represents only highlights of the colorful career of Belle Boyd, self-proclaimed rebel spy.

Taken on its own merits as popular history, this account by Ruth Scarborough is a delightful book. Belle, as she is called throughout the volume, emerges mostly through her own words and opinions. The author should consider negotiating for script rights for a major television mini-series. This material surely has more dramatic potential than the content of the recent "The Blue and the Gray."

What is gained in charm, however, is lost in scholarship. Excessive, nearly exclusive, reliance on Belle's memoirs—and on Louis Sigaud's biography (1946)—makes scholarly objectivity suspect. Belle Boyd historiography has, in any case, been controversial. Douglas Southall Freeman in *Lee's Lieutenants* relegated her to a footnote. James I. Robertson, Jr. in *The Stonewall Brigade* mentioned Belle only in a passing reference to her father. *The Dictionary of American Biography* dismissed her memoirs as untrustworthy. Passionate defenders have included Sigaud, a former military intelligence officer, Scarborough, and Curtis Carroll Davis, who published an edited version of Belle's memoirs in 1968.

The issue in the reviewer's judgment, however, is not whether Belle's exploits were true but whether she made any difference to the Confederacy in general or the Shenandoah Valley campaigns in

particular. The author establishes that Belle was surely courageous (she also appears as manipulative and superficial). The author does not establish in any clear way a connection to the mysterious "Confederate Intelligence Service" of which Belle became a "member" (p. 27); nor does she reveal any important content in Belle's alleged intelligence dispatches. Scarborough's rationalization that, in effect, good spies never tell (p. 40), is not acceptable. Lord knows, Belle herself blabbed enough about these matters when she took to the opera house stage.

In sum, Belle emerges as a colorful figure, providing some spicy newspaper copy; and she was no doubt a nuisance to the Yankees. She was of little historical importance, however, and like much of the faded Lost Cause she is now gently gone with the wind.

HUGH B. HAMMETT
*Empire State College,
 State University of New York*

STEVEN HAHN. *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850–1890*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. xvii, 340. \$29.95.

Basing his sweeping reinterpretation of southern society and politics from the 1850s to the 1890s chiefly on an intense study of two counties in the Georgia upcountry, Steven Hahn argues that white southern yeomen were transmogrified largely against their will from subsistence farmers in the antebellum era to producers, particularly of cotton, for local, national, and international markets after 1865. During the 1880s, many small farmers, in what he depicts as an effort to defend their "Revolutionary republican heritage" (p. 240), opposed such laws as those that required owners to fence in their animals, instead of letting them roam freely down village streets, or through neighbors' corn fields. Reacting against their changed socioeconomic roles and against the credit relations that their abandonment of self-sufficiency necessitated, yeomen voted "independent" in the 1870s and Populist in the 1890s. These clashes between Democrats and their opponents reflected not simply material self-interest, Hahn asserts repeatedly, but profound cultural differences between smallholders who adhered to a preindustrial "republican producer ideology" (p. 283) and the forces of "bourgeois individualism and the free market" (p. 282), here represented by small town merchants and a developing "agrarian bourgeoisie" (p. 244). Engagingly written, provocative, fashionably blending simple social statistics with cultural "Marxism," this book, winner of the Nevins dissertation prize, has already attracted considerable attention.

Far from victims of the slavocracy, antebellum white hill-country yeomen lived in relatively egalitarian communities largely free of "the hegemony of the marketplace" (p. 282); could expect substantial upward mobility, at least if they did not move; borrowed money from neighbors or from merchants who charitably charged no interest on their credit accounts until the end of the year (p. 72); enjoyed substantial legal protection if they did become debtors; exercised considerable power in local politics; and went to war not to protect slavery but to defend the independence of "communities of petty producers" (p. 133). Beginning in the 1850s, but especially after 1865, this edenic scene was disturbed by the extension of railroads into the area and the lure of initially high cotton prices and decreasing fertilizer prices, which fostered a major rise in cotton production and the growth of small market towns in the highlands. The fence laws and restrictions on hunting, fishing, and poaching made it more difficult for land-poor people to keep pigs and cows and to supplement their diets with game. Lien laws and loopholes enacted in the homestead exemption enabled agriculturalists to obtain credit and to mortgage property and crops, and merchants, therefore, proliferated. Consequently, the once relatively undifferentiated communities became divided into creditors and debtors, owners and tenants, townspeople and wool hat boys. (The 20 percent of the people of the two counties who were black in 1880 play little role in Hahn's analysis.)

Hahn's contentions that white farmers were damaged by legal changes, which he realizes were necessary to make it possible for yeomen to borrow, and that they were afraid to give up their "proud independence" by devoting a larger percentage of their efforts to producing crops for sale are undercut by his own statistics. When after 1865 a choice between subsistence farming, on the one hand, and cash crops, mortgages, and credit, on the other hand, finally became possible, yeomen, especially those who owned the smallest number of improved acres, chose the market (pp. 196–97, 298–306). Instead of trying systematically to establish connections between coalitions in the stock law elections and in those involving the Populists, he merely mentions five leaders who fit his model (p. 277). Strangely, in a book so centrally concerned with Populism, Hahn devotes only a twenty-page epilogue to the 1890s, makes little effort to show that the Populist party's appeal in these counties reflected a desire for a "cooperative commonwealth" or a fear of the market, and never explains why yeomen took until the 1890s to fight back vigorously against the market's incursions, which had begun decades earlier, or how a struggle assertedly involving such a deep cultural schism could be so brief. Failing to

connect radicalism's alleged roots with its branches, he likewise neglects to test his ideological thesis explicitly against the simpler materialist hypothesis that Populism was the direct product of self-interested clashes, greatly intensified by the agricultural depression of the 1890s, between farmers and creditors, established Democratic elites and political outsiders, staunch defenders and potential disturbers of the racist order. Hahn's powerful rhetoric, in other words, obscures his refusal to confront the question of whether, in this case, class conflict needs a cultural gloss.

J. MORGAN KOUSSER
California Institute of Technology

GORDON MORRIS BAKKEN. *The Development of Law on the Rocky Mountain Frontier: Civil Law and Society, 1850–1912*. (Contributions in Legal Studies, number 27.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. 200. \$29.95.

In this appropriately titled work, Gordon Morris Bakken treats on several levels the development of civil law in eight arid states—Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming. One level deals with the relationship of social, economic, and legal changes; another studies the extent to which frontier conditions influenced the law, and the third is historiographical. After chapters on the influence of Frederick Jackson Turner and the role of English common law, Bakken devotes a chapter each to the law of contracts, water, labor, and corporations. The author, who styles himself a neo-Turnerian, concludes that lawmakers consistently enhance economic development, eventually displaying an awareness of social needs. Indeed, the effect on the law of their constant concern for the marketplace is the prevailing theme of his book.

Bakken cites changes in pleadings, tenancy, mechanic's liens, *feme sole*, and water law to illustrate the Americanization and even abrogation of the common law in the Rocky Mountain West. In the next chapters, he explains that the frontier left a rather mild imprint on contract law although the region's aridity necessitated the replacement of riparian rights with the doctrine of prior appropriation—the best known environmental impact on the law in the trans-Mississippi West. Bakken's treatment of labor and corporation law particularly reflects his exhaustive research, and he correctly concludes that in the former greater adjustments resulted than in the latter.

Although most historians agree on the importance and neglect of American legal history, relatively few venture into the statutes and reports that mirror our society's values. Fortunately, a growing

number of scholars are looking into these sources. Thus we are indebted to Greenwood Press for encouraging scholars through this series and to Bakken for his meticulous research. Just as they share the plaudits, however, so must the press and the author share the responsibility for the book's shortcomings.

The primary fault of the work lies in its presentation rather than in the research and conclusions. Because much of the material in four of the six chapters has been available for a decade in his articles and elsewhere, readers deserve a stronger introduction, conclusion, and historiographical treatment. The staccato and tedious prose leaves one with the feeling that the copy editor was intimidated either by the topic or the author. Although members of the bar are trained in the art of exception and exclusion, in scholarly writing equivocation leads to obfuscation. Such is particularly the case in the conclusion where Bakken so qualifies his statements that one wonders whether he seeks precision through equivocation or toys with the reader. Too many of his excessively long case citations without explanatory phrases serve neither the specialist nor the generalist (see, for example, p. 164, n. 3).

Bakken's task, however, was not an easy one; legal historians either must tiptoe carefully between specialists and generalists or write exclusively for one group or the other. With these considerations in mind, we must credit him with providing students of the American West with a useful book that should provoke additional scholarship, particularly comparing frontiers in the West with those in the East.

JOHN D. W. GUICE
University of Southern Mississippi

JAMES A. TOBER. *Who Owns the Wildlife? The Political Economy of Conservation in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 37.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1981. Pp. xix, 330. \$27.50.

A referendum to ban moose hunting was placed on the November, 1983 ballot in Maine and, to the dismay of many animal rights and environmental groups, the measure failed. This heated campaign was the latest in a century-old struggle over property rights in wild animals. Before 1850 no one fought over wildlife; there was plenty to supply everyone, even a few million Native Americans, with food and skins and there was enough for a flourishing international trade.

But when wildlife populations began to fall dramatically over the last half of the century, many sportsmen, entrepreneurs, naturalists, and even intellectuals like the transcendentalists formed them-

selves into political interest groups and clubs to argue a case based on their own concerns: save wild animals for long-term hunting and sport; for local markets; for their beauty in the wilderness; for scientific study; for broader economic uses like foreign trade. For its own particular reasons each group wanted to maintain a plentiful abundance of wild animals and suggested controlled hunting methods or a variety of other state control mechanisms. Some wanted wilderness areas untouched, others advocated federal intervention when this was highly unusual.

James A. Tober's *Who Owns the Wildlife?* shows that these groups exerted enough pressure nationally to produce an institutional set of property rights applied to animals in the wild that even today controls much of the political discussion. Few arguments in the Maine moose hunting referendum brought in ideas different from those used one hundred years ago, except the occasional maverick who claimed that the animals themselves have rights.

Many public policy assumptions are centered on property rights of landowners, who (according to the presumption) will look out for society's best interests along with their own. But wildlife does not respect fence boundaries, even if you accept the presumption, and hunters never cared for the notion that animal hunting rights follow land rights anyway.

Thus further developments in policy have evolved through the century, such as state agencies to regulate wildlife control plans, federal regulations, and court decisions mediating conflicting claims. But Tober's story includes much more because the history of the period is quite complex, and the author includes the cultural and ideological framework of the questions surrounding wildlife property rights. He follows the three groups with the major stake in the debate—sportsmen, market hunters (and dealers), and landowners—and their strategies in the face of scarcity.

Although Tober covers all of the secondary literature related to the field and presents arguments already suggested by James Trefethen and John F. Reiger, his work takes the discussion to a valuable new level. Not only does he introduce new original material from nineteenth-century government documents and journals, but he also includes new kinds of information and distinctions. He illustrates the impact of land-use changes on public policy and distinguishes between sportsmen and market hunters and the different kinds of arguments and success they had. Each group attempted to further its own interests by both market and nonmarket means. Tober sees the development of public policy in the nineteenth century as the result of many of these struggles. And the story is told in a captivating

manner while holding to his rigorously tight argument.

JOSEPH M. PETULLA
University of San Francisco

ELLEN LIEBMAN. *California Farmland: A History of Large Agricultural Landholdings*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld. 1983. Pp. xi, 226. \$29.50.

Geographer Ellen Liebman set for herself the formidable task of writing an agricultural history of California complete with a statistical study of current landownership patterns. These objectives have eluded distinguished agricultural scholars and even a Ralph Nader task force. This book is the author's 1981 dissertation. The result is a generally disappointing book.

Liebman's history rests on standard secondary sources and often-cited government documents. From them she develops conclusions only tenuously proven. She maintains that the rancho legacy did not have an impressive impact on ownership patterns between 1848 and 1918, either locally or statewide. Citing R. H. Allen and Frank Adams, she argues that the emergence of intensive agriculture generally led to small-scale subdivisions of arable rancho land. The legacy was also weak because much of this land was outside "the present-day agricultural regions of California" (p. 9), and because American livestock raising and grain farming were concentrated in the Central Valley.

Warren Beck, whose maps Liebman uses, argues that the ranchos were the "prime force" in allowing land baronies to intensify in the Anglo period. Paul Gates holds that "most of the best arable land" in the coastal and Sacramento valleys, and much of it in the San Joaquin Valley, was within rancho grants. He argues that the unprecedented prominence gained by a new California business elite as land barons was the precise result of their concurrent purchase, retention, and use of rancho and public lands. Citing Allen and Adams, Gates maintains that large acreages often resulted when rancho subdivisions occurred. Liebman neglects the responsibility of justifying why she thinks her interpretation is the more convincing.

Liebman then moves to restrict the role of large Central Valley holdings in the emergence of intensive agriculture. Her view is that the costs of conversion, unstable prices, and uncertain demand meant that intensive agriculture was dependent on the subdivision of large holdings. She thus disagrees with Varden Fuller, who contends that large-scale conversion was an important pre-1900 trend because cheap labor made it feasible. Liebman counters that the principal beneficiary of Asiatic labor was the small rather than the large owner.

Once intensive agriculture stabilized after 1900, large-scale conversion took place. Liebman says the lack of evidence precludes substantiating either conversion view. In my judgment, rewarding research on this complex issue is possible, if tedious. Believing that Fuller and others rely too much on the famous testimony of large landowner W. W. Hollister on the Chinese, Liebman responds by quoting two small landowners.

The chapters concerning agriculture and ownership consolidation since 1918 are better argued. They focus on the well-known relationships of subsidies to increased production and concentration. Her treatment of large holdings within extensive agriculture, mineral-land owners as farmers, and tax-shelter farming units is very good. Liebman's tabulation of large holdings is most laudable, but of limited usefulness because it is not yet complete.

To remain "objective," Liebman ignores the convoluted issue of efficiency and scale of operation. Is not the purpose of knowing what we have to determine how useful it is to our needs and goals?

LAWRENCE J. JELINEK

Loyola Marymount University

RONALD TAKAKI. *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1983. Pp. xiv, 213. \$14.95.

Pau Hana is an effort to convey the psychic experience of plantation work in Hawaii between 1835 and 1920. The title, meaning "work finished" or "retirement" derives from the notion that the sugar industry had reached a climax in 1920 and that no significant changes in the relations of production occurred thereafter.

With that concept as the guiding principle, the book sets out to examine the origins of the industry, the source of the labor recruited, the working conditions on the plantations, which appear to have been changeless over the period, the camp and social life, and the forms of worker resistance to and escape from the exploitive situation.

A final section details the Japanese strikes of 1909 and 1920. In the latter strike, newly arrived Filipino workers participated, despite the failure of their leadership.

These strikes are termed a "movement from ethnicity to class awareness" and a recognition of the need for "inter-ethnic unionism." The workers emerged from these strikes with a "working class culture and a consciousness—an identity of themselves in relationship to the process of production" (p. 179).

The book is dramatically written, weaving the rhetoric of the planters and the workers to convey

the feelings of the exploited worker and the sense of planter control. But the complete absence of any change in the industry over this period seriously distorts the history of labor. Dramatic changes in the financial and technological structure of the industry are simply omitted. The planter organization is shown to be in total control of the industry from its inception, reaching out to obtain cheap, docile labor whenever the need arose.

At no time in the history of the industry did the planters have the luxury of changing the recruitment of workers to suit their notion of control. The evolution of the penal contract system and the pressures operating to constrain that system are omitted.

The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) is projected as having the powers and abilities it developed by 1940 throughout the history of the industry. The economic power accompanying the consolidation of the industry simply did not exist in the period before 1920.

The substitution of rhetoric for reality results not only in distortion, but in errors of historical fact. Political pressures in Hawaii, the demands of the U.S. market, pressures and resistance from the source countries all shaped and constrained the recruitment of the labor force. The careful control of the Japanese government over recruitment (1885-94) is passed over, as is the extraordinary success of the Japanese workers in sending home remittances that are estimated to have averaged over two million dollars per year up to 1907.

The workers can scarcely be said to have achieved a class consciousness when the Japanese labor organization disappeared without a trace following 1920 and when Japanese workers began to leave the industry in large numbers. Reading backward into the rhetoric of the planters and the workers' responses distorts the historical record. The social relations of production determine the worker responses. To ignore the fundamental changes in those relations is to obscure the nature of the worker's history.

EDWARD BEECHERT

University of Hawaii

ARNOLDO DE LEÓN. *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 153. Cloth \$19.95, paper \$8.95.

Despite its slender size (106 pages of text), *They Called Them Greasers* pounds out its theme with the ferocity of a sledgehammer. In his examination of Anglo attitudes toward Mexicans in nineteenth-century Texas, Arnolfo De León presents a litany of abuses—verbal, political, and physical—that

whites perpetrated against Tejanos. Drawing primarily on newspapers, manuscript collections, and the accounts of travelers, the study reveals a chronicle of Anglo racism, ethnocentrism, and violence that is not pleasant to contemplate.

De León's thesis is simple and straightforward: Anglos' "racial and nationalist distaste for Mexicans . . . was a major cause of the degradation of Tejanos during the entire century" (p. 23). Extracting from the works of Winthrop D. Jordan, David B. Davis, Ronald T. Takaki, and Reginald Horsman, De León argues that nineteenth-century whites associated Mexicans, in part, with blacks and Native Americans. The same negative characteristics—savagery, heathenishness, degeneracy, lasciviousness—that they attributed to these dark-skinned groups, they also perceived in Mexicans living in Texas. In the eyes of whites, the Tejanos were an uncivilized people who, like other primitives, were incapable, both racially and culturally, of constructing an ordered and productive Christian society. Such fundamental impressions, according to De León, made a "contest for racial hegemony almost inevitable in Texas" (p. 13).

Thus white Americans were not content with their military and political victories in the Texas revolution and the Mexican War. Throughout the nineteenth century they felt the need to ensure that Mexicans were severely circumscribed socially. Viewing Tejanos as backward, indolent, morally defective, brutal, and, at times, subversive, Anglos readily and guiltlessly institutionalized anti-Mexican patterns of control and violence. The Texas Rangers, De León contends, "enjoyed the tacit sanction of the white community to do to Mexicans in the name of the law what others did extralegally. Frightened whites came to depend on violent men to suppress the cruel streak so much feared in Mexicans" (pp. 75–76). The author vividly cites one episode after another to illustrate white Texan atrocities against Mexicans. He seems particularly fascinated, almost to the point of excess, with portraying incidents of corporal mutilation.

To be sure, *They Called Them Greasers* graphically documents a distasteful chapter of racism and repression in Texas that must never be forgotten. In so doing, however, the study tends to be unidimensional. Concentrating narrowly on unflattering depictions of Mexicans in letters and in the press, De León neglects to consider other evidence from economic and social history that might add considerable depth to an analysis of racial attitudes and their motivations. Certainly, the Anglo-Tejano cultural and racial clashes of the nineteenth century had a strong economic dimension that must be interwoven into any comprehensive treatment of the topic.

De León's volume would have been more ambi-

tious and provocative had the author attempted to grapple with the central question raised by Mario Barrera in his *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality*: what is the historical connection between racial inequality and the class dynamics of the political economy of the United States? Barrera asserts that the subordinate position of Mexicans in this country stems from the efforts of an Anglo capitalist class to create, in its self-interest, an internal colonial labor system stratified along racial and ethnic lines. De León alludes to the same exploitive economic relationships that Barrera focuses on, but he fails to examine the vital link between race and class because of his single-minded concentration on describing racial perceptions.

In summary, *They Call Them Greasers* is a disturbingly necessary book. But it is one which might have been even more compelling had the multidimensional complexities of the subject been more broadly scrutinized.

MARK REISLER
University of Virginia

RAYMOND WILSON. *Ohiyesa: Charles Eastman, Santee Sioux*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 219. \$16.95.

The life of Ohiyesa, or Charles Eastman, began before the Civil War and ended at the onset of World War II. In that span of eighty-one years, American Indian life changed dramatically. Confinement to reservations, alterations of economies and political systems, and attempted imposition of Christianity, private property, and the English language all characterized the final decades of the nineteenth century. Individuals from different Indian communities faced difficult decisions as they came to maturity during that transitional age. Could one gain proficiency in the new order without sacrificing all of the attributes of the old?

The grandson of white artist Seth Eastman, Charles Eastman was raised traditionally and in exile in Canada in the aftermath of the Santee Sioux "uprising" of 1862. His father, Jacob Eastman, had been imprisoned following that conflict in southern Minnesota. When Jacob was reunited with his son in Manitoba, he urged him to gain an education in a mission school near Flandreau, South Dakota. After two years of instruction at that institution, Ohiyesa transferred to the Santee Normal Training School in Nebraska, walking the one hundred and fifty mile distance to enroll. Under the tutelage of his brother, John, an assistant teacher, and Alfred Riggs, Eastman continued on a road that would take him eventually to the preparatory department of Beloit College, Knox College, Dartmouth College (where he received his bachelor of science degree in

1887), and Boston University, from which he earned his M.D. in 1890.

On completion of his medical studies, Eastman joined the Indian service and was assigned to the Pine Ridge reservation in western South Dakota. There he met and married Elaine Goodale, a white woman, who then served as a supervisor of Indian schools. There, too, he witnessed the tragedy of Wounded Knee. Following a brief and troubled period of federal employment, Eastman gained prominence through the authorship of many books, participation in pan-Indian activities, and his role as an articulate, well-educated Indian spokesman.

A book-length biography of this remarkable, complex man has been long overdue. *Ohiyesa* is a straightforward narrative, accessible to both scholars and the general public. Although handicapped by the absence of a central collection of Eastman's papers, Raymond Wilson has pieced together successfully the essential details of Eastman's life. He takes on squarely the matter of Eastman's divorce and its impact on his subsequent writings. And Wilson presents a clear picture of Eastman's career. What emerges is, in sum, an intriguing and concise chronicle of a vital figure in early twentieth-century American Indian history.

There are several criticisms one might make of this volume. Phrases such as "a very Indian thing to do" and "It was never easy to be the most prominent Indian of one's day" should not have found their way into print. The conclusion is too fleeting, and finally, although Eastman's importance is undeniable, one wishes the author had not felt it necessary to assert that fact so repeatedly.

PETER IVERSON
University of Wyoming

SCOTT ELLSWORTH. *Death in a Promised Land: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921*. Foreword by JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1982. Pp. xvii, 159. \$19.95.

THOMAS C. COX. *Blacks in Topeka, Kansas, 1865-1915: A Social History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1982. Pp. x, 236. \$27.50.

W. E. B. DuBois was one of the first historians to reflect on the bitter ironies inherent in U.S. history. Although some Americans might accept his insight for the Reconstruction period in the South, the fact that it applies to the frontier regions that symbolized freedom and opportunity is especially disturbing. The Tulsa race riot and the history of black Topeka illustrate the paradoxes in American democracy and economic success. Scott Ellsworth's title alone should cause those who glorify the achievement of Ameri-

can ideals and the possibilities of the frontier to pause and reflect on the painful truths revealed by Afro-American history.

Both books make it clear that Afro-Americans were not latecomers to western cities and that their early presence was not merely incidental. As in Chicago, in Topeka and Tulsa the very first settlers were Afro-Americans. Moreover, after the initial violence attending the founding of the "free" state of Kansas, its capital, Topeka, made a policy of segregation a reality. Similarly, the booming oil-rich city of Tulsa promised wealth and opportunity but segregated its citizens in a black city paralleling the white one. Significantly, these works reveal that Topeka's and Tulsa's white citizens pursued wealth and freedom at the expense of Afro-Americans.

Thomas C. Cox's work is a valuable in-depth community study covering several decades. It examines black Topeka's residence patterns, social structure, politics, class divisions, race relations, and self-help ideology. The effects of the migration of Exodusters is studied in some detail. Cox notes the irony in the fact that numerous black social and cultural institutions stemmed from the racism of white Topekans. Segregation and racism caused blacks to fall back on the ideals of self-help and solidarity and, in the spirit of the West, create a viable community life. They tested American political ideologies, found them lacking, and developed their own racial ideology and political strategies to challenge white racism and achieve their aspirations.

Some readers will consider Cox's study a classic model of black urban history. Yet its analysis is largely derivative and its interdisciplinary character is narrowly defined. These factors create problems. Cox uses the sociological concepts and methods commonly found in black urban history. He is concerned with using such concepts as social class and social structure and even "status anxiety." It is a credit to his integrity that he repeatedly explains how racism muted class divisions and conflict. Consequently, one wonders, why make class division a concern of the analysis? This is typical of the studies that unquestioningly apply conventional sociological concepts to a people whose experiences and community organizations reveal the meaninglessness of these criteria. Cox neither modifies the social theory he applies nor develops a new one. One would think that a scholar wedded to sociological methods would use the data he uncovers to such an end.

Although he claims the work is interdisciplinary, this emphasis is confined to the use of traditional historical and sociological methods. An interest in anthropology, folklore, oral history, and black music in a state noted for ragtime might have strengthened the work's interdisciplinary character and concern with black culture in addition to imparting a humanistic dimension to the subjects of the study.

Also, comparisons with other black urban communities are surprisingly few.

Ellsworth's study is a model of succinctness that reveals the value of oral history in exploring "one of the most devastating single incidents of racial violence in twentieth century America" (p. 63). He examines the role of the new Ku Klux Klan and the lynchings and mob rule of the World War I era, analyzes the riot itself, the black citizens' armed self-defense of their community, and the relief efforts and rebuilding that followed. Most importantly, he discusses contemporary Tulsa's views of the riot and suggests that "segregated memory," reflecting different biases and concepts of history, remains as a legacy of the segregation era.

The Tulsa riot destroyed portions of the black business district and more than a thousand homes, resulted in the internment of more than half the black population, and caused scores of deaths among whites as well as blacks. It was particularly disheartening precisely because Oklahoma promised so much to Afro-Americans. "If the early history of [the state] reveals a greater measure of black freedom and opportunity than the rest of the nation, then the Tulsa race riot . . . was a capstone to a movement to suppress any uniqueness in race relations which the young state had" (p. 107). As in the Reconstruction South, black opportunities and successes led to greater repression instead of an appreciation of their attainments.

Ellsworth's work is valuable for the study of the racial ideology of the white rioters and also sheds light on self-defense and self-help among blacks. Moreover, it validates the appropriateness of black citizens' analysis of a difficult situation. An aspect of the study that should be emphasized, especially for those so willing to criticize black folks' opinions of their situation and needs, is the singular fact that, as a result of the black citizens' policy of armed defense, there "never was another attempt at lynching a black person in Tulsa" (p. 102).

Another intriguing aspect of the study stems from the oral history interviews with aged white and black Tulsans. The former were reluctant to discuss the riot; when they did they blamed the blacks or other whites. For many Afro-Americans, the defense of their community was as much a source of pride as their success in rebuilding it. They reconstructed homes and businesses with little help from whites and often in spite of the obstacles that city officials placed in their path.

DOUGLAS HENRY DANIELS
University of California,
Santa Barbara

RUTH BARNES MOYNIHAN. *Rebel for Rights: Abigail Scott Duniway*. (Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany,

number 130.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1983. Pp. xv, 273. \$19.95.

An energetic lecturer, journalist, and novelist, a hot-tempered antiprohibitionist and suffragist, Abigail Scott Duniway was by no means a typical nineteenth-century reformer. Nor was she a model of contemporary "feminine" ideals. Instead she was a tough-minded, salty frontier rebel: against monopoly capitalism and class inequities, against religious hypocrisy and arrogance, against the "aristocracy of sex." Predictably, Duniway inspired animosities and apprehensions. Offering a challenge sometimes threatening even to her suffrage sisters, she argued that suffrage was a right, not a reformer's panacea, that temperance was an inexpedient distraction, and that claims to superior "feminine" morality would sanction and perpetuate inequalities with men. In her view, suffragists should focus on women's most fundamental grievances: on political disfranchisement, to be sure, but also on sexual exploitation; on economic impoverishment and domestic drudgery; on a lack of autonomy in every sphere of life.

According to Ruth Barnes Moynihan's biography, Duniway's reform commitments were inspired first by pioneering family rebels, and then by relatives without the wherewithal for protest. Her mother, for instance, Ann Roelofson, unwittingly set the stage for her daughter's lifelong woman-oriented struggle—bearing and raising a dozen children, involuntarily joining her family's six-month trek across the West, dying tragically along the way. Dutifully, albeit resentfully, Duniway served a brief apprenticeship in "proper" wifely tasks—cooking, sewing, preserving, farming, responding to the needs of her husband and six children. But gradually financial needs became more pressing than domestic ones, and a fiery temperament and a growing political awareness helped to arouse her anger and steel her nerve. So Duniway energetically began to write and lecture. She published a novel by the age of twenty-three, edited the influential *New Northwest*, joined the suffrage lecture circuit, and finally emerged as a "mentor for hundreds" and a "foremost leader of women in the West" (p. 91).

Moynihan's is not a heroine-worshipping biography. It is respectful but not idolatrous, scholarly and starkly vivid, objective and keenly attuned to the female point of view. Drawing on private as well as published writings, Moynihan documents—without trivializing—many of the family tensions that so often inspired and hindered women's efforts. And with candor she traces contradictions in her subject's public life: the bitterness that sometimes undermined her humanistic efforts, the eccentricities and prejudices that sometimes mocked her justice claims. For Duniway, there were persistent tangles and confusions. With her passionate intensity, her

impetuosity, her strikingly energetic pace (181 lectures, 400 newspaper columns, 3000 miles of travel—all in one year alone), it is no wonder that her focus sometimes blurred. But unfortunately there are occasional confusions in the biography as well. It is as though Duniway's life defied tidy organizational arrangement—thematic, chronological, linear; as though repetitious rhythmic tangles resisted scholarly delineation; or perhaps that is just to say that truth inevitably eludes. In any case, Moynihan suggests that Duniway's "arguments are as relevant today as they were one hundred years ago" (p. xv). She might have added that the issues she confronted remain as defiantly complex.

MARY A. HILL
Bucknell University

PHILIP D. JORDAN. *The Evangelical Alliance for the United States of America, 1847–1900: Ecumenism, Identity and the Religion of the Republic*. (Studies in American Religion, number 7.) New York: Edwin Mellon. 1982. Pp. ix, 277. \$39.95.

Today the two major parties in American Protestantism are sometimes rather loosely designated evangelical and ecumenical. The nineteenth-century American Evangelical Alliance was a precursor of both these groups. By twentieth-century standards, it was more evangelical than ecumenical. Its conception of Christian unity was largely confined to cooperative fellowship among low-church Protestants. Presenting a united front against perceived Catholic threats to liberal civilization was a central concern.

The evangelical alliance in America was part of an international movement noted primarily for sponsoring impressive conferences of Protestant leaders to discuss common problems and strategies and to plan some modest cooperative efforts. Philip D. Jordan makes clear that the several hundred members of the American branch were almost entirely urban, middle-class, church leaders, including influential laypersons. How much impact the alliance had on anything else is not clear. The history of the American alliance, however, does provide a window on the aspirations of America Protestant leadership.

As Jordan emphasizes, it was central to their determination that America be an evangelical republic. This idea, Jordan argues, involved some progressive programs, especially a genuine desire to promote a more democratic social order in a world characterized by monarchy. Particularly notable was the alliance's promotion of a progressive social gospel as early as the 1880s under the leadership of its renowned secretary, Josiah Strong. On the other hand, the alliance's conception of justice did not include extending equal opportunities for cultural

influence to non-Protestant minorities, especially Catholics. Jordan displays some subtlety of analysis by not simply deploring this anti-Catholicism, but by trying to understand it in the context of nineteenth-century political divisions. For Protestants it was still plausible to argue that the spread of their religion was the best hope for worldwide liberty.

Jordan only hints at another major irony, that the alliance's efforts for an evangelical America hastened the nation's secularization. One of the central alliance campaigns after the Civil War was to keep tax money out of the hands of Catholic schools and charitable institutions. Evangelicals accordingly encouraged interpretations of the constitution that would allow support of only nonsectarian public religion. They thus hurried the day when, rather than the government attempting to encourage all religions equitably, it would allow direct tax support to only a bland public religion and outright secularism. Jordan sees this stance as consistent with the intentions of the founding fathers.

This volume does, as Jordan indicates, "erase that gap in the history of ecumenism" (p. 3). The awkwardness of this metaphor (suggestive of a Nixonesque conundrum), however, is symptomatic of the rough way the job is done. The medium, moreover, helps obscure the message. The Edwin Mellon Press apparently has done little more than provide a photographic reduction of a single-spaced typescript innocent of the refinements of copyediting. The work, an updating of a 1971 Iowa PhD dissertation, is in quality about what one would expect from University Microfilms. The author, nonetheless provides some astute insights on a revealing subject.

GEORGE MARSDEN
Calvin College

FERENC MORTON SZASZ. *The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880–1930*. University: University of Alabama Press. 1982. Pp. xiii, 196. \$19.95.

This is an attempt to establish the half century from 1880 to 1930 in the history of American Protestantism as a distinct unit with a central theme. Ferenc Morton Szasz labels it the "Age of Division" in which traditional distinctions between the denominations faded and were overshadowed by a split across the denominations between liberals and conservatives "in biblical matters." The issues that divided the mind of Protestant America, says Szasz, were comparative religion, Darwinian evolution, and the higher criticism of the Bible—but, significantly, *not* the Social Gospel.

Comparative religion caused little difficulty because its results were used to demonstrate the universal human urge toward religious belief and

the superiority of Protestantism over all other religions.

The conflict over evolution was at first "a scholars' debate," and although it resulted in several heresy trials in the 1870s and 1880s prior to the 1920s it seriously agitated only the Southern Presbyterian Church. Genesis and Darwin were reconciled by a theistic evolutionary theory that viewed them as complementary rather than contradictory accounts of creation, and by the 1890s it seemed that Darwin's ideas had been assimilated.

The higher criticism—the historical and scientific analysis of the Bible—proved to be the most divisive of the issues in the long run. Yet, for several decades after its introduction to America by way of German scholarship, it was making its way among Protestant scholars without serious controversy. By mid-century all the New England theological schools had adopted it. Even the wave of heresy trials on the issue that finally developed between 1870 and 1908 did not lead to schism, and higher critical views were simultaneously winning wide acceptance through the popularizing work of liberal spokesmen.

The Social Gospel, Szasz argues, contrary to accepted opinion, was not a divisive but a unifying force that drove the controversies over evolution and the higher criticism "underground" during the Progressive era. Szasz's evidence for a social reform impulse among theological conservatives of the period buttresses the case already made by Kenneth K. Bailey, Rufus B. Spain, and others, but his argument for a liberal-conservative "united front" on the Social Gospel will not likely persuade many.

Conservatives did not turn against the Social Gospel, says Szasz, until it was mistakenly identified exclusively with liberalism in the course of the fundamentalist crusade of the 1920s. The main contours of fundamentalism—the Princeton theology, biblical literalism, and premillennialism—had been established in the decade prior to the First World War, but its distinctive feature—aggressiveness—was a product of wartime anti-Germanism. Fundamentalists then began to castigate evolutionary theory as "German thought" and the higher criticism as "German theology," and to link both to German barbarism.

Convincingly, Szasz maintains that evolution was imposed on the fundamentalist movement as its overriding issue in the years from 1921 to 1925 almost single-handedly by William Jennings Bryan. Except for that brief period, however, the chief issue for fundamentalists was always biblical criticism. The evolution controversy of the twenties simply provided the occasion for the final liberal-conservative split. It also hastened "the demise of the Protestant hegemony" (Sidney E. Mead's phrase), pushing the churches into a position that

Szasz aptly describes as not unlike that of immigrant groups relative to the mainstream of national life.

Szasz's thesis that this was an age of ideological division for American Protestantism has validity. He relies perhaps too exclusively, however, on the biblical issue as the cause of division, and does not deal with the opposite trend toward ecumenical unity. He has given us a good account of his subject and made imaginative use of popular religious literature. Those not familiar with the period will find this a very useful introduction to its major intellectual problems.

ROBERT M. ANDERSON
Wagner College

LOIS A. BOYD and R. DOUGLAS BRACKENRIDGE. *Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of a Quest for Status*. (Publication of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Contributions to the Study of Religion, number 9.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xiv, 308. \$35.00.

Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of a Quest for Status may be the most ambitious and systematic account of women in the church published to date. Authors Lois A. Boyd and R. Douglas Brackenridge see the history of Presbyterian women as one in which "women's role has been defined largely by the institution, based on biblical, theological, and cultural interpretations" (p. ix). Like most histories of women in the church, they describe "the professional and lay participation of women," the "organization of women" through women's boards of foreign and home missions, and the history of the "ordination of women." They also treat "the minister's wife" and the semiprofessional role of women in Christian education. But the unique element in the book is the extent to which it is also a history of a denomination—written from the perspective of the treatment of women by the men who controlled church polity until 1930. *Presbyterian Women* carries the imprimatur of the Presbyterian Historical Society. It is not a polemical work. It is a carefully researched account of the way "woman's work" in the Presbyterian Church has been defined by men, for men have been "the institution."

Although the writers describe some of the cultural history affecting church women, their use of social history is selective. For instance, they explain that women were denied ordination as elders and pastors in 1920 because of poorly written overtures. They also suggest that women's concerns were lost in the theological controversy wracking the denomination in the 1920s. But they fail to mention that this is the same year in which American women achieved political suffrage. Their failure to make

such connections leaves much of the interpretation of information to the reader. Yet they accumulate evidence of male hegemony in every area of church life so persuasively that the conclusion is inescapable.

Presbyterian women did not receive equal status with men as church members until the middle of the twentieth century. Although the book is primarily about the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., there are comparative references to the Presbyterian Church in the South, the United Presbyterian Church of North America, and Cumberland Presbyterians. Only the Cumberland Presbyterian denomination granted full ordination rights to women earlier than mid-century, in 1921.

The impression is given that Presbyterian women did not seek equal status on their own behalf until the mid-1960s. Until that time, they deferred to the rulings of the male commissioners to the General Assembly where such decisions are made. A continuing submotif of the book is the story of the subordinate position accepted by Presbyterian women who almost never voiced public criticism of "the church." They are portrayed as reluctant to seek representation in denominational policy making and administration because they were content to play the role of feminine "influence" rather than demand the "power" granted to men by prevailing cultural attitudes.

Despite interpretive limitations, scholars in American church history, women's history, and denominational history will want to consult this almost encyclopedic accounting of the history of Presbyterian women. Sources consulted are official church documents and periodicals. The few articles by and about women published in denominational periodicals are included as sources for women's views. The choice to omit autobiographical material, however, means that only literature in the public sphere has been consulted in telling the story of Presbyterian women. This is relieved to some extent by the inclusion of anecdotal material and quotations from interviews with sixteen prominent church women. But the story of Presbyterian women told from their own perspective remains to be written.

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JOHN A. DEBRIZZI. *Ideology and the Rise of Labor Theory in America*. (Contributions in Labor History, number 14.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1983. Pp. 196. \$29.95.

This is a useful if rather narrow and only partially original book. In it sociologist John A. DeBrizzi

reviews the contributions to the slim tradition of American labor theory made by Richard T. Ely, of the "moral uplift" school at Johns Hopkins University; Henry Carter Adams of the University of Michigan; and the far more important John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin. Of these only the ideas of Adams, who rejected Ely's positive view of labor because of the rise of worker militancy at the end of the nineteenth century, in favor of collective bargaining and state regulation, have not been described before. Since Adams's contribution was slight, it is surprising that his views are chosen for analysis over those of Carleton Parker, Robert Hoxie, or Frank Tannenbaum. It is still more surprising to find little mention of Commons's Wisconsin disciple, Selig Perlman. Perlman's *Theory of the Labor Movement* (1928), which was based on the same questionable view of U.S. labor as Commons's, was even more influential than the work of his master. DeBrizzi betrays ignorance of the contributions made to labor theory by the new social history when he states that Commons's interpretation of the labor movement "is the most widely accepted today" (p. 146). And he commits a gross factual error when, on page 45, he attributes seven million members to the Knights of Labor in 1886, instead of the correct seven-hundred-fifty thousand.

The strength of the book lies in DeBrizzi's interesting exposé of the extraordinary naiveté, as well as the consciously instrumental character, of Commons's labor ideas. Seriously believing that he had refuted Marx by showing that Philadelphia shoemakers had first organized in 1792 before the factory system developed, Commons argued that the "natural"—and "exceptional"—job-conscious, as opposed to class-conscious, character of the U.S. labor movement derived from this early preoccupation with collective bargaining. Such "unnatural" socialist ideas as did develop among U.S. workers came partly from unusually broad swings in the American business cycle, and partly from the sinister influence of foreign immigrants. Since his research was funded directly by private capitalists, notably Andrew Carnegie, DeBrizzi demonstrates effectively why Commons's approach was popular both with business and with the conservative leadership of the AFL. Yet Commons's analysis was wrong at almost every point. Shoemakers organized in the prefactory period in several other countries that subsequently developed strong Marxist movements; swings in the U.S. business cycle have not been unusually wide; and foreign immigrants have brought a wide variety of cultural legacies to American shores, not just a radical one.

Yet here, as elsewhere, DeBrizzi's own analysis is shallower than it might have been. Arguing that Commons's purpose, like that of other labor theo-

rists, was to preserve middle-class values, the author never defines these for us. He fails to see, as other recent labor historians have done, that such values were neither uniform nor politically neutral, but could be used to defend traditional working-class practices against hegemonic forms of capitalism, as well as for attacking them.

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WALTER LICHT. *Working for the Railroad: The Organization of Work in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xx, 328. \$27.50.

Between 1830 and 1877 the first generations of American railroaders took to the high iron. The work experience of these pioneer railwaymen is the subject of Walter Licht's pithy monograph, which contains a wealth of information on such topics as hiring practices on the railroads; the efforts of railway managers to impose work rules, and the equal efforts of railway employees to evade them; the rewards afforded by railroad work in the form of wages, fringe benefits, promotions, and pride of membership in the railway fraternity; and the perils of railway labor, including erratic employment, long hours, and the risk of death or injury on the job.

Licht emphasizes that prior to 1877 the work experience of the average railroader remained a function of his relations with supervisors and foremen, who handled most aspects of labor policy in arbitrary and discretionary ways. Licht concludes, therefore, that the struggle of railwaymen in the post-1877 period to secure written contracts should be viewed as an effort to demand bureaucratic standards and procedures so as to gain worker control over the work experience (but not the means of production). Although this reviewer is inclined to put more stress than Licht does on those bureaucratic innovations in the work environment that resulted from management's quest for productivity and profits, he has no quarrel with Licht's insightful observation that the process of bureaucratization was dialectical in nature, resulting from pressure from both above and below.

Although Licht's major thesis will interest chiefly labor historians, he has provocative things to say to other specialists as well. He chides business historians for neglecting the contracting system that some early railroad executives promoted as an alternative to bureaucratic administration, and he calls on economic historians to redefine and refocus the whole question of labor supply in light of his finding that it was labor retention rather than availability that posed a problem for railway management.

This book reflects its author's background in sociology as well as in history, in that a great deal of statistical data is developed, and in one chapter a social profile of railwaymen is presented; but the text is blessedly free of sociological jargon, and much of the quantitative evidence is wisely consigned to tables and appendixes. Licht's prose is, however, marred by occasional awkward phrasing, as when he says that railroad executives looked to accident insurance programs "as a means of assuaging their growing disgruntled and rebellious employees" (p. 209).

Working for the Railroad offers both a badly needed synthesis of earlier scholarship and a treasure trove of entirely new information unearthed through the author's prodigious research in primary sources, including the manuscript records of seventeen railroad corporations. Licht's mastery of a vast range of sources, his sophisticated use of quantification, and his outstanding conceptualization of his project have enabled him to produce a book that makes an important contribution to knowledge and deserves a wide audience. For anyone interested in exploring the nineteenth-century railroader's world of work, this book is the place to start.

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LEON FINK. *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics*. (Working Class in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1983. Pp. xvii, 249. \$22.50.

Workingmen's Democracy explores the political activities of the Knights of Labor in five quite different communities: Rochester, New Hampshire; Rutland, Vermont; Kansas City, Kansas; Richmond, Virginia; and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Leon Fink begins by sketching each town's economic history and describing its social, ethnic, and political characteristics. The stage set, he then examines the Knights' entry into politics, briefly successful in each community, but ultimately disastrous to the order in each. The nature of that activity varies with the local circumstances encountered. The Knights field a labor ticket in one community, strike an alliance with an ethnically based Democratic party in another, cooperate with the Republicans in yet another. Always, Fink contends, the Knights' political action represents the emergence of a class-conscious labor movement bent on challenging traditional elites and establishing a workers' democracy.

This working-class political revolt in American industrial communities of the late 1880s, according to Fink, indicates that "the Knights of Labor in particular do not seem far removed from the major currents of thought affecting their European contemporaries" (p. 23). Fink is at odds with Gerald

Grob and others who see the Knights as a reform union seeking to return to the economic structures of a preindustrial past, and with Norman Ware's interpretation of the Knights as a nonpolitical reform movement. It is in his effort to portray the Knights as a class-conscious, politically oriented organization with a well-defined ideology that Fink runs into trouble. Indeed, he admits that his evidence can be interpreted more than one way. He notes, for example, that earlier historians saw a "petit bourgeois presence" in the Knights as a source of weakness, although observing that "the opposite may well have been the case" (p. 223). Yet his studies reveal that members of the middle class were frequently represented on, even headed, the Knights' labor tickets. He also shows that these same individuals, mistrusted by laborers, often returned to their former political affiliation. Fink also fails to define the "working class radicalism" of which he sees the Knights as representative, nor does he demonstrate that the Knights developed a political ideology. The Rochester Knights, for example, did little for labor on capturing political power, other than instituting improved city services, while the Knights in Richmond attempted to use their power to aid labor directly.

Fink faces the old, and practically insoluble, problem of placing within an ideological framework an organization whose membership requirements excluded only bankers, lawyers, liquor dealers, and gamblers. Such openness resulted in scores of politicians, reformers, and ambitious young members of the middle class flocking to the order when it seemed to hold some promise. It is difficult to examine the social, political, and economic background of the Knights' leadership, national, state, or local, and contend that they represented a truly class-conscious movement. Indeed, even as Fink notes, workers frequently left the order because it did not bring "an immediate benefit in the shape of increase in wages" or other tangible returns (p. 97).

Despite its problems, *Workingmen's Democracy* is an important work, the best of several recent volumes on the Knights. It underscores the relationship between the order and urban ethnic groups, who saw it as a vehicle through which to seize political and economic power. It illustrates the extent to which labor unrest permeated small-town America in the eighties. Finally, it reveals much about the response of powerful elites to challenges from below, especially the ability of those elites to appeal to sympathetic state legislatures dominated by representatives of rural America when urban laborers and their allies, including petit-bourgeois reformers, gained the political upper hand.

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VALERIE JEAN CONNER. *The National War Labor Board: Stability, Social Justice, and the Voluntary State in World War I*. (Supplementary Volumes to the Papers of Woodrow Wilson.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 234. \$23.50.

What was the proper role of the state in an industrialized America? World War I forced the country to confront directly that long-evaded question. Although mobilization was highly improvised, we can see now that it set a course leading to the New Deal and beyond. No sector better illustrated this (nor was more important in its own right) than labor relations. Forced to intervene for the sake of industrial peace, the Wilson administration invoked established precepts of cooperation and voluntarism, but behind this facade imposed on American industry far-reaching advances in labor standards and organizing rights. In this carefully executed book, Valerie Jean Conner has written the history of the key agency of that wartime intervention in American labor relations.

As an account of the National War Labor Board, the book is excellent. It is solidly rooted in the NWLB records, and makes good use also of the personal papers of the cochairmen and secretary. By focusing on key cases, Conner has found a way of cutting through a mass of activity and delineating the principal policy initiatives of the board. Conner is especially adept at getting at the nuances of its decision-making processes, a matter of particular fascination given the conflicting interests of the labor and management members and the ambiguities of the board's guiding principles. And she has captured the personal drama at the center of the board's history. Evenly divided, its effectiveness depended on the cochairmen. The conservative William Howard Taft confounded friends and enemies alike by his responsiveness to labor's claims. His judicial temperament found a perfect foil in the flamboyant style of labor cochairman Frank P. Walsh. "There never was a team of vaudevillians who did their work more in harmony," joked one contemporary (p. 185).

Conner's book does, however, suffer from the defects of a narrowly conceived approach. The context in which the NWLB operated is not adequately explored. Conner's research did not extend to labor or management records, nor did she establish full command of the secondary literature. Neither the nature of wartime industrial conflict, nor the impact on it by the NWLB, are wholly captured in this book. (One immediately becomes anxious about an account that thinks IWW stands for *International Workers of the World*.) Conner's interpretive framework is also rather fragile. The notion of voluntarism on which she relies cannot contain the complex history she is describing. What, for exam-

ple, is one to make of her statement that the NWLB "turned voluntarism from a conservative instrument into a weapon of semicoercion for liberal ends" (p. 185), or her bald conclusion that the Wagner Act "ended voluntarism in industrial relations in the summer of 1935" (p. 83)? It will take a good deal more discrimination and precision to interpret properly the complex events that Conner has unraveled so well in this book.

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NELSON LICHTENSTEIN. *Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1982. Pp. xii, 319. \$29.95.

To those labor historians who have long suspected that the homefront exigencies occasioned by the Second World War definitively influenced the institutional structure and administrative style, as well as the ideological content, of industrial unionism in postwar America, the appearance of Nelson Lichtenstein's *Labor's War At Home* confirms it.

Indeed, it is Lichtenstein's view that the war reshaped the CIO in such fundamental ways that the cautious and fainthearted labor organization that emerged in 1945 with economic accommodation at the top of its agenda is only vaguely reminiscent of the politically boisterous and socially obstreperous industrial workers' movement of the late 1930s. According to Lichtenstein, the essential reason for this change in the character of CIO unions is to be found not in the general nature of the challenges that wartime mobilization and production posed for organized labor, but in the particular pattern of response to those challenges among the top leadership of the industrial labor movement. Determined that their unions should do whatever was required to ensure the success of the war effort, Philip Murray and the rest of CIO leadership had by the time of the Pearl Harbor attack willingly given the Roosevelt administration the no-strike pledge it sought. Yet their concern that prewar gains won through bitter struggle not be jeopardized led them to seek assurances from Franklin Roosevelt that labor would have a role equal to that of industry in forging emergency manpower and production policies, and that employers would not be permitted to exploit the organizational vulnerability of voluntarily disarmed industrial unions.

As Lichtenstein acknowledges, the National War Labor Board, through the maintenance-of-membership policy it applied to most labor contracts, went a long way toward repaying labor's patriotism. With employers required to abandon the most direct and formidable antiunion tactics in their

arsenals, CIO unions were greatly aided both in holding their prewar memberships and in enrolling millions of new workers. By Lichtenstein's reckoning, however, the larger memberships fell far short of balancing the losses the CIO incurred as its leadership vainly struggled to secure labor's equal role in homefront planning and endeavored to control and discipline the rank and file, which had grown ever more restive and unruly as the NWLB's inflexible wage-restraint policy combined with unresolved shop-floor grievances to reinforce the workers' sense of unequal sacrifice.

It is this alleged disloyalty of CIO leaders to their own constituents that is at the heart of Lichtenstein's indictment. As the dollar-a-year men that the Roosevelt administration recruited from American industry began to apply their management expertise to the wartime economy, labor's initial apprehension quickly gave way to bitter complaints that an institutionally symbiotic military-industrial cabal was using the emergency as a facade to take unfair advantage of genuinely patriotic workers who had themselves foresworn economic partisanship. Yet rather than rejecting what Lichtenstein says they readily admitted was a demonstrably antilabor complex of wartime controls, Murray and other CIO leaders reiterated their no-strike pledge, and sought protection of industrial labor's interests through an even closer political alliance with Roosevelt and the Democratic party and still more unswerving loyalty to the authority of the National War Labor Board, because it alone among the wartime agencies was, in theory if not always in practice, amenable to labor's influence.

Whatever the expected benefits from this "filial-dependent" relationship, Lichtenstein asserts that in living up to their end of the agreement CIO leaders were obliged to enforce the no-strike pledge and defend the authority of the NWLB even when to do so meant siding with the government against their own justifiably discontented memberships. In the short run this accommodationist policy served to alienate many CIO members from their unions. In the long run the increasingly undemocratic and heavy-handed methods often used by CIO leaders to quash wildcat strikes and discipline oppositional factions drove from the ranks of their organizations many of their most militant and dedicated local elements, just the variety of ardent unionists, Lichtenstein argues, that were in conspicuously short supply when the labor movement was confronted in the immediate postwar years by a strong antiunion backlash.

While Lichtenstein's New Left interpretation of the CIO's wartime experience is always provocative and frequently compelling, it is also at times doctrinaire and overdrawn. In suggesting, for example, that Philip Murray and his fellow CIO leaders could have chosen to abandon their no-strike pledge or to

defy the NWLB's authority, he almost certainly overstates their freedom of action. Similarly, his assertion that CIO leaders created the Political Action Committee as much for the purpose of subverting independent political action among a disaffected rank and file in 1944 as for its announced purpose—the reversing of a strongly antiunion political tide—appears to reflect his determination to suspect every facet of their stewardship rather than his unbiased assessment of the available historical record.

Underlying Lichtenstein's analysis is a not so subtle suggestion that CIO leaders sold out their followers during the war. Yet because he fails to adduce evidence proving that the policies they adhered to were opposed by majorities within the unions they headed, the reader is left to conclude that CIO unions had leaders with political values closer to those of their memberships than he wants to believe.

CLETUS E. DANIEL
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PAULA ELDOT. *Governor Alfred E. Smith: The Politician as Reformer*. (Modern American History.) New York: Garland. 1983. Pp. ix, 482. \$55.00.

Ironically, Al Smith is better known for a failed presidential bid than for eight years of achievement as governor of New York State. The Happy Warrior was the most prominent Democratic politician of the interregnum between Wilson and Roosevelt. A successful contestant in four of five gubernatorial elections from 1918 to 1926, Smith earned a national reputation for reorganizing the state's government and expanding its social responsibilities. Now, Paula Eldot's dissertation, for two decades the main testament to Smith's accomplishments, has appeared in print, updated to include recent scholarship. The book should interest students of Al Smith, Progressivism, and the 1920s.

Eldot separately follows the major controversies—government reorganization, fiscal policy, parks, housing, welfare, water power, the feud with William Randolph Hearst, civil liberties, and prohibition—that marked Smith's tenure in office. Eldot's well-researched narrative leads us competently through the labyrinth of each issue, although the passage is rarely brightened by dazzling insight or luminous prose. At times the journey also seems to demand better analysis of policy results and comparisons between the New York experience and that of other states during the 1920s.

During a protracted struggle that occupied each of his four terms, Smith enlisted the support of Progressive-minded Republicans like Charles Evans Hughes to consolidate the agencies of government

and adopt an executive budget that transferred fiscal initiative from the legislature to the governor. For Al Smith, Eldot insists, a more efficient government "meant the capacity to render service" and "economy, the elimination of waste, not the diminution of services" (p. 76). While the governor sought to restrain taxation and curb needless spending, he simultaneously pioneered an expansion of public projects that included hospital construction and the acquisition of new parkland. His expedient was to pay for ongoing expenses from current revenues while using proceeds from bond sales to finance nonrecurring capital expenditures. Governor Smith also envisioned state services to include the stimulation of housing construction and public operation of water power facilities (although he failed to gain either a proposed state housing bank or public power legislation). He was more successful in winning expanded workmen's compensation laws, mothers' pensions, and regulation of the conditions of labor for women and children.

Governor Smith emerges at his best in cutting through the baloney of the Red Scare to oppose the unseating of five Socialist legislators and to veto repressive antiradical legislation. Although an ardent foe of prohibition, Smith's solicitude for personal liberty was restrained by Victorian notions of virtue and vice. The governor balked at prior censorship, but not at the application of state power to punish indecent expression.

The strength of this book is in narrative detail rather than interpretive design. Eldot portrays the Smith administrations as heir to the Progressives and forerunner of the New Deal. A consistent Al Smith partisan, she insists that his innovations guided FDR's policy making as both governor of New York and president of the United States. Smith's opposition to the New Deal she views as an aberration that remains unexplained. Yet Eldot provides no organic view of Smith's thought capable of identifying its scope and limitations. Nor does she grapple with tensions in the thinking of Smith and fellow Progressives who combined humanitarian impulse with a suspicion of government intervention in the economy and a distrust of high taxes and redistributive spending. If Eldot rightly demurs against caricaturing the Happy Warrior as an ideologically consistent conservative, she strays too far in insisting on the unbroken continuity between his brand of Progressivism and the policies followed during the New Deal.

ALLAN J. LIGHTMAN
American University

RICHARD THAYER GOLDBERG. *The Making of Franklin D. Roosevelt: Triumph over Disability*. Cambridge: Abt Books. 1981. Pp. xiv, 242. \$16.95.

The paralysis of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Richard Thayer Goldberg argues in this book, "was a dividing line between the gay, haughty, superficial politician of the Wilson years and the resolute, serious, warm-hearted leader of the New Deal and World War Two years" (p. 205). This idea, repeated numerous times, is the central argument of the book. The incredible courage Roosevelt showed in fighting polio and its resulting paralysis of his legs changed him significantly. His response was life-sustaining and affirmative. On a personal and developmental level, it forced a resolution of the interrelated issues with Eleanor and Lucy Mercer. Thus Goldberg says: "The accidental experience of infantile paralysis permitted Roosevelt to resolve his mid-life crisis" (p. 162). In politics the struggle with polio broadened Roosevelt's sympathies with the underprivileged. He had been liberal before polio, and he recognized the advantages of liberalism in New York in the 1920s. But, as Goldberg argues, the struggle with polio and its effects between 1921 and 1928 turned Roosevelt's superficial, snobbish liberalism into a genuine feeling of empathy for the poor, the sick, the disadvantaged. Old friends from Groton and Harvard who had not seen him after 1921 failed to recognize the man who narrowly won the governorship of New York in 1928 but turned to advantage a landslide reelection in 1930 into a successful campaign for the presidency in 1932.

The book is odd in many ways. Redundancies abound; even whole sentences reappear intact. There is a structural imbalance between the very thin treatment of Roosevelt's youth (before he was 39, when he got polio) and the lengthier forays into politics after that. Goldberg weakens his argument in this imbalance. There is also not much to be learned about politics or history from Goldberg. One glides through the Hundred Days with a yawn and World War II comes breathlessly and without warning. Furthermore, much of Goldberg's psychologizing is mechanical. He discusses Roosevelt's "oedipal attachment" to his mother without much insight or sensitivity. Later he fails to develop at all the fascinating suggestions of a clinical depression in Roosevelt during the 1920s. He also skirts the larger meanings of Roosevelt's capacity for denial and his tendency to compartmentalize all aspects of his life.

Nevertheless, despite its huge flaws, I found this book engrossing. Goldberg is neither a historian nor a psychoanalyst; when he assumes those roles he generally fails. He is a rehabilitation psychologist, and that world he knows intimately. Goldberg describes in loving detail the exact nature of Roosevelt's polio, its course, and the resulting paralysis. We learn which muscles were destroyed and where: he had little on his bottom, for example, which is one reason he spent as little time as possible in a hard wheelchair. Goldberg's account helps the un-

paralyzed grasp just how much has to be learned by the patient in this kind of rehabilitation, how difficult it is, and the likely emotional consequences. Goldberg has diligently researched the medical history of FDR and, although it still needs to be put in a larger biographical and historical perspective, he concludes fairly that Roosevelt's story is a testament to the human spirit.

CHARLES B. STROZIER
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RONALD L. HEINEMANN. *Depression and New Deal in Virginia: The Enduring Dominion*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1983. Pp. xi, 267. \$14.95.

ALBERT U. ROMASCO. *The Politics of Recovery: Roosevelt's New Deal*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. ix, 276. \$19.95.

The literature on Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal proliferates at a brisk pace, a certain sign that the fascination of the historian with the period has not diminished.

In general, the enormous body of New Deal literature falls rather conveniently into three categories. The one consists of broad, sweeping studies that are long on analysis and synthesis, attempting to answer the philosophical questions raised by the New Deal. What was the New Deal? What were its antecedents? Where did we come out? In this category are the works of such luminaries as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and James MacGregor Burns. A second category contains the personal literature, the reminiscences, the memoirs, the gossip and anecdotal material of the participants—everybody from cabinet officers to chauffeurs and upstairs maids. Much of this literature, although interesting, entertaining, and sometimes amusing, adds very little to the understanding of Roosevelt and the New Deal. The literature in the last category is concerned primarily with specific topics, with the nuts and bolts of the New Deal. There is a growing list of really fine monographs on various facets of the New Deal that may, in the long run, contribute more to understanding the New Deal and how it worked than all the rest.

The book by Albert U. Romasco clearly falls into the first category. In *The Politics of Recovery*, Romasco, while acknowledging that the Great Depression was first and foremost an economic disaster, is not writing about the *economics* of recovery but rather the *politics* of recovery. It becomes his purpose, he says, "to pursue the difference and perhaps cast in a clear light part of the landmark that was Roosevelt's New Deal" (p. viii). This he has done and done well. The theme is clearly delineated and brilliantly executed.

The book by Ronald L. Heinemann belongs in the third category. There is a steadily growing literature on the states and the relationship between the New Deal and the states. *Depression and New Deal in Virginia* is an important contribution to that list of state studies, and Heinemann has continued the same high level of excellence that has characterized earlier state studies such as Anthony Badger's *North Carolina and the New Deal* (1980) or Michael Holmes's *The New Deal in Georgia* (1974).

Romasco and Heinemann are sympathetic to their subject; in their own way both are admirers of Franklin Roosevelt. The country, says Romasco, was being led by "an unusually gifted political leader with finely attuned political perceptions" and his performance "in pursuit of his political purposes was nothing less than masterful" (pp. 5, 243). Heinemann's admiration is more a matter of implication, a general sense of approval of Roosevelt's efforts, especially in the area of social welfare, and a disappointment at Roosevelt's inability to make much headway in overhauling the social structure of the Old Dominion.

What makes these two books interesting, even exciting, and, in the final analysis, successful, is that each writer must deal with a paradox. Romasco is careful to stress that Roosevelt's recovery policies could not be understood in terms of their economic rationale. In the 1930s, the efforts of economists, bankers, businessmen, and others, to do so was completely frustrating, and the reason, says Romasco, was because Roosevelt's "economic eclecticism" had "neither unity nor meaning" when viewed from a purely economic standpoint (p. 243). The paradox, then, is Roosevelt's political successes, successes that produced in the public an admiration and approval approaching idolatry and tremendous victories at the polls, derived from economic policies that were something less than successful, that should probably be described as failures. To understand that paradox, Romasco writes, is to remember that Roosevelt's objectives "from first to last, were political" (p. 243).

Heinemann correctly points out that the New Deal had a tremendous effect at the time on most states. In retrospect, it is quite evident that the New Deal changed the relationship between the federal government and the states, probably for all time. Yet for all of the New Deal activities and for all of the changes that those activities produced, Heinemann concludes that the Virginia of 1939 "was remarkably similar to that of ten years earlier" (p. 172). He offers essentially two explanations for that paradox. For one thing, the Great Depression was not as severe in Virginia as it was in most of the states; it was, in fact, relatively mild. More than anything else, this enabled the powerful, conservative political organization in the state, entrenched

for years, and ably led by Senator Harry Byrd, to thwart "New Deal attempts to change the social structure of the state" (p. 172). The Great Depression and the New Deal, Heinemann writes, were "ineffectual in converting Virginia into a modern progressive state" (p. 190).

Both of these books are free of error or flaw of any grave consequence. In each the prose is crisp, the research is thorough, the theses are clearly defined, and the conclusions are compelling. Each will be a welcome addition to Roosevelt and New Deal historiography.

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CHARLES M. BAILY. *Faint Praise: American Tanks and Tank Destroyers during World War II*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon. 1983. Pp. xii, 196. \$24.00.

One of the more sensational press stories of the last stage of World War II in Europe was that American tanks could not successfully defeat German armor in tank to tank action. Postwar analysis has in general supported this charge of inferiority of American Shermans to German Panthers and Tigers. The authors of the relevant ordnance department volumes in the *U.S. Army in World War II* series found their scapegoat in the person of General Lesley J. McNair, commander of Army Ground Forces, responsible for doctrine and training of the ground army. McNair, they said, so doggedly defended the doctrine that tanks should not fight enemy tanks but deal with more vulnerable enemy forces and leave antitank action to tank destroyers, that he delayed both development and deployment of a tank capable of meeting the Germans on equal terms—a tank that ordnance officials would otherwise have had in Europe by the winter of 1944–45.

In this work, Charles M. Baily, an army officer on active duty, provides a searching narrative analysis of the whole story of development of both tanks and tank destroyers in World War II, concentrating on the doctrinal and developmental problems with which both the Ordnance Department and Army Ground Forces wrestled. Baily arrives at a different verdict than the ordnance historians, contending that McNair, for all his doctrinal purity, did not really delay the development and deployment of the T-26, the new tank that reached American forces in Europe too late to have much effect on the course of the war. "It did not appear earlier," he says, "because the Engineers in the Ordnance Department could not construct a satisfactory version of the tank any faster than they did" (p. 141). Baily's case, laboriously made from letters and memoranda, appears convincing enough in demonstrating that

the whole process was a complex one in which responsibility could not be easily assessed. He theorizes that the Germans were able to place a better tank in action quicker than the Americans because of their prewar development work, and the demonstrated need in the 1941–42 campaign in Russia. American commanders in the field, not development minded, failed to recognize the need for a heavier tank until the winter of 1944–45 when the need became urgent.

The examination of the tank issue in this volume is far more detailed and based on a wider variety of sources than the treatment in any of the massive volumes in the *U.S. Army in World War II* series, leading to the conclusion that for all its tremendous detail, the series has left some important questions unanswered. Baily's criticisms, too, suggest that the historians of the ordnance volumes were the prisoners of their own sources.

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LAWRENCE C. KELLY. *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform*. Foreword by JOHN COLLIER, JR. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1983. Pp. xxix, 445. \$23.50.

Lawrence C. Kelly's monograph is the long-awaited first half of a planned two-volume biography of John Collier, the commissioner of Indian affairs from 1933 to 1945. The author focuses on Collier's life from 1884 to 1928. Kelly uses a wide variety of manuscript collections never before used by scholars of Indian policy reform, including the papers of John Randolph Haynes at UCLA, the California League of American Indians at the Bancroft Library, and important collections in private hands such as those held by the Collier, Chase, and Elkus families. With the publication of this excellent book and the previous one-volume biography of Collier written by Kenneth Philp, historians have a full portrait of this extraordinary reformer. To add to the value of Kelly's major contribution, Collier's son John has provided a helpful introduction that gives a personal touch to this thorough biography.

Throughout Kelly's book, the reader discovers the real John Collier—the well-bred son of Atlanta's mayor; the Progressive educator and social reformer; the promoter of the girl scouts; the friend of the immigrant; the participant in the free-thinking radical salon world of the World War I era; and the postwar critic of Indian policy. The author goes well beyond Collier's own memoirs, *From Every Zenith*, which Kelly deems a highly unreliable source for certain events in the commissioner's life. Although Collier was not a radical ideologue in his political beliefs, Kelly insists that he was a radical exponent

of cultural pluralism, leading him to the forefront of the war against the assimilationist course in Indian policy. The author clearly shows how Collier's ideas arose from his days at the People's Institute and out of his unique Progressive educational experiment at his home-school at Sparkill.

The author quotes at length from a letter sent by Collier in 1917 to his boss Charles Sanderson, the director of the People's Institute, that reveals much of the commissioner's inner personality. Collier analyzed himself, suggesting that his strengths were in his optimistic can-do persistence and boundless energy on behalf of social causes; yet, he admitted regretfully that he often attempted to do more than he could accomplish and indicated that he realized his own personality flaws, including egotism, hastiness, and impatience. Collier often was self-righteous and dogmatic and consequently had difficulty in matching means with ends. Moreover, as Kelly effectively brings out, Collier seemed to be pulled in conflicting directions by forces within him. He was a premodern man, in the words of his son John, and was never completely able to mold the mystical and scientific sides of his personality together to achieve consistency in his behavior or in his reforms.

The reader gets a full picture of the era in which Collier's ideas matured as well as the forces that shaped his later responses to Indian policy reform. Kelly shows Collier's and his wife Lucy's concerns for public health programs and their objections to Herbert Hoover's dismantling of the American Child Health Organization. The author suggests that Collier's later attacks on President Hoover's Indian policy were in part motivated by this earlier incident. Equally fascinating, Collier's later sensitivity to charges of being perceived as a radical during his tenure as commissioner was rooted in his work on the California State Housing and Immigration Commission during the Red Scare. Besides the work of "Americanization," Collier organized programs that dealt with the ideas of Havelock Ellis, the Russian Revolution, and the European cooperative movement. His work in California, his earlier associations with Isadora Duncan, and his keen interest in the ideas of John Dewey were later used as ammunition by critics of the New Deal.

Kelly treats Indian policy reform in the 1920s and shows how the competition between organizations as well as the ascerbic personalities of leading reformers hindered improvement for Indians. He recounts Collier's quarrels with attorney Francis Wilson and his reform supporters. The reader also learns of Collier's negative opinion of prominent Indian members of the Committee of One Hundred, especially Arthur C. Parker and Charles Eastman. Kelly is equally effective in describing Collier's war with Herbert Welsh and the Indian Rights Association. Welsh's older organization, assimila-

tionist oriented and a defender of missionary interests, viewed Collier as a headline-grabbing upstart. Kelly also treats the origins of the missionaries' hatred for Collier and discusses the reformer's internecine war centering on circular 1665, a secret dance file, and the Zuni canes. Instead of a rational discussion of Indian religious freedom that possibly could have resulted in Indian betterment, the reformers and their allies attacked each other.

Kelly superbly proves that the commissioner was at the forefront of a major turning point in Indian policy reform in the mid- and late 1920s. After a decade of nativist intolerance, a new age of cultural pluralism was emerging in America led by Collier. The merit of an assimilationist course in Indian policy reform, which had previously been accepted almost without question, was finally being debated and criticized.

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ROBERT FAY SCHRADER. *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board: An Aspect of New Deal Indian Policy*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 364. \$19.95.

No program of the Indian New Deal meshed so well with commissioner John Collier's philosophy of cultural pluralism as the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. Robert Fay Schrader's first chapters provide a somewhat sketchy background prior to the creation of the agency. He traces white reformers' attempts to encourage Indian arts and crafts from the late nineteenth century to the late 1920s, examines unsuccessful efforts after 1930 to pass legislation to aid Indian arts and crafts, and discusses early New Deal contributions. The latter included the employment of a limited number of Indian artists, some expansion of markets, and Interior Secretary Harold Ickes's ban on nonhandicrafted items from National Park shops.

The legislation that created the Arts and Crafts Board grew out of the Committee on Indian Arts and Crafts, which Ickes created in early 1934. Headed by James Young, formerly involved with the unsuccessful legislation of the Hoover administration, the committee agreed on a master plan at Gallup, New Mexico in August. The Indian Arts and Crafts bill was introduced in March 1935 and became law five months later.

In the remainder of the book, Schrader provides an administrative history of the Arts and Crafts Board up to 1945. He properly focuses much of his attention on Rene D'Harnoncourt, general manager after 1937. Schrader notes that D'Harnoncourt held a much more realistic view of his work than many of

the purists. He recognized that the collector market for truly fine goods was relatively small, and that traditional designs must be modified to meet public demands for good quality but affordable items. D'Harnoncourt also displayed extraordinary skills at staging exhibits. Despite major problems in funding and allotment of space, his exhibit at the San Francisco Exposition in 1939 was a major critical success and the high point of the program.

Schrader's findings about the political aspects of the Arts and Crafts Board parallel earlier studies of New Deal Indian affairs. Congressional critics of the Collier administration never sympathized with the program, and they displayed remarkably xenophobic and insensitive attitudes in committee hearings. Although the board started with limited funds, Collier struggled to maintain existing levels, and during World War II the agency faced reductions that virtually eradicated it.

An assessment of the quality of this book must be mixed. On the positive side, the author uses records of the board that only recently became available. His pioneer study is carefully organized and clearly written. Unfortunately, Schrader does not appear to be well grounded in New Deal Indian affairs. He confuses, for example, the date of the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act (p. 221), and does not fully understand Senator Dennis Chavez's motives for opposing Collier (p. 272). His bibliography is incomplete and uneven. Despite the potential usefulness of oral history, Schrader completed only one interview. The author's worst flaw, however, is that he has produced a headquarters history, which gives too little attention to the impact the board had on the Indians. In short, this book makes a solid contribution, but the full potential of the subject could not be realized without additional research and a broader approach.

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PETER IRONS. *Justice at War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 407. \$18.95.

Justice at War is a major contribution to the history of governmental oppression and demonstrates how good men sometimes do evil deeds. Using the methodology of his *The New Deal Lawyers*, Peter Irons shows, by examining internal justice department documents and by interviewing surviving lawyers, that, despite awareness that crucial aspects of the army's case justifying the evacuation of Japanese-Americans were simply fabricated, the justice department allowed government briefs to misstate facts to the Supreme Court. Noting that some forty lawyers and twenty judges participated in the legal battles over relocation and incarceration during

World War II, he rightly concludes that the Japanese-American cases "reflected the failure of the legal system" (p. 365).

The most poignant and disturbing of Irons's interviews was with Edward Ennis, one of the New Deal lawyers who reluctantly went along. His final excuse (offered in 1981) for not resigning in 1942 or 1944 was that "Watergate hadn't happened yet" (p. 351). Irons hypothesizes that had Ennis and John L. Burling, another key government lawyer, resigned in protest over mendacious material that Solicitor General Charles Fahy allowed to go to the Supreme Court in *Korematsu*, that case, decided six votes to three, might have gone the other way. Fahy himself later justified his actions by arguing that he was Roosevelt's and Stimson's lawyer and that he "considered it to be my unequivocal obligation to seek to sustain their action with all the ability I could muster" (p. 357).

Irons is at his best with the justice department material. His understanding of military matters and some details of the relocation leaves something to be desired, and in treating these matters he does not always use the best evidence. His assumption that the West Coast army commander would have access to the fruits of naval intelligence is almost certainly incorrect. General DeWitt was not "in effect cashiered" by his 1943 transfer from the Presidio to the Army War College (p. 269). He was kicked upstairs. More seriously, Irons judges that "pressures from West Coast politicians . . . had influenced DeWitt to press for the evacuation" (p. 268), though it has seemed to me that the important pressures acted in the other direction. Although the recent presidential commission report scotches the oft-repeated misstatement that the Federal Reserve had estimated Japanese-American property losses at \$400 million, Irons uses that false figure when citing the report (p. 348). But these are minor flaws in a well-written and argued book.

Unlike most scholars, Irons has been able to use his scholarship for a public purpose. His research convinced him that there were grounds for a writ of error, *coram nobis*. Working *pro bono publico* with a group of other lawyers, mostly young Asian Americans, he helped secure a reversal of the 1942 conviction of Fred Korematsu in federal district court in November 1983. Judge Marilyn Hall Patel pointed out that *Korematsu* "should continue to stand for a caution that in times of war, military necessity or national security, our institutions must be all the more vigilant of protecting constitutional guarantees."

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WILLIAM E. NAWYN. *American Protestantism's Response to Germany's Jews and Refugees, 1933-1941*. (Studies

in American History and Culture, number 30.) Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research. 1981. Pp. ix, 330. \$44.95.

This is a study of the reaction of the Protestant community to the refugee crisis of the thirties based on a detailed examination of its denominational press. It is potentially an important study since the activation of a reluctant Roosevelt administration in the refugee cause required the support of the organized Protestant church, which could influence the major segment of American public opinion. It thus deals with a life and death question for thousands of Jewish refugees. The link between the failure to find havens for them, and Berlin's subsequent decision to achieve the much desired objective of making the Reich *Judenrein* by mass murder is now well established.

William E. Nawyn's exhaustive research reveals the melancholy fact that the churches failed in this litmus test of their Christian authenticity. They mobilized neither Christian love nor moral outrage. Yet within the pattern of general indifference their existed significant variations. The more activist and liberal, the more the "social gospel" the orientation of the denomination, the higher the level of concern. There was a world of difference between the reaction of the American Quakers, who immersed themselves fully in refugee rescue, and fundamentalists like Baptists and Methodists, whose Christian love rarely went beyond the confines of the denomination. Generally too the clerical leadership displayed greater concern than the laity, and interdenominational agencies, such as the Federal Council of Churches, were more involved than denominational bodies. Protestant consciences were more aroused by offering havens for children than by saving adults. Moreover, the more spiritually and physically distant from New York city, where the "refugee crisis was actualized," the less concern for refugees. The pivotal factor appears to have been the degree to which the denominations were able to break out of their pervasive parochialism. Throughout the crisis it remained easier to raise money for traditional Protestant concerns such as the missionary effort in China, than for the refugees.

The author analyzes the role of anti-Semitism in the inability to muster Christian compassion and finds that although it may have played a minor role among the German related Lutherans and Mennonites, it was not generally an important constraint. The Protestant churches were also unable to support the admission of the non-Aryan Christians in the refugee stream. Many of these were converted Jews.

The author's conclusions are not surprising. The holocaust that occurred in the heart of the Christian world is evidence enough of a massive failure of a Christian sensibility. But the reader never learns

what the significance of the failure of Christian witness might signify in the history of organized religion in America. German historians are able to speak of "kirchenkampf" and document personal accounts of crisis experienced by church leaders. Apparently in America, where Christian witness was more possible but the experience of refugee travail more remote, no such struggle occurred. That fact alone warrants more than the labored research of this work.

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KENNETH O'REILLY. *Hoover and the Un-Americans: The FBI, HUAC, and the Red Menace*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1983. Pp. xiii, 411. \$34.95.

When Congress put teeth into the Freedom of Information Act in 1974, it inadvertently created a new field of scholarship, one that we could perhaps call repression studies. Armed with persistence, a willingness to decipher obscure filing systems and mangled texts, and the money to pay for retrieving and copying the thousands of documents that a successful FOIA request produces, a small band of scholars is beginning to examine the workings of the FBI. Kenneth O'Reilly's dispassionate and awesomely researched study of the bureau's political activities is an excellent, if almost too exhaustive, example of the genre.

Preoccupied for years with the red menace, J. Edgar Hoover and his top aides unilaterally decided in 1946 to alert the American people to the dangers of communism. O'Reilly shows how this mission transformed the FBI from a limited, purely investigatory agency into the powerful political force that essentially served as the general staff for the anticommunist crusade we now call McCarthyism.

Propaganda was the bureau's main weapon. O'Reilly shows how his ghost writers made Hoover one of America's most prolific authors whose articles appeared in everything from law reviews to women's magazines. The FBI also cultivated dozens of journalists to whom it leaked selected tidbits from its files. At the same time, as O'Reilly demonstrates, the bureau infiltrated and largely directed the anti-communist efforts of such organizations as the American Legion and the American Bar Association. And it coopted some liberals who, like the ACLU's Morris Ernst, could front for Hoover on the left. Congress was, of course, the FBI's most important outlet. O'Reilly describes, as best he can, how the bureau supplied both information and informers to HUAC and its other allies in Congress.

Documenting these activities is not easy; for O'Reilly like any conscientious student of the FBI, faces serious obstacles. The bureau withholds many

documents and deletes large sections from others. In addition, the files themselves may be purposely misleading. Lacking an official mandate for its war against communism, the FBI pretended to be a nonpartisan, professional organization. O'Reilly's imaginative research punctures that myth. He shows, for example, that when FBI agents gave out information to friendly journalists and politicians, they often did so orally, sometimes even hand-delivering a note explaining why the bureau could not reveal the contents of its files. Naturally, the FBI tried to expunge all evidence of such transactions from the record; and O'Reilly actually found a few sensitive documents headed "This Memorandum is for Administrative Purposes to be Destroyed After Action is Taken and Not Sent to the Files" (p. 127).

O'Reilly describes at length the bureau's attempts to discredit its enemies—those groups and individuals who criticized the FBI, its informers, or its congressional friends. Although the bureau successfully repelled these critics, it still had to change its tactics when, by the early 1960s, neither the judiciary nor the public continued to support McCarthyism. Since other scholars, Athan Theoharis and Frank Donner in particular, have described the FBI's more recent activities, O'Reilly wisely does not. His contribution is to show how the FBI shaped the anticommunism that dominated American politics during the McCarthy era. He has done a fine job.

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RONALD RADOSH and JOYCE MILTON. *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. 1983. Pp. xv, 608. \$22.50.

Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton have made an honorable attempt to lay to rest, once and for all, what they call the "disintegrating" case of a handful of "desperate" writers to establish the innocence and government frame-up of convicted atomic spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. If the skirmishes of last summer in the *New York Review of Books* and the *New York Times Book Review* are any indication, however, the thirty-year debate over the sad fate of the Rosenbergs (electrocuted at Sing Sing) may never end. *The Rosenberg File*, quite simply, has not settled a very unsettling debate. Students of the case will find it useful, not definitive; and serious scholars will continue to consult the ample secondary literature that provides a more jaundiced view of Cold War political justice.

Radosh and Milton dismiss one such effort, Walter and Miriam Schneir's *Invitation to an Inquest* (1983), as "undoubtedly the brief for the defense that Emanuel Bloch," the much-maligned attorney for the Rosenbergs, "was never able to prepare adequately." A reasonable assessment, perhaps, but

an assessment that could just as easily be applied to *The Rosenberg File* itself. The authors have compiled a brief for the prosecution that ranges far beyond the case argued in the Foley Square courtroom. Relying on extant (the FBI routinely destroyed or falsified documents that might prove inimical to its anticommunist mission) and heavily censored FBI files (that is, those files the FBI has chosen to release in response to the Freedom of Information Act lawsuit brought by the Rosenbergs' sons), Radosh and Milton have come to an uncompromising conclusion. Julius Rosenberg was the coordinator of a "surprisingly productive" spy ring. With regard to Ethel Rosenberg, Radosh and Milton waffle—but only a bit. She knew of her husband's espionage operation and "almost" certainly acted as an accessory. Her conviction, nonetheless, was determined less by hard evidence than the demands of the government's "lever strategy." The prosecution hoped, up to the last minute, that the Rosenbergs would break down and implicate others. A team of FBI agents set up shop in the Sing Sing death house complete with a list of prospective questions to put to Julius Rosenberg should he crack. Only one question ("Was your wife cognizant of your activities?") concerned Ethel Rosenberg.

Radosh and Milton are not ideologues. They concede that "final judgment . . . must be suspended until future generations are able to look at the complete record." They are critical of both the anticommunist and communist propaganda mills for chewing up the Rosenbergs and condemn the death sentence as "a blot on America's conscience." The simple fact that Emanuel Bloch's seemingly incompetent defense combined with abuses by the trial judge, federal prosecutors, and FBI officials to deny the Rosenbergs due process also troubles Radosh and Milton—but not unduly. Neither the Rosenbergs nor their attorney, the authors argue, were much interested in due process or, for that matter, a competent defense. During the appeals process, for instance, Bloch torpedoed a strategy that promised a reasonable chance of winning the Rosenbergs a new trial. Speculating on Bloch's motives, Radosh and Milton offer their tentative conclusion that the Rosenbergs and the Communist party wanted martyrs and not justice. Thus, a new trial "might well place in jeopardy accomplices who had so far escaped prosecution" and threaten the Rosenbergs' own status "as actors in a true-life morality play."

A plausible scenario, to be sure, but, like *The Rosenberg File* itself, a bit too neat. The Rosenberg case has assumed its ideological symbolism for a number of compelling reasons. The conviction itself, though, is the key and explains the narrow focus on the question of guilt or innocence—a question of only marginal historical interest. (There

were, after all, home-grown espionage agents working for the Soviet Union. What else is new?) Historically, the case is important for its cultural and political implications. Radosh and Milton recognize this but fail to transcend what has always been a rather confining debate. A generally defensive tone and tendency to construct a string of seemingly endless communist conspiracies in support of their argument suggest that Radosh and Milton can see no cause for reasonable men and women to disagree with their interpretation of what J. Edgar Hoover called "the crime of the century." One need not be experiencing a Stalinist hangover to disagree. As the authors suggest, *The Rosenberg File's* critics will include, but will not be limited to, "the unabashed defenders of the Rosenbergs' total innocence."

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NORMAN ISAAC SILBER. *Test and Protest: The Influence of Consumers Union*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1983. Pp. x, 172. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$12.50.

This monograph on Consumers Union avoids the weakness of much institutional history—the collection of dry facts unrelated except by chronology. Norman Isaac Silber never loses sight of CU's founding in 1936 as a radical organization whose goals included exposing false advertising and warning consumers about manufacturers with retrograde labor policies. He focuses on how and why such a group, investigated by the Dies Committee in 1938 and attacked as subversive during the McCarthy era, endured and emerged as a national institution. The result is an instructive essay on the mediating pragmatism of American reform.

Silber's study is admirably organized. An introductory chapter traces the consumer society's development in the early twentieth century and summarizes analyses of social scientists like Thorstein Veblen, Robert S. Lynd, and Stuart Chase. In the second chapter Silber presents a capsule history of Consumers Union—the sort of straight institutional narrative that a lesser historian might have expanded into a book. Inspired by Chase's bestseller *Your Money's Worth* (1927), which argued that consumers ought to be able to base purchasing decisions on scientific facts rather than on advertising hype, consumer activists in 1927 founded Consumers' Research, dedicated to testing products and publishing comparative analyses. After a labor dispute in 1935, a group of dissidents formed Consumers Union. Throughout the history of CU, Silber maintains, its internal politics have revealed tension between engaged moral reform and dispassionate scientific objectivity. The latter viewpoint has won

out, and CU has assumed that informed consumers exert reforming pressures in the marketplace. To the extent that insiders accepted this pragmatic approach to consumer advocacy, CU's public influence grew.

Strengths and weaknesses of CU's position appear vividly in Silber's final three chapters, devoted to case studies of work in the areas of smoking, automobile safety, and radioactivity in foods. Each chapter provides excellent background information before discussing CU's involvement and contributions. In each case CU's pose of scientific objectivity provided advantages unavailable to so-called moral reformers. Rather than attacking cigarettes as a health hazard, for example, *Consumer Reports* merely provided a comparative table of nicotine levels of various brands and implied that nicotine and thus smoking itself were harmful. And rather than mounting an unpopular campaign for mandatory automobile seat belts during the mid-fifties, CU instead tested the available belts and found two-thirds unsafe; the resulting headlines promoted seat belt use. In most cases CU stopped short of advocacy and hid its reform impetus under a cloak of scientific neutrality. Silber's conclusion maintains that CU survived because it institutionalized its method, and although it functioned within the parameters of an expanding capitalist society, it effected true social reform precisely because it appealed to individual concerns.

Test and Protest is engagingly written, clearly argued, and informed by exhaustive research in CU's archives, private manuscripts, primary and secondary publications, and by some twenty interviews with key personnel. Unlike many contemporary historical works, it is also blessed with exhaustive documentation and a complete index. In other words, Silber provides a model of what a monograph should be

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WILLIAM C. CHASE. *The American Law School and the Rise of Administrative Government*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1982. Pp. x, 182.

This is a complex and provocative book, valuable to legal historians, law school educators and, more broadly, all concerned with administrative government and its growth. William C. Chase's thesis is that the problems of administration today (its lack of distinct focus on the public interest, its unpredictability, the slipperiness of its "expertise"), stem principally from the failures of legal educators to recognize and respect the potential *judicial* function, that

is, the law-building function, in the administrative process.

The law school faculties of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, argues Chase, were captivated by the Harvard case method, with its sparkling mental finesse and its context in judge-made common law. The increasing number of law professors who built their careers on skill in manipulating the case method inevitably regarded the new development of administrative decision making, so foreign to the common law categories, as incapable of reduction to disciplined analysis. Rather than attempt to incorporate administrative law within the case-method curriculum, legal scholars tended to shunt it aside as a legal discipline, except in regard to judicial review of procedure.

The consequences, asserts Chase, were the setting adrift of the administrative process without an anchor in the vigorous criticism of law school scholarship. The hoped-for grounding of administration in a public interest expertise failed to materialize as administrators responded to the pressures of shifting interest groups and political alignments. Cases and controversies were decided on an *ad hoc* basis, without reliance on precedent or reasoned analysis.

Making use of an extensive literature on legal education and the growth of administrative law, Chase raises serious questions about the role of the Langdell-Ames case method at Harvard (it was originally touted as the route to a universal science of law) and its rapid institutionalization at most law schools. His hero is Ernst Freund of the University of Chicago, who attempted almost singlehandedly to develop a law school field of administrative law scholarship that would command professional respect and hold administrators to law-making standards similar to judge-made common law. Freund was ultimately defeated, first at Chicago by the influence of the Harvard establishment, and later in the 1920s by the "breezy obfuscation" (p. 109) of Felix Frankfurter. (Chase, incidentally, received his PhD and JD from Harvard.)

Chase is undoubtedly correct in emphasizing the failure of administration in America to develop a judicial-like tradition of precedent and analysis, thus leaving itself exposed to the influence of interests and politics. He is probably right, too, that law school scholarship, by assigning administrative government to a secondary role in the legal lexicon, contributed significantly to that failure.

Whether a different direction toward traditional judicial practice would have prevailed in the long run is questionable. The real problem is that the American constitutional system makes no provision for administrative government, which thus lacks a secure rooting in the organic law. Without the protective sanctity accorded judges in America, buffeted between executive and legislature, and subject

to tremendous economic and political pressures, administrators have largely functioned either as high-level bureaucrats or as frankly political animals.

Chase writes superbly, his analyses are lucid and perceptive, and he has made a fine contribution, if not necessarily to the ultimate "truth" about administrative government in America, at least to our understanding of the role of law faculties during its formative years. The footnotes are properly at the bottom of each page and the book includes an excellent annotated bibliography.

ARNOLD MILTON PAUL
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JOSEPH J. CORN. *The Winged Gospel: America's Romance with Aviation, 1900-1950*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 177. \$17.95.

Joseph J. Corn attempts to describe the impact on American culture and technology resulting from the "feelings, attitudes and behavior" of aviation enthusiasts. Dismissing previous technical, military, and commercial aviation studies as failing to analyze these traits, Corn searches more popular sources to evaluate the influence on aviation history and culture of the "affection" felt by "millions" of Americans (p. vii).

Corn's prescription produces information about aviation prophets, evangelizers, and inventors who were outside the mainstream of aviation development. Although familiar persons such as Charles Lindbergh, Amelia Earhart, and the Wright brothers appear, the volume generally describes the activity and ideas of eccentrics. A few examples illustrate the book's focus: Mary M. Parker, who wrote a 1910 article comparing an airplane flight over Chicago to the Star of Bethlehem; Louise Thaden, a woman pilot who predicted aviation would end "sex discrimination"; Alfred Lawson, who made claims for aviation's therapeutic value; Lieutenant Belvin M. Maynard, the "flying pastor," who broadcast services from his cockpit; and the model airplane fad promoted by groups such as the Jimmy Allen Club. Corn never clarifies the exact contribution to American technology and culture of such personalities.

The book's most interesting chapters describe the feminine role in selling airline safety, efforts to make planes as popular as cars, and predictions of air-age superchildren. These topics, however, disprove Corn's thesis that aviation enthusiasts "made education, entertainment, family life, and various institutions different from what they would have been without the gospel" (p. 137). The barnstormers of the 1920s created a fear of flying for many Americans, thereby handicapping commercial aviation's search for passengers. To quell such fears, women pilots such as Blanche Noyes, Helen Quimby, and

Earhart were employed to promote aviation safety. If women could demonstrate aviation safety by winning air races, men should not fear to fly. The ploy worked so successfully that the aviation industry phased out its employment of female pilots, restoring women to jobs as stewardesses, considered suitable to normal female skills of nursing and service.

Just as aviation reinforced previous feminine attitudes, Corn's evangelists for "planes in every garage" and super air-age children made no impact on American culture and technology. Although Fred Weick *almost* perfected an aircraft with controls as simplified as the automobile, he and other inventors cited by Corn had only a negative impact on technology. The same lack of results met the eager advocates of an "air age education" to create superchildren. Their curious efforts had no significant impact in changing education, the family, or American institutions.

In sum, Corn chronicles aviation enthusiasts who had no demonstrable effect on American culture by 1950. He finds enthusiasts who exhibited extravagant and unusual predictions and behavior that had only a momentary place in America. Moreover, his references to millions or tens of thousands of American enthusiasts fail to separate the curious spectators at aviation events from the smaller group who acted on their enthusiasm. Consequently, Corn adds little to the traditional studies of aviation history that he dismisses as irrelevant to cultural evolution.

LESTER H. BRUNE
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DANIEL WEBSTER HOLLIS III. *An Alabama Newspaper Tradition: Grover C. Hall and the Hall Family*. University: University of Alabama Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 193. \$19.95.

Despite their prosaic style, local newspapers are in many ways the physical embodiment of their communities. A daily or weekly record of local problems and solutions, fascinations and foibles, calamities and conquests, the newspaper is the vehicle by which a community talks to itself, a street-level barometer of local political conflict, economic health, and sociocultural well-being.

As local and cultural history grows in popularity, it is increasingly impossible to avoid these remote or modest voices of the local scene. And if that voice is a medium-sized daily in a state capital, it assumes the dual function of embodying local and statewide life.

Grover C. Hall, the centerpiece of Daniel Webster Hollis III's *An Alabama Newspaper Tradition: Grover C. Hall and the Hall Family*, was editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser* from 1926 until his death in early 1941, a period of intense Democratic and racial

strife and of isolated acts of progressive bravery in the South. Although three of this book's seven chapters focus on Hall, Hollis, is genealogically expansive, attending also to Hall's editor-brother, William Theodore Hall, and their journalistic offspring.

William Theodore Hall started the family tradition in newspapering by purchasing the *Dothan Eagle* (Ala.) in 1905, converting it to a daily, building it into a successful venture, and leaving the paper to his sons, Julian and Horace, at his death in 1924. W. T. Hall gave brother Grover his newspaper start by employing him as a printer at the *Eagle*, although thwarting the latter's desire to try his hand at writing.

After two years of typesetting Grover left his brother's paper and drifted through newswriting jobs on the *Jackson Daily News* (Miss.), *Bessemer Weekly* (Ala.), *Selma Times*, and *Pensacola Journal* (Fla.) before landing at the *Montgomery Advertiser* in 1910 as an editorial writer.

Progressive and imaginative editorializing won Grover C. Hall the post of the paper's editor in 1926, and two years later Hall won the Pulitzer Prize for a series of editorials "against gangism, floggings, and racial and religious intolerance," according to contemporary news accounts (pp. 38-39). The two-month series elicited political attacks on and a boycott of the paper by the Ku Klux Klan, and was the first time in the ten-year history of the prize that the awards committee departed from honoring single editorials.

A friend of, and frequent correspondent with, many leading journalistic figures of his day—including H. L. Mencken, Edgar Watson Howe, Julian L. Harris, Louis I. Jaffé, and William Allen White—Hall predictably also mingled with leading Democratic politicians, hewing editorially, even through changes in the *Advertiser's* owners, to a progressive view that if the South would shed its religious conservatism and racial intolerance gradually, it could share the intellectual and economic fruits of twentieth-century America.

The Halls' humanitarianism, a "toleration of human kind, however diverse," says Hollis, was tempered by a realization that environment and tradition limited useful change. Measured steps, rather than radical social liberalism, were their trademark because "they saw considerable merit in social stability and precedents" (p. 150).

An Alabama editorialist's life and political participation are the chief focus of this brief effort, based on available primary sources. But while others in the Hall family are permitted to weave their way casually in and out of this narrative, Grover C. Hall and the *Advertiser* are rarely developed fully as journalistic entities within their community. The reader seeking to know this editor and newspaper as voices

of community life beyond the political arena will find little here to satisfy that need.

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JULES TYGIEL. *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 392. \$16.95.

Jules Tygiel has written a valuable, well-organized narrative about one of the most important postwar developments, the integration of organized baseball. Since Americans believed that the national pastime epitomized their culture and value system, it was very significant that there were no blacks in the quintessential American sport. Tygiel argues that the advent of Jackie Robinson forced millions of decent white Americans to confront the realities of racial prejudice. He believes that the integration of baseball was a step nearly as important toward civil rights as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Not only did Robinson's success symbolize the potential for peaceful integration, but the elements that led to baseball's desegregation, namely direct confrontation, personal courage, economic pressure, and moral persuasion by the media, were the same methods later used by civil rights leaders in the 1920s.

Tygiel's main contribution in his full discussion of the process of integration at all levels of professional baseball. Although Robinson naturally holds center stage, other participants in the great experiment are also given their due. There were four blacks in the minors in 1946 besides Robinson, including pitcher John Wright, his roommate for the first month at Montreal. In 1947, after Robinson broke the color barrier in the majors, three other blacks played in the American League. Although Robinson was Rookie of the Year, few owners dared copy Dodgers' President Branch Rickey's example, and the pace of integration was painfully slow. Tygiel points out that as late as September 1953, there were only six integrated teams, despite the remarkable achievements of blacks in the majors, which included six National League Rookies of the Year and three Most Valuable Players. The author attributes the conservatism of baseball to the prevailing racial attitudes and to management's recruitment policies that deliberately by-passed established Negro League stars for younger prospects, and demanded higher standards of performance and behavior from black athletes. Tygiel further chastises organized baseball for doing little to help players adjust to the racism they encountered on and off the field. In particular, little support was given to black major leaguers during spring training or to black minor leaguers who played on southern teams and were

often thrust into uncomfortable situations. Black recruits, particularly those from the South, were originally stoical about the racial situation, but led by Robinson, blacks in the mid-1950s became less patient and demanded equal treatment. The integration of blacks on the playing field of the major leagues was not completed until 1959 when the Boston Red Sox signed Pumpsie Green. Although critical of the slow process of integration, Tygiel points out to baseball's credit that it was both a harbinger and agent of change for the rest of society.

This important study is well written, cogently argued, and combines the best attributes of scholarly and popular history. Tygiel effectively integrates a sound reading of the secondary literature with his own research that included such sources as local, regional and black newspapers, the Happy Chandler papers, the Baseball Hall of Fame, and thirty-five interviews. Classes in sport, black, and recent American history would all benefit from reading this book about Jackie Robinson and his legacy.

STEVEN A. RIESS

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VIRGINIA E. SÁNCHEZ KORROL. *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917-1948*. (Contributions in Ethnic Studies, number 9.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xix, 242. \$29.95.

Virginia E. Sánchez Korrol presents this monograph as a contemporary introduction to the history of Puerto Ricans in New York City, with special attention to the issue of community development. Within these parameters the author has succeeded admirably. After reviewing the rather sparse literature, Sánchez Korrol describes the migration process that brought her subjects to the mainland. Later chapters detail settlement patterns, institutional evolution, women in the colony, and nascent political enterprises. The main focus is New York City, but the island looms large as well. This is appropriate, for many migrants retained a strong affinity for their birthplace. This dual perspective creates a well-balanced portrait of life in the *colonia* before 1948, and makes this a worthwhile addition to research on Hispanics in the United States.

Most valuable is the discussion of the social responses of Puertorriqueños to New York city. Capsule descriptions of newspapers, associations, local leaders, and ordinary people reinforce the thesis of a viable Puerto Rican community structure. The newcomers, living in ethnic clusters near employment centers (often as lodgers), supporting an energetic colonial press, joining hometown clubs or other associations, and engaging in paternalistic

politics, created a familiar cultural milieu within the host society. Families proved the foundation of community life, since an early balance between the sexes permitted the extension of traditional island patterns. Women fostered language persistence, cared for the children, often on a communal basis, and supplemented household income. They emerged as real heroes in the struggle to sustain a recognizable life in urban surroundings.

This volume is a generally strong one; however, some weaknesses are evident. One must question whether its colonial tie to the United States instigated Puerto Rican migration; population transfers do not require such direct links. U.S. citizenship sometimes became an argument for restricted access because it bestowed rights that aliens lacked. Associations probably had less significance for the bulk of the population than the author implies, though she tempers this in conclusion. Additional comparisons with other migrants would enhance the work for students of immigration; again, some such references do occur. For example, "Puerto Ricans were found living as lodgers in European or South American homes" (p. 107) and vice versa. This condition did not persist, but it merits further exploration, as does the relationship of Puertorriqueños to non-Hispanics. Was there an assimilationist tendency in the colony, were geographical concentrations self-imposed, and what were the extant marriage patterns? Answers to such questions would certainly shed light on the early Puerto Rican community.

Sánchez Korrol has employed interview material in an exceptional manner, sprinkling the text with quotations from veteran residents. The 1925 manuscript census provided excellent statistical data. Relatively few other manuscript sources materialize in the notes or bibliography, but textbooks, surprisingly, do. Footnote policy is sometimes confusing, for single citations may refer to several paragraphs. None of this seriously detracts, however, from a substantial venture into social and ethnic history.

DAVID S. WEBER

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RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY, editor. *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*. (Barra Foundation Book.) New York: W. W. Norton. 1982. Pp. x, 842. \$17.95.

JOHN LUKACS. *Philadelphia: Patricians and Philistines, 1900-1950*. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux. 1981. Pp. ix, 357. \$17.50.

Philadelphia: A 300-Year History is the product of a valiant fifteen-year effort to bring the entire history of a great city between the covers of a single book. Working with a team of twenty authors and half a

dozen editors and advisors, Roy F. Nichols, the original editor, and his successor Russell F. Weigley divided the history of Philadelphia into sixteen periods of varying length, identified a comprehensive list of topics to be considered for each period, and assigned each period to one or two authors. The resulting book is more than a series of disparate essays, less than a tightly knit, unified interpretation. It is firmly based in the scholarship of the 1950s and early 1960s, yet most of its authors have also sought to incorporate the work of E. Digby Baltzell, Sam Bass Warner, Jr., James T. Lemon, Eric Foner, and others who have used Philadelphia materials to make major contributions to social and economic history in recent years. The new book more than succeeds in its stated aim of replacing John T. Scharf and Thompson Westcott as the standard narrative and reference history for Philadelphia.

Philadelphia: A 300-Year History has many of the virtues, and some of the limitations, of its one-hundred-year-old model. Most of it is written in prose that is effective as well as clear; some of its authors are accomplished stylists. Most chapters emphasize the narrative history of Philadelphia's city government. Written entirely from within the reform tradition, these narratives offer no new interpretations of voting patterns of political organization but they do provide copious, well-organized political detail and a consistent point of view. Every chapter includes useful sketches of the life and character of notable Philadelphia men (a few women) and of the city's famous libraries, museums, hospitals, and universities. Many chapters feature detailed discussions of art, literature, and especially architecture. Few of the nineteenth- or twentieth-century chapters consider city planning or public works. Several chapters include excellent accounts of the city's economic development, but others consider this subject rather superficially (Diane Lindstrom's important work, for example, is entirely ignored).

Perhaps because they seek to provide a clear narrative line, Weigley and his associates retain Scharf and Westcott's emphasis on elite activities and viewpoints. Many of the authors do devote commendable attention to Philadelphia's black people. The last two chapters include valuable discussions of the lower- and middle-income whites who profoundly influenced the city's politics during the 1960s and 1970s, but earlier chapters make surprisingly little use of the work of David Montgomery, Stuart Blumin, Caroline Golab, Bruce Laurie, Theodore Hershberg and his associates, and others who have recently written on the history of Philadelphia's artisan, white-collar, and immigrant communities. Some of the chapters on the eighteenth century resemble one another more than might be desired; several of the chapters on the nineteenth

century devote all too much attention to the city's wealthy, well-born locals. The two men who built the Pennsylvania Railroad into an important national institution get short shrift: J. Edgar Thomson does not appear in the index, Tom Scott gets six lines; but the "indigenous" George B. Roberts and the "fashionable" Alexander J. Cassatt get a page and a half between them.

It is impossible to comment individually on so many essays, but several deserve special mention. The first, by Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, is a splendid account of "The Founding," clarifying Penn's vision, emphasizing the economic realities, demonstrating how these two forces shaped institutions and social structure. Edwin B. Bonner emphasizes that the change from "Village Into Town" involved not only a change from meeting house to counting house but also a great expansion in the variety of religions that found expression in Philadelphia. Edgar P. Richardson's chapter on the years 1800–25 offers graceful descriptions of the city's buildings and literary institutions but includes a less adequate, although equally well written, synthesis of economic history. Nathaniel Burt's extraordinary chapter on the "Iron Age" might well have appeared in a society magazine in 1910. The chapter on "Rally and Relapse, 1946–68," by Joseph S. Clark, Jr., and Denis J. Clark, provides a valuable insider's perspective on mayoral politics during the years when Joseph S. Clark was himself mayor of the city. Stephanie G. Wolf's concluding (and deeply engaged) chapter offers one of the best accounts of the urban politics of the 1970s yet to be published by any historian.

In *Philadelphia: Patricians and Philistines* John Lukacs suggests that the ideal history of the city would follow a different model and contain a "rich and detailed history of each neighborhood" (p. 18). His present book, however, offers instead a gracefully written set of essays on the lives of seven elite Philadelphians. Unlike most of the authors of *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, Lukacs emphasizes his conclusion that Philadelphia's elite failed to provide effective, continuous leadership throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

This book is not intended to engage contemporary urban or social historians, and yet some of them, like many other readers, will find it provocative. Four of its seven subjects (machine politician Boies Penrose, sometime diplomat William C. Bullitt, attorney George Wharton Pepper, and novelist Owen Wister) were the offspring of wealthy families long established in Philadelphia; three (editor and publisher Edward W. Bok, essayist Agnes Repplier, and the pioneering collector of modern art, Albert C. Barnes) were newcomers—an immigrant, the daughter of immigrants, and the self-made son of an unsuccessful Kensington butcher. This very

choice of subjects casts doubt on the author's assertion that "in Philadelphia there was less social mobility than in any other American town at the same time" (p. 19). Like Lukacs's other generalizations about social relations, social comparisons with other cities, and social change, this one is based entirely on literary rather than behavioral evidence.

Yet Lukacs knows his very literate subjects exceedingly well. He successfully shows how their letters, books, and sayings reflected their understanding of their own widely varied experiences in Philadelphia. No book of seven brief biographical essays can conclusively demonstrate that Philadelphia's prosperous citizens were any more provincial, philistine, conformist, or self-satisfied than those of other cities in the United States (or indeed, as Lukacs himself suggests, than those of Thomas Mann's Lubeck). Nor can such a book prove that it was these qualities in the social atmosphere, rather than the peculiarly Quaker qualities cited by Baltzell or some other more general facts of twentieth-century life, that proved most discouraging to the city's ambitious writers, artists, and would-be political and civic leaders. It is not yet entirely clear that Philadelphia did in fact produce less than its share of such people. What Lukacs does do is to raise these issues in an uncommonly immediate and readable way, and thus add another to the lengthening shelf of useful books on Philadelphia.

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University Park

MICHAEL J. McDONALD and WILLIAM BRUCE WHEELER.
Knoxville, Tennessee: Continuity and Change in an Appalachian City. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1983. Pp. 192. \$14.95.

John Gunther called Knoxville the "ugliest city" and Michael J. McDonald and William Bruce Wheeler reinforce this 1946 assessment by demonstrating that the blight was more than skin deep. Despite a promising beginning in the iron and textile industries during the late nineteenth century, Knoxville's leaders were stricken by a paralysis that endured to the 1970s.

At first glance, Knoxville seems to be a strange case for failure—a city at the head of a resource-rich Appalachian region, the headquarters of TVA and the University of Tennessee system, and proximate to high-tech, high-income Oak Ridge. Yet, as the authors argue, the political and economic leadership was unwilling to seize these advantages. The decay appeared as early as the 1920s, manifested by rapid emigration of affluent whites, deterioration of the central business district, and the exodus or shut-down of factories. The remaining population of blacks, Appalachian whites, and an inconsequential

middle class were more susceptible to manipulative politicians who equated progress with tax burdens and "silk-stocking" favoritism.

The authors stress Knoxville's peculiar demographic configuration as a significant factor contributing to urban stagnation. The influx of Appalachian whites during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries encouraged a combination of low service levels, low taxes, and indifferent leadership. Annexation, generational succession, and expansion of the middle class, apparent by the 1960s, diluted the cultural impact of these mountain people, and the city began to shake off its lethargy.

The new regime, however, did not represent a significant improvement over its predecessors. The reentry of the business progressives (older wealth) and the emergence of the business developers (more aggressive newer wealth) resembled latter-day incarnations of Henry W. Grady. They eventually turned to the familiar late nineteenth-century booster panacea—the exposition (in this case a World's Fair)—to transform Knoxville's lagging fortunes.

Concentrating on the leadership, McDonald and Wheeler miss opportunities to explore other factors that affected the city's stagnation. In their introduction, the authors declare that the city's history "is the story of the New South's coming to Appalachia" as well as "the story of Appalachia's coming to the New South" (p. 7). The authors present sufficient evidence to document the former, but the Appalachian migrants remain in the shadows. Their culture, aspirations, and life styles receive little attention. Perhaps their experience with corrupt local government and grasping industry in their native environment made them justifiably sensitive to elite-initiated changes. Though the authors devote nearly two-thirds of the text to the period since 1940, they have conducted interviews only with a few elites, leaving the Appalachian whites voiceless and only indirectly visible through the antics of their political representatives.

The city's blacks are even more elusive. There is less than a page on the civil rights movement of the 1960s, implying that the city experienced a relatively smooth transition to an integrated society even though the authors note elsewhere the virulent (but undocumented) racism of Appalachian whites and a leadership incapable of innovative decision making.

The authors also neglect a body of recent secondary literature on race, urban services, decision making, and desegregation that would have provided a more valuable comparative framework for the book. The question of context also arises in the authors' slighting of state politics and the constraints imposed by the city's Republican cast in a strongly Democratic state. Although the authors provide an acceptable chronicle of Knoxville's elite through

time, they have only partially fulfilled their objective to offer "a guide to aid us in assessing where we are and what we are as a city" (p. 14).

DAVID R. GOLDFELD
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Charlotte

JAMES EDWARD SCANLON. *Randolph-Macon College: A Southern History, 1825–1967*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1983. Pp. xv, 480. \$15.00.

FREDERICKA MEINERS. *A History of Rice University: The Institute Years, 1907–1963*. Houston, Tex.: Rice University Studies. 1982. Pp. xv, 249. \$29.50.

Rice University and Randolph-Macon College have a few things in common: both began as small, privately funded institutions of higher learning and both are located in states once part of the Confederacy. The differences between the two schools, however, in terms of founders' goals, historical development, and current status are considerably more striking. Chartered in 1830 and opened in 1832, Randolph-Macon was established by the Virginia Conference of Methodists in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, as a typical nineteenth-century liberal arts college. Besides providing its all-male, tuition-paying student body with the standard "classical" curriculum of mathematics, ancient languages, natural sciences, and mental and moral philosophy, the faculty and trustees (predominantly if not totally Methodist), hoped to produce candidates adequately educated, if not specifically trained, for the clergy. More parochial than Rice in faculty and student body, Randolph-Macon as late as 1956 still drew 86 percent of its enrollment from Virginia. Rice, a much younger institution, was twentieth-century in orientation from its inception. Richly endowed by a wealthy New England merchant and cotton trader, William Marsh Rice, the school was chartered in 1891 as a tuition-free, nonpartisan, nonsectarian, coeducational institution dedicated to the advancement of science, literature, and art. Rice died in 1900, leaving the board of trustees, composed of seven hard-headed Houston businessmen, the task of actually creating his school. Their ideas about what Rice ought to be changed significantly before opening day in 1912, but from the beginning the institute offered graduate programs in the sciences and a basic core of undergraduate work in liberal studies, architecture, and engineering. Later, as staff and funds permitted, more programs in the humanities were added, and by the 1950s Rice was conferring doctoral degrees in history and English. By that time, what had long been clear to the first president was becoming obvious to everyone: the term "institute" no longer described the educational

program at Rice. On July 1, 1960, the school's name was officially changed to the William M. Rice University.

Both Fredericka Meiners's *History of Rice University* and James Edward Scanlon's *Randolph-Macon College* are attractive, well-produced, scholarly volumes. Each author treats the usual subjects presented in college histories: organization, administrative and faculty development, campus expansion, student life, athletics, and finance. Scanlon devotes a great deal of space to the last topic, which is understandable considering the meager income Randolph-Macon received throughout most of its existence. By contrast, Meiners seems almost defensive about the relatively large endowment Rice has always enjoyed.

Scanlon divides his book into three parts: from the founding to the Civil War, during which Randolph-Macon suspended operations; from 1868 (when the school moved to Ashland, Virginia) to World War I; and from World War I to 1967, when a new administration was about to begin. Within each part the material is dealt with topically. As a result, there is some repetition and lack of clarity, which a more chronological approach might have avoided. Meiners has told the Rice story chronologically because, she says, "Each topic was tied to the others, so interlocked that telling each separately would make the story incomprehensible" (p. xiv). This reviewer heartily agrees.

Scanlon and Meiners take decidedly different approaches to the impact of war on the institutions they chronicle. Randolph-Macon survived three wars, yet Scanlon spends less than ten pages on all of them. (Slavery at Randolph-Macon fares about as well—a page and a half is devoted to it.) Meiners provides an entire chapter on "Rice and the Great War." But she, too, gives World War II short shrift, despite the fact that at one point ROTC and V-12 students constituted half the school's enrollment, and navy men outnumbered civilian males by two to one.

Both histories under review were commissioned to celebrate important anniversaries, the sesquicentennial in the case of Randolph-Macon and the semicentennial for Rice. Both are friendly treatments, but neither is uncritical. Scanlon's volume presents demographic and quantitative data in a series of charts and graphs, something Meiners manages to convey in sentence form. Given the modest nature of the material (where the students came from and what they became after leaving school), the latter treatment is certainly adequate. Finally, both volumes are worthwhile additions to the historical literature of higher education. They should find audiences well beyond the membership of their respective alumni associations.

GERMAINE REED
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LESTER D. LANGLEY. *The Banana Wars: An Inner History of American Empire, 1900–1934*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1983. Pp. viii, 255. \$26.00.

- Prior to this newest work, Lester D. Langley has written much about United States actions in the Caribbean, including two volumes that together surveyed the subject from 1776 to 1970. In *The Banana Wars*, he examines the activities of the United States armed forces in the Caribbean between 1900 and 1934, stressing their role in shaping national policy there. Although Richard Challener's admirable *Admirals, Generals, and American Foreign Policy, 1898–1914* (1973) emphasized high-level policy making, Langley usually keeps his eye on the soldiers and sailors in the field. During Caribbean interventions, he argues, the acts of the armed forces played as large a part in molding events as did civilian-made policies. "It was the soldier, not the civilian, who left the most lasting imprint on the occupied," he writes (p. 6); thus by studying the men in uniform one learns the "inner history of American empire."

What influences determined that "inner history?" Despite Marine General Smedley Butler's famous statement that he had spent his career acting as "a high-class muscle man for Big Business," Langley finds, as did Challener, that the values of the service commanders came from Main Street rather than Wall Street. Underlying their service conditioning were American attitudes toward public order, good government, property rights, and racial inequality. In addition, the navy had long acted as policeman of the sea lanes, protector of citizens abroad, and ad hoc diplomatic service, while at home the army had served since its birth as a frontier constabulary. Thus both services were accustomed to functions adaptable to empire building. They ultimately failed in the Caribbean, Langley says, not for lack of efficiency, but because they denigrated the cultures and values of the peoples whom they sought to reform, stripping them of their dignity and attempting to impose alien norms. In this they were no worse than their civilian collaborators.

Starting with the two formal occupations of Cuba, *The Banana Wars* moves on through the Nicaraguan events of 1910–12, the seizure of Veracruz, the much longer occupations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and finally the last rounds in Nicaragua again, ending with the Sandino War of 1927–31. Liberally sprinkled with anecdotes and colorful details, the narrative is readable although sometimes overly brisk. The author has used official records as well as the private papers and oral histories of many individual banana warriors. Factual errors are rare, as Langley demonstrates the solid grasp of events gained from his past studies. Cumulatively the book

gives a lively sense of who its actors were and what they did. Its focus on the armed forces necessarily requires the omission of some other facets of the total picture, a limitation particularly evident in the Cuban chapters. *The Banana Wars* nevertheless helps fill a gap in the existing work on our Caribbean empire. Its interpretations are thoughtful, if rarely new, and it bolsters them with a mass of illustrative detail, much of it fresh and all of it useful.

DAVID HEALY
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THOMAS N. GUINSBURG. *The Pursuit of Isolationism in the United States Senate from Versailles to Pearl Harbor*. (Modern American History.) New York: Garland. 1982. Pp. 325. \$44.00.

Thomas N. Guinsburg has succeeded in his effort to offer a full, detached, and vivid portrayal of the senatorial isolationists, 1919–41. It is even a sympathetic treatment despite Guinsburg's belief that they were misguided. Begun as a doctoral dissertation, this study is based on solid research in the sources and integrates most of the relevant secondary scholarship published since 1969. It is strongest in its analysis of votes and attitudes of twelve key isolationist senators, who enjoyed enduring strength and unusual success despite their small numbers and striking individualism. Presented in a more positive light, they were talented, zealous, and Populistic; they did not constitute a durable "bloc" but they did commonly represent isolationism as an "ideological commitment" (p. 13). The author argues that four senators—Robert M. La Follette, George W. Norris, William E. Borah, and Robert A. Taft—were among the most able figures in Senate history.

Guinsburg treats Senate isolationism adequately in separate chapters on the League of Nations debate, the Four-Power Treaty, the World Court membership issue, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, neutrality legislation (1935–37), repeal of the arms embargo (1939), and the Lend-Lease Act. His first chapter, which introduces the key isolationists and defines isolationism, attempts too much, however, and is weaker than the excellent overview offered as the final chapter.

Scholars interested in America's interwar diplomacy have long been familiar with the author's dissertation and especially his emphasis on the lack of cohesion among the senate isolationists. Guinsburg also reports the virulence and persistence of isolationism and cautions his readers against simplified definitions, polemical assessments, and single-cause explanations. In examining both the roots and successes of senatorial isolationism, for example, he

finds that regional, ethnic, and even agrarian factors offer only a partial explanation. To these he adds an appreciation of isolationism as ideological commitment and, in stressing the human dimension, he especially notes the senators' skills in legislative forensics and their effective use of political structures and processes as well as administration weaknesses.

Other strengths of the study result from the author's frequent effort to show adjustments in isolationist arguments and tactics, their attempts at compromise, and even the gradual "conversion" of some to internationalism. Debates over the neutrality laws, 1935–37, presented moments when the "isolationists' power was commanding," (p. 181). But the isolationist commitment, as related by the author, becomes one of "last ditch" efforts after World War II began in Europe. The author's treatment of subsequent battles over the arms embargo (1939) and lend-lease (1941) offers convincing analysis of complex factors that produced, first, shrinking strength and then a "mortal blow" (p. 272) to senatorial isolationism.

Nevertheless, some criticisms are in order. The author treats very few of the lesser episodes in senatorial isolationism. One exception—what he acknowledges was "not a major episode"—was the 1930 London Naval Treaty (pp. 136–39). In the final parts of the study, which include the excellent chapters on neutrality legislation and lend-lease already noted, a gap in coverage seems to exist for the period from late 1937 to 1939. The study also seems to end abruptly with treatment of the lend-lease fight. More attention should have been given to lesser efforts (such as the war referendum crusade, waged off and on between 1919 and 1941 in the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives) and on other 1941 isolationist efforts to avert intervention prior to Pearl Harbor (such as those the author briefly mentions on p. 274).

Such gaps, however, are not major and do not detract from the contributions made by the author. Guinsburg's treatment of senatorial isolationists, although not offering the richness of detail of Wayne Cole's recently published *Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932–1945*, deserves a wide reading by students of America's interwar diplomacy.

ERNEST C. BOLT, JR.
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FRANK A. NINKOVICH. *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938–1950*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1981. Pp. x, 253. \$24.95.

Frank A. Ninkovich has produced a pioneering work on the official intellectual history of the com-

ing of the Cold War. This may seem a contradiction in terms, but in reality the world-view and policies of great states are as much products of bureaucracy and programs as of culture. The interplay between and among these elements through World War II and into the early Cold War forms the substance of this book. Ninkovich's documentation is both imaginative and extensive. His work rests not only on the obvious diplomatic history and manuscript sources but also on the seldom-used records of the United States Information Agency, numerous lot and post files of the Department of State, and the separate record collections of the Office of the American Republics and the Records of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics. These have been supplemented by materials from the annual reports of the Carnegie and Guggenheim Foundations, as well as from other private organizations important in international cultural exchange.

Ninkovich notes that, although American cultural programs were by 1950 "deeply committed to waging Cold War," their evolution into such political, or politicized, programs has been little scrutinized. In dealing with this concern, he argues that cultural programs of the government are especially significant, because they are both part of the policy process and the results or consequences of larger cultural forces influencing public policy and action. His approach to the topic blends anthropological, sociological, and symbolic interpretations of culture and national style in the particular context of U.S. diplomatic history from 1938 to 1950.

In Ninkovich's view, between 1938 and 1950 U.S. cultural programs surrendered their largely private funding and direction of the 1920s and 1930s and became instruments of the state. The problem raised by war and Cold War, he writes, "was how to use intellectual freedom as propaganda without turning it into propaganda in the process." By 1947, the newly formed National Security Council advocated information programs "to influence foreign opinion in a direction favorable to U.S. interests and to counteract effects of anti-U.S. propaganda." In this, there were far-reaching implications for American expectations of, and involvement in, international organizations, including elements of the United Nations structure, as well as for the form and content of educational, scientific, and cultural exchange programs established in the years shortly after World War II.

Both as diplomatic history and as intellectual history, this ambitious study of American cultural programs and the coming of the Cold War is intriguing but not completely satisfying. Its merit lies in its deliberate addressal to the relationships between subdisciplines. This book gives evidence of a formidable mind at work on the taxing efforts of

synthesis that present-day social scientists, unlike their humanist predecessors, tend to avoid. The work's considerable strengths reflect the author's abilities; its weaknesses reflect more the state of the art in multidisciplinary approaches to the origins of the Cold War and to the history of American foreign relations.

THOMAS H. ETZOLD
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do better to read Stephen Rabe's *The Road to Opec*; for those interested in America's oil policy in the Mideast, the reader would profit more from the works by Aaron Miller, Irving Anderson, and Michael Stoff. But as an introduction to the many facets of oil diplomacy *United States Oil Policy and Diplomacy* is worth looking at.

BURTON KAUFMAN
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EDWARD W. CHESTER. *United States Oil Policy and Diplomacy: A Twentieth-Century Overview*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 52.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1983. Pp. xiv, 399. \$35.00.

United States Oil Policy and Diplomacy provides a useful service to the historical profession by detailing in one study various strands of America's foreign oil policy in the twentieth century. This is an ambitious project, and the author, Edward W. Chester, is to be commended for undertaking the task and completing it with considerable skill and competence. He has investigated much of the literature (but not all) on oil diplomacy and has looked at pertinent materials at the Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower Presidential Libraries and at the National Archives. For those wanting information on such matters as the expropriation of American oil properties abroad, oil import quotas, Washington's efforts to promote oil development overseas, congressional investigation of the oil giants, antitrust suits against the oil majors, and a number of other questions that Chester seeks to answer, this is the place to begin.

Yet the parts of the book are more important than their sum, and ultimately the work's value is more as a reference source than as an original contribution, conceptually or analytically, to the historical literature on foreign oil policy. The questions that Chester poses to the reader are more of a factual than interpretative nature. There is no overarching theme or thesis in his work, and the research, although broad, is also shallow. In this respect Chester makes almost no reference to the large literature on oil policy that has been published in the last half-dozen years. His research into the secondary literature does not go much beyond the end of the 1970s. Finally, the book's organization along geographical lines (for example, Western and Eastern Europe, Canada and Mexico) rather than along chronological lines makes it difficult for the reader to follow the evolution of America's oil policy, notwithstanding the fact that the opening chapter attempts such an overview.

For those wanting to know about United States' oil relations with Venezuela, the reader would still

WARREN I. COHEN, editor. *New Frontiers in American-East Asian Relations: Essays Presented to Dorothy Borg*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1983. Pp. xxiv, 294. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$15.00.

John K. Fairbank declared in his presidential address to the American Historical Association that research in American-East Asian relations was our "Assignment for the 70s." Even as he spoke, the conceptual foundations of the subject were being recast, and organizational backing appeared when the American Historical Association established the Committee on American-East Asian Relations (AEAR), a body that could capture funds for fellowships, research conferences, publication subsidies, and the like. With such backing, American-East Asian relations soon become one of the most dynamic historical fields.

New Frontiers in American-East Asian Relations assesses the accomplishments of a decade. In draft form, the eight bibliographical essays published here were the focus of a conference for which some two dozen specialists assembled at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. As the revised product of conference proceedings, these essays identify the most significant writings of the 1970s, analyze interpretations, and sketch new agendas for research. The book thus becomes a sequel to Ernest May and James C. Thomson, Jr., eds., *American-East Asian Relations: A Survey* (1972), a bibliographical study that described and analyzed the research of preceding generations.

Among the essayists in the current volume, Michael Hunt, whose assignment was to survey writings on the nineteenth century, professes the greatest disappointments. He reports much research activity but few profoundly fresh insights. The new literature, like the old, reveals a preoccupation with American approaches to East Asia and "above all the perspectives of the White males of good birth and breeding who were engaged in the policy process." In one respect only has the tenor of the literature changed: whereas American writers once emphasized their countrymen's benevolence in Asia, it is now more common to be critical, stressing American racism, paternalism, violence, and unsa-

vory self-interest. The switch is ascribed by Hunt to the Vietnam War, but the substitution of self-criticism for praise, he thinks, is superficial. What is needed is research done in European and Asian archives, work that is set in broad international and comparative frameworks.

Other essayists profess much greater satisfaction with the products of the 1970s. Akira Iriye describes the ways in which an amazing range of scholars have been writing the history of cultural relations between Americans and East Asians, and he establishes beyond question the growing importance of this new dimension of research. Ernest May explores the rather substantial shifts in the treatment of the military: writers researching the era 1919–52 are less inclined to be polemical; there is much ongoing research on the impacts of the Japanese and American navies on foreign policies; and, though there is not much new work on the 1950s, the next decade and the Vietnam War are producing significant research. The essays by Waldo Heinrichs and Warren I. Cohen provide superb summations of voluminous bodies of recent research. Heinrichs reviews the literature on political and economic affairs in American–East Asian relations from 1900 to 1945, and Cohen focuses more narrowly on the United States and China since 1945. Neither author finds much heat left in the debates generated a decade ago by the “New Left” historians. Rather, the products of those debates have been absorbed, producing a consensus on many of the old issues. In the areas reviewed by Heinrichs and Cohen, there is promise of new research to be done as Asian archives are explored. Jiang Xiangze and Luo Rongqu, two historians from the People’s Republic of China, suggest some of these possibilities in an essay outlining the shifting fortunes of American–East Asian studies in their homeland. Carol Gluck, who reviews the literature on the American occupation of Japan, suggests even more possibilities by providing a penetrating analysis of recent work by Japanese scholars. Bruce Cummings concludes the volume with the first extended survey of the literature on American–Korean relationships.

Dorothy Borg, to whom this book is dedicated, has been a moving force in American–East Asian relations, a central figure encouraging young talent to ask fresh questions and to try new research methods. Much that she has accomplished is reflected in these essays.

BURTON F. BEERS
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BENSON LEE GRAYSON. *United States-Iranian Relations*. Washington: University Press of America. 1981. Pp. iii, 189. Cloth \$19.50, paper \$9.50.

This little book fills an empty niche on the shelf of works that describe the various bilateral relationships of the United States. Unlike the very best of the genre, Benson Lee Grayson fails to set his history of the bilateral involvement within the larger and shifting contexts of United States foreign policy. Instead, by narrowing the focus of his research to the published documents in the “Iran” section of the State Department’s foreign relations series, Grayson doomed the enterprise from the start. The author summarizes developments chronologically in straightforward though colorless prose. He does not seem to know much about Iran. The resulting work would be useful for undergraduates who needed to set their facts in order, but not for scholars.

Grayson’s superficial summary raises a number of questions about his skill at the historian’s craft. What, for example, is the implication for the academic discipline of history when the author writes, “A matter of some interest to the historian, Baskerville’s death really had no significant impact upon United States relations with Persia” (p. 25). What, one may ask, is the interest to the historian? Further, by treating the relationship episodically, the author creates a disjointed narrative in which events seem unrelated to each other; can he suggest no pattern, no causal ties?

One among many examples of Grayson’s failure to exploit the potentially rich sources he examined is his mention, without comment, of Secretary of State George C. Marshall’s opposition to the sale of weapons to Iran. In retrospect, despite all the billions of dollars worth of arms provided by the United States, the government of Iran never reached the point where it could defend itself against the Soviet Union, nor stabilize the region, nor even maintain domestic security; in short, the provision of military hardware fulfilled none of its stated purposes. What, then, was the use of it all? Grayson does not seem to wonder.

By choosing to summarize rather than analyze or synthesize, Grayson avoids criticism of the many failures in American policy, most notably the inability of the Carter administration to fashion a coherent response to the shah or his opposition during 1978 and 1979. Were the successes of 1946 and 1953 misleading guides for policy makers in 1978 because they misread history, believing those easy victories for American policy could be duplicated in the more volatile climate of Khomeini’s revolution? Such questions are not Grayson’s concern.

Ignorant of important recent scholarship in this field, devoid of primary research beyond the published record, Grayson’s book is disappointing to those who await the sequel to Abraham Yeselson’s pioneering study of the early period in the bilateral relationship.

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CANADA

ANTHONY B. CHAN. *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World*. Vancouver: New Star Books. 1983. Pp. 223. Cloth \$14.95, paper \$7.95.

The title of this book is misleading. Anthony B. Chan has not written a study of the Chinese in North America ("Gold Mountain") as a whole; only Canada. The preface clarifies the author's intentions: "I have chosen to tell the story of the Chinese experience in Canada because it is at the heart of who I am, what I have become. The history of Chinatown is reflected in the history of my family . . . in its cultural and social life, in its support for Sun Yat-sen, in the fight against the 1923 Chinese Immigration Act, in my uncles' participation in Canada's World War II effort, and in today's continuing struggle against racial discrimination. . . . Here, then, is a Chinese Canadian insider's view of Canadian history" (pp. 7-8).

It is a bit more than that, however. Chan has a PhD in Chinese studies, has lived in China, and has taught Asian-Canadian courses for some years. He is not merely a newly-conscious ethnic trying to generalize his family history as the experience of his ethnic group. Despite the quotation above, Chan manages to resist the temptation to overgeneralize his family's history. His one extended discussion of his family is as an example of marriage ceremonies in Chinese-Canadian merchant families—entirely justifiable and quite helpful, in my opinion.

To those who know something of Chinese-Canadian history, much of his book, especially the earlier material, will be familiar, although there are some unfamiliar anecdotes here and there, and the notes and bibliography provide some new and useful leads for further work. The shortcomings of the book are often beyond his control. Thus, there is almost nothing on the history of the 1920s and 1930s. That is because when he wrote the book there was almost nothing available on the subject. There is now. Despite the expectations raised by the book's title, there is no explicit comparison of Chinese-Canadian patterns and Chinese-American ones. There are some references to Chinese-Americans in chapters 7 and 10—the latter a most interesting coda on new Asian-Canadian literature. Since Chan studied and worked in the United States for several years, he might have been expected to make some enlightening comparisons. But that is not what he set out to do here, and the reader who knows something about Chinese-American history will have to do that for himself—at least for now.

Chan's book belongs in the category of ethnic history written entirely from within the ethnic community. It is, in fact, the first book-length statement of that kind in English on Chinese-Canadian his-

tory. It is also the first book-length attempt to relate Chinese-Canadian history to Chinese history in a systematic way. And its mildly radical, vaguely militant tone help make it the most readable thing available on Chinese-Canadian history.

EDGAR WICKBERG
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IRVING ABELLA and HAROLD TROPER. *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948*. Reprint. New York: Random House. 1983. Pp. x, 336. \$17.95.

This is a depressing book. During the 1930s, according to Irving Abella and Harold Troper, Canada's record in admitting Jews fleeing from Nazi Germany was arguably the worst anywhere. Officials in charge of immigration were overtly antisemitic, and the official Jewish organizations in the country, although trying as hard as they could to persuade the government to lower the barriers, did not play their hands very skillfully. And worse, even after the end of the war had definitively revealed the dimensions of the Holocaust, the Canadian government continued its efforts to keep European Jews out. When one bureaucrat was asked how many Jews should Canada let in, he replied, "None is too many." This quote thus gives this book its stunning title.

The book is brilliantly researched. Full use is made of the relevant collections in the Public Archives of Canada, in a very wide variety of Jewish archives in Canada and the United States, and of government and private records in the United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, and Israel. There has not been a book on Canadian history that so carefully and fully exploits the available sources. If only the quality of the prose—which never rises above the pedestrian—was as good.

This book has won prizes in Canada and the United States, and it has attracted substantial public attention. The authors were prominent in the Canadian media during the crisis created by the expulsion of the boat people from Vietnam, and it is not exaggerating matters to say that the story they tell here had some effect in persuading the Canadian government and people to open their doors wide in that instance. Sometimes history has its uses.

But sometimes it has its abuses, too. The one major problem with this book is that it never fully gets to grips with the question "why." Why did Canada act as it did in the 1930s? It is not sufficient to say that a bigoted bureaucrat slammed the gate shut; nor is it enough to say that it was really Prime Minister Mackenzie King who had ultimate responsibility; nor is it satisfactory to suggest that French Canada and its representative at King's side, Ernest

Lapointe, wanted the Jews kept out. All those reasons are right, but they are not convincing. Why was it that the Canadian people sat on their hands and let the Jews of Europe remain to die? That is a difficult question to answer, and perhaps the authors should not be faulted for failing even to pose it. But if they had done so, this would be a more satisfactory book.

Abella and Troper's charges against civil servants have stirred up some controversy. They are undoubtedly correct in their quotations and citations, but they might be faulted for failing to provide sufficient context. In the tiny public service of the 1930s, overworked officials in external affairs, for example, did six or eight jobs. They could not watch over a separate department, such as immigration, with their full attention, and perhaps because the best of them were so able, they knew the political problems involved in letting large numbers of Jews into the country. The simple fact is that the politicians and bureaucrats had decided that their aim had to be to bring a united Canada into the coming war against Hitler. If letting Jews in created tensions in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada, that was too high a price. They may have been wrong in that judgment and doubtless many of them felt conscience-stricken after the war. But this book would have been better than it is—and it is very good—if some of the complexities had been explored more fully.

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LATIN AMERICA

GORDON K. LEWIS. *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in Its Ideological Aspects, 1492–1900*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 375. \$25.00.

If the task of the historian is to give meaning to history, Gordon K. Lewis's effort to identify the main ideas and ideologies of the Caribbean should bring a smile to the face of Clio. Some scholars will undoubtedly criticize Lewis for only touching on some areas or failing to explore others altogether. But that is due to the nature of the task, not the weakness of the historian.

Lewis believes that an early Indo-Caribbean consciousness was knocked unconscious by European imperialism. The Indians resisted but suffered defeat and extermination at the hands of the Spanish. In a sense, the people of the Caribbean have struggled over the past 500 years to regain their lost

cultural hegemony. The Europeans did little to substitute for this loss. They were, in Lewis's view, cultural philistines. A good example is the Caribbean plantocracy. Mainly concerned with protecting slavery and the myth of white racial superiority, they were, on the whole, an uncultured lot interested in the accumulation of wealth, not knowledge. They were supporters of European imperialism that in turn placed a heavy drag on Caribbean nationalism.

Opposed to the plantocracy were the abolitionists. They were, in the words of the author, "Indian, African, and even sometimes European" (p. 323). According to Lewis, abolitionists were usually anti-imperialists and anticapitalists. Here the author assumes the slave proletariat was the final arbiter of its own fate. But the black masses can hardly be described as anticapitalists, even though they opposed and despised the plantation system, only one of several forms of capitalism. At most they were noncapitalists, and some of their leaders, men like Toussaint L'Ouverture and Dessalines, supported the plantation system while denouncing slavery. Certainly Lewis does not accurately describe Europe abolitionism, because British abolitionism, as Eric Williams points out in *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), was guided by the shift of capital from the slave trade to industrialization.

Lewis is at his best when he attempts to trace the development of Caribbean nationalism. Underlying political nationalism was the development of a Creole culture that incorporated African, Indian, and white values. A strong sense of nationalism especially developed in Haiti and Cuba because both of those countries fought viciously to throw off the yoke of imperialism. Lewis is probably right in his assertion that war sharpens a people's self-image. Hence nationalism is not as strong in the former British islands because they were given independence.

Since Lewis places strong emphasis on the development of cultural nationalism in the Caribbean, he should have given more space to popular culture. Some of his suggestions in this area, such as that the popular merger of past and present by Haitians gives them a very non-Western sense of history, are intriguing, but Lewis is not always convincing that Caribbean intellectuals represented West Indian mass moods. Nonetheless, Lewis's book is an excellent contribution to Caribbean historiography.

THOMAS OTT
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JANE LUCAS DE GRUMMOND. *Renato Beluche: Smuggler, Privateer, and Patriot, 1780–1860*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 300. \$27.50.

After introducing Renato Beluche's parents in New Orleans, Jane Lucas De Grummond examines late eighteenth-century New Orleans and the impact of the French Revolution and Napoleon on it. She then proceeds with biographical narrative. Beluche became a smuggler after Louisiana became American, thriving in the period of embargo, and by 1810, as a ship's captain, he sailed with a French letter of marque. He used Barataria Bay and Grand Terre Island southwest of New Orleans as bases, had many legal problems with the American authorities, and finally joined the forces of Cartagena.

The author carefully traces the Louisiana and New Orleans situation before and during the War of 1812, which eventually involves Jean Lafitte, Renato Beluche, and others in the Battle of New Orleans on the American side. A detailed account of the battle follows. The author proceeds by tracing Beluche's renewed career as a Caribbean privateer and his increasing involvement with the cause of Colombian independence. He fought on the Colombian coast, escaped a blockade at Cartagena, transported Simón Bolívar from Jamaica to Haiti, and helped to end the blockade of Margarita Island.

Beluche, promoted to commodore by Bolívar, continued his career as a privateer, visiting New Orleans, sailing in the Caribbean, sending prize ships to various United States ports, and defending himself against charges of piracy in Jamaica in 1818. By 1821 he commanded a fleet of eight ships that aided General Lino de Clemente's move from Santa Marta to Maracaibo. Beluche took part in the Battle of Lake Maracaibo and the liberation of Puerto Cabello and then had a literary duel with José Padilla over Beluche's role in the Gran Colombian independence movement.

Colombian independence ended privateering, and Beluche and family settled in Caracas. He then made a naval voyage around South America to aid Bolívar's forces at Guayaquil, Ecuador, in 1829 and fought in Ecuador and Panama. Beluche returned to Venezuela in 1831, moved his family to Puerto Cabello, and retired from the navy in 1833. Involvement in Venezuelan politics got him banished by José Antonio Páez for nine years, which he apparently spent in New Orleans. He returned to Venezuela in 1845, again took part in political activities, and died in 1860.

The book, unfortunately, is flawed, not by a few typographical errors and the need for more rigorous editing, but because of the inadequacy of the documentary sources needed for a full biography. A more accurate title would be *The Times and Incidents in the Life of . . .* The author has done her best, but the book fails as a biography, which Renato Beluche, as a participant in many significant events, does merit. De Grummond is to be commended for providing us with the best that can be done. But

Beluche never emerges as an individual; there are large gaps for which apparently there is no data; there are sections where Beluche is absent for many pages. The very well-written, lengthy expositions of major events in which Beluche was a participant show, in some cases, that his role was a secondary one.

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LAIRD W. BERGAD. *Coffee and the Growth of Agrarian Capitalism in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xxii, 242. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$14.50.

This monograph does an exceptionally good job of using archival materials to develop a picture of the social and economic development of Puerto Rico's highland coffee zones in the nineteenth century. Moreover, it locates that picture in the larger landscape of scholarly debates on dependency in Latin America. Laird W. Bergad's focus is on the commercialization of agriculture, particularly in the municipalities of Lares and Yauco, and the attendant growth of exports, expansion of the labor market, and narrowing of access to land. He uses land registers, notarial records, and company archives to examine the process whereby smallholders came to labor for wages and the farmers who employed them became indebted to immigrant merchants, often Mallorcan, who in turn remitted their profits to Europe.

Although Bergad is firmly within the camp of those who see a virtually unrelenting pattern of monoculture and dependency in Latin America, he focuses on the dynamics of change within that pattern. For example, the initial expansion of coffee cultivation in Lares in the 1850s took place in a context of labor scarcity and led to a proliferation of small-scale renters, whereas the boom of the 1880s and 1890s drew on landless laborers and seasonal migrants to expand the work force. Thus, though Bergad asserts that dependency characterized Puerto Rico from the sixteenth century to the twentieth, he is also concerned to note the partial, step-by-step incorporation of different zones into the world market and the uneven course of proletarianization.

The period Bergad analyzes most closely—1850 to 1897—lies midway down the road to extreme proletarianization and corporate control of land. The expansion of coffee cultivation in those years took place largely on family-owned farms, oriented toward export rather than subsistence, but by no means comparable to the island's vast sugar plantations in the twentieth century. In his view, this growth represented a brief boom that would col-

lapse with plummeting coffee prices and natural disaster at the end of the century, leaving behind it little economic infrastructure or capital, but nonetheless accomplishing the work of separating much of the rural population from the land and making it available for wage labor in the sugar boom that would follow.

The book's major weakness is that it fails to integrate Puerto Rico's economic development into its political history. Bergad provides an important account of the links between the Grito de Lares (an unsuccessful nationalist revolt in 1868) and the evolving coffee economy. But elsewhere he consciously neglects politics, to the extent of leaving aside Puerto Rico's colonial status in his discussion of the island's incorporation into the world coffee market. Only in his conclusion, when he undertakes a comparison of several coffee-producing regions in Latin America, do we learn the full importance of Spanish political domination in reinforcing economic domination by immigrants in Puerto Rico.

This study nonetheless contributes very substantially both to our understanding of Puerto Rican history and to our understanding of the multiplicity of patterns that exist within what we identify as dependency. Moreover, Bergad's work implicitly points to a fruitful avenue of comparative history: the study of regions cultivating the same crop under different conditions of political authority, labor availability, and access to markets. Recognizing that coffee monoculture can give rise to patterns as varied as those of Puerto Rico, Colombia, Brazil, and Costa Rica opens the way for an important reintegration of political, social, and economic history through comparative analysis.

REBECCA J. SCOTT
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ARTURO MORALES CARRIÓN *et al.* *Puerto Rico: A Political and Cultural History*. New York: W. W. Norton or American Association for State and Local History, Nashville. 1983. Pp. xiii, 384. \$19.50.

There has never been available a scholarly, one-volume, general history of Puerto Rico in English. There have been and are popular histories written in English and Spanish for the general public and there are textbook-like histories written for the high school level in Spanish and English. Until now a well-written, adequately documented, balanced, and fairly objective history in English has been lamentably lacking. Arturo Morales Carrión, and his four colleagues, have filled this void. Prepared at the request of the editors of the American Association for State and Local History, this work, if it were to be published in Spanish, could stand as an authori-

tative national history for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The volume covers quite adequately a vast span of time including the prehistorical period, the four hundred years of Spanish control, and the modern period up to about 1970. The balance achieved in the coverage is excellent, with two-thirds of the book allotted to the present century.

The chapters in the first part of the book are written by three colleagues of the principal author and cover the Spanish colonial period. These chapters, although not documented, are supported by a rich collection of references that is more than just an annotated bibliography, but is rather a very judicious selection of works for further study on the topics covered in each chapter. Each contributor is a specialist in a particular time period in Puerto Rican history. Aida Caro contributes two chapters on the Spanish colonial administration and the church as they affected Puerto Rico during the first two centuries of Spanish rule. Luis González, an economic historian, contributes three chapters on the Bourbon period and the nineteenth century. Arturo Santana, drawing on his doctoral dissertation, writes on the early influences of the United States in the Caribbean, and specifically Puerto Rico, at the time of revolutionary turmoil. In the last chapter of the book, María Teresa Babín contributes a stirring essay on the cultural history of Puerto Rico. Each of these contributors writes with authority and knowledge, backing their interpretations with a wealth of material drawn from a lifetime of scholarly work.

The bulk of the book, eight chapters on the twentieth century, is the work of Arturo Morales Carrión, and it is here that the merit of the book lies. The chapters are exceptionally well written. The use of source material of both primary and secondary nature shows a very skillful professional hand. But, most of all, the author has come very close to achieving what many, myself included, would say is impossible: an objectivity and balance that must bring out praise from the full spectrum of Puerto Rican politics.

The author, as he confesses in the text, was a "close associate of Governor [Luis] Muñoz [Marín]" (p. 299). Although trained as a historian, Morales Carrión spent many years in government administrative posts in both the Puerto Rican and U.S. State Departments. He has given evidence, in this work at least, that he may be longer remembered as a historian than as a diplomat. This is a job well done.

THOMAS G. MATHEWS
Association of Caribbean Universities

ROLF WALTER. *Venezuela und Deutschland, 1815–1870*. (Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, number 22.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. 1983. Pp. 406.

There is a significant need for detailed studies of the interactions between the economies of Latin American countries and those of their European trading partners in the nineteenth century. Such studies, if they are undertaken with a view to answering some of the major questions arising from the modernization and expansion of the world economy in the era of industrialization, can provide important perspectives on larger issues and afford a basis for comparative analysis. Unfortunately, Rolf Walter's book on the relationship between Venezuela and Germany does not fill this need.

The book is a compilation of miscellaneous information on aspects of the relationship, interspersed with discussions of general Venezuelan history, economic change in Venezuela and Germany before 1870, and Venezuelan trade with other countries. A substantial amount of statistical data on trade, immigration, and transport is included to show the expansion of German involvement in the Venezuelan economy during the period covered, but the analysis of these data does not extend much beyond summarizing. The author does not attempt to employ a theoretical framework to explain his findings and makes practically no reference to the many issues of interpretation that abound in the literature on the relations between Europe and Latin America. He has no apparent central thesis.

The main utility of the book lies in the extensive tables and summaries of commercial data that it contains, much of it assembled from archival sources. Such information is often difficult to obtain, and other historians working in the area will undoubtedly appreciate Walter's diligence in ferreting it out. A note of caution, however. There are some errors, especially in computations involving multiple or unfamiliar units of measure. On page 52, for instance, in comparing the population densities of Germany and Venezuela in 1840, the author's apparent misreading of his source leads him to claim that Germany's population density was 3,380 persons per square mile. (It is, even today, only about one-fifth of that figure.) His corresponding calculation for Venezuela is also incorrect.

This book, the author's dissertation, provides further evidence of the wisdom of allowing recipients of the doctorate time for reflection and revision before proceeding to print. Had such an opportunity been available to the author, he would, I think, have produced a far more useful and interesting study.

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FLORENCIA E. MALLON. *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capital-*

ist Transition, 1860–1940. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 369. Cloth \$35.00. paper \$16.50.

This book should be quickly accepted as one of the best regional studies in the historical literature on Peru. It is empirically rich, theoretically interesting, well written, and engaging. Florencia E. Mallon traces the transition to capitalism in the highlands of central Peru, focusing on changes within the villages. Her general thesis is that the development of capitalism was a slow and disruptive process that ultimately impoverished the peasantry.

The book begins with an analysis of the precapitalist economy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The author argues that despite the presence of widespread commercial, mining, and ranching activities, the capitalist transformation of the region was blocked by the village subsistence economy. The aftermath of the wars of independence witnessed the rise of a new regional elite and the gradual expansion of the economy after 1860 on the strength of commercial agriculture and stock raising. But the local economy and society were seriously disrupted during the War of the Pacific (1879–83) as the central highlands became the center of patriotic resistance to the Chilean army of occupation. Significantly, peasants became actively involved in the fighting and eventually turned against members of the local elite who sided with the Chileans. Following the war, the regional economy began its transformation to capitalism, largely through the expansion of the mining industry. Labor contractors recruited poorer peasants to work in the mines, through violence, while wealthier peasants prospered by becoming assistants to labor contractors, merchants, and landowners. By the 1920s the mining companies had abandoned labor contracting in favor of free wage labor under improved working and living conditions. These changes were caused by peasant resistance to contract labor (for example, running away) and technological innovations in production that required stabler work forces. In the villages, the 1920s and 1930s witnessed the increasing differentiation of the peasantry through migration and intravillage economic and political conflict. These changes paved the way for the rise of capitalist farmers of peasant origin and their domination of the village economy.

This book is a significant contribution, providing us with one of the few in-depth views of change on the village level. It is the result of a careful analysis of notarial records, government reports, estate papers, and oral interviews. The last source, moreover, adds a humanistic touch to the discussion and contributes to the book's stylistic elegance. The author's Marxist methodology also adds coherence

to the argument and presents a fresh approach to the region's history. My only substantive criticism is that the discussion of social and economic changes would have benefited from a more thorough and systematic treatment of demographic growth and land tenure. National censuses show that the population of the central highlands doubled between 1876 and 1940. This undoubtedly contributed to the division of village lands, the pauperization of the peasant household (particularly in the absence of major technological innovations), and free migration to the mines at a fairly early date. In this context, the causes of social and economic change become more complex and the effects of capitalism somewhat less destructive.

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CYNTHIA MCCLINTOCK and ABRAHAM F. LOWENTHAL, editors. *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 442. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$9.95.

DAVID G. BECKER. *The New Bourgeoisie and the Limits of Dependency: Mining, Class, and Power in "Revolutionary" Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1983. Pp. xxviii, 419. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$9.95.

The Peruvian military established the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces in 1968 to promote national integration and economic modernization and to defeat oligarchic domination. General Juan Velasco Alvarado replaced President Fernando Belaúnde Terry and drew much attention, especially from abroad. Although buoyed by populist and antidependency rhetoric, he failed to earn legitimacy and fell prey to economic difficulties and ideological dissension. General Francisco Morales Bermúdez replaced Velasco in 1975. From then, reforms slowed, conservatism revived, and economic problems multiplied. The generals decided to restore power to civilians. Elections were held and a constituent assembly met in 1978. Two years later Belaúnde returned to the presidency under a revised constitution but facing an economy in disarray. The two volumes under review assess this 1968–80 period in Peruvian political history.

Ten essays in *The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change Under Military Rule* (1975), edited by Abraham F. Lowenthal, evaluated this revolution from above. The government had made gains in agricultural areas, education, state planning, public enterprise, and overseeing foreign investment. Its promise for greater equity and a "social democracy of full participation" (p. 9) was not yet properly tested.

In *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered*, edited by

Lowenthal and Cynthia McClintock, fifteen social scientists and economists survey the entire era. Citing voluminous relevant literature, the collection incorporates economic, political, and comparative perspectives, but it is not of one piece in terms of method, viewpoint, or conclusions. Primary evidence is most detailed in the economic arena; it includes oral and published remarks of statesmen and some data on political groupings and alliances. In this review, contributors' names appear alongside certain of their findings.

The writers agree on many themes, which Lowenthal emphasizes in his summary article. The "experiment" eliminated the oligarchy as the predominant force in Peruvian politics; produced agrarian reform second only to Cuba's in Latin America; expanded the state's economic role and institutional competence (Rosemary Thorp and E. W. K. Fitzgerald); improved Peru's ability to bargain in the export sector, particularly regarding minerals and some manufactured goods (Laura Gausti); and was successful in obtaining foreign capital and loans (Barbara Stallings). A large public sector grew up, but the economy remains capitalist. Some economic redistribution occurred but it was quite limited in scope (Susan Eckstein). The military forces were strengthened vis-à-vis neighbors. Although not a state goal, political consciousness and expectations among citizens grew substantially.

Yet the writers stress shortcomings. Economic growth fell to minus 4 percent in 1977 and 1978. Personal incomes dropped and unemployment rose. External debt increased from \$800 million in 1968 to over \$4 billion in 1977, tripling again within another six years. Inflation moved beyond control after 1974. Agricultural production stagnated. Domestic capital was not used fully or efficiently (Daniel M. Schydrowsky and Juan Wicht). Inconsistent policies laid unstable foundations for economic restructuring and industrialization; the government neglected market signals (John Sheehan). Hopes for a rejuvenated nation have been cruelly frustrated (Julio Cotler). McClintock, Liisa L. North, Luis Pásara, Peter S. Cleaves and Henry Pease García illuminate the complexity and tensions of the regime's politics and ideas in relation to many of these questions. It remains unclear what advantages relatively progressive military rule offers. Yet it may be unreasonable to expect better from a democratic government (Fitzgerald).

David G. Becker's challenging and well-documented monograph attempts to undermine elements of dependency theory, which sustains many supporters of Third World structural reform. *Dependencistas* advocate complete overthrow of the external control that produces underdevelopment. Becker, a political scientist, adds to the appraisals of *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered*, arguing that

failures of the "revolution" must be weighed in light of progress in the mining sector.

Becker presents a cogent class analysis of national power. He contends that the Peruvian state helped create a bourgeois mining element, with associated middle-class groups, that is highly capitalistic but supports national over foreign interests. Becker's Marxian revisionism looks hopefully toward socialism yet is modest without straining the evidence. It demonstrates, for Peru, the progressive, nationalistic, and corporatist character of change in a "late-capitalist" setting. It is optimistic about liberal democracy and "political and material advance for . . . some of the popular sectors" (p. xxi) and denies the inevitability of an authoritarian Peruvian regime.

Especially interesting are Becker's historical accounts of state dealings with the Southern Peru Copper and Cerro de Pasco corporations. One led to a successful 1969 agreement to expand output and tax revenues. The second yielded the 1974 nationalization of Cerro's holdings and establishment of a promising public enterprise, Centromin. Equally useful is Becker's class analysis of the mining sector. Two key terms are worth noting. Bonanza development refers to prospects for returns from mining—due to management, technology, and good bargaining—for furthering industrialization in the country. The doctrine-of-domicile idea, adapted from Richard L. Sklar, suggests that foreign business can practice "good corporate citizenship" (p. 130) in Third World countries and that administrators working with it may encourage national development while maintaining international class ties.

These two books should contribute to interdisciplinary history, which Peter H. Smith advocates. In view of the current perilous situation in Peru, moreover, they indicate the difficulties of moving toward a healthy economy and just society.

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PETER DE SHAZO. *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902–1927*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1983. Pp. xxxi, 351. \$30.00.

This outstanding book makes several important contributions to Chilean labor historiography. For one thing, Peter De Shazo's focus on working-class and union experience in Santiago and Valparaíso, Chile's central industrial cities, breaks new ground, for previous studies of Chilean labor have concentrated on the nitrate miners of the northern provinces. Second, this book provides the first thorough and objective study of the important role that the anarchosindicalists played in Chilean labor's forma-

tive years. And, third, De Shazo's systematic analysis of Arturo Alessandri's labor policies during his 1920–25 presidential term forces a revision of the traditional view that Alessandri was a friend of the working class. In all three respects, De Shazo presents a major challenge to the Marxist orthodoxy that traditionally has dominated Chilean labor and working-class historiography.

The book contains two principal sections. The first (and shortest) provides three chapters of economic and social (but not political) context. These chapters discuss urbanization, industrialization, the labor market, and the social condition of the urban working class. De Shazo makes extensive use of hitherto overlooked statistical sources in this section, which contains a great deal of new and fascinating information. The chapter on social conditions is one of the best in the book, but it would be even better if De Shazo had used the rich sources for urban working-class history found in Chilean social novels of the period, such as Joaquín Edwards Bello's *El roto*.

In the second section, De Shazo turns to a systematic and detailed analysis of Chilean labor between 1902, when the first major unions appeared, and 1927, when the Ibáñez regime's repression temporarily silenced the unions. The five chapters in this section correspond to distinct economic periods, and in each case De Shazo focuses on union membership, strikes, elite responses to working-class unrest, and government labor policy. Particularly noteworthy is the analysis of the anarchist unions, which by 1921 were both larger and more militant than the communist-affiliated unions. While the communists dabbled in popular-front politics and sacrificed the workers' economic welfare, the anarchists became skillful practitioners of the successful strike. But the anarchists' organizational fragmentation proved costly to the labor movement in the long run.

The product of a University of Wisconsin doctoral dissertation, this book is solidly based on thorough research. De Shazo's use of Chile's rich newspaper sources is particularly impressive, but he also has examined British and United States diplomatic papers as well as Chilean government and statistical sources. Throughout the book, De Shazo's analysis is extremely detailed, but at some points it becomes tedious and resembles a catalogue of facts. Except for the 1920–27 period, there is no systematic political context to guide the reader who is unfamiliar with Chilean history. Although the book is generally well produced, unfortunately it contains no bibliography, an omission that does not speak well for the University of Wisconsin Press. These reservations aside, this is first-rate scholarship that all students of Chilean history will want to read.

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JOSEPH A. PAGE. *Perón: A Biography*. New York: Random House. 1983. Pp. xiii, 594. \$25.00.

In the first presidential election after Juan Perón's death in 1974, Argentines did something they had never done before: on October 30, 1983, they rejected the Perónist candidate overwhelmingly. Had Perón lived, even he might have lost in 1983, given the electorate's memories of the Perónists' debacle when they governed the nation in the mid-1970s. But, whatever its causes, the Perónist candidate's defeat served to remind Argentines of how different their politics would be without Perón.

Juan Domingo Perón is, after Fidel Castro, the best-known of Latin America's modern leaders. To most, he was an inexplicable anomaly, the army general who gave the working class political power but little economic prosperity and who divided his nation into two political camps, neither of which would tolerate governance by the other. The subject of many essays and textbooks, Perón had eluded the biographer until now. Political wounds still unhealed and the inaccessibility of Perón's personal records has made credible accounts of his life difficult. The problem is compounded by the inadequacy of our understanding of Argentine politics. There are, for example, excellent studies of the Argentine armed forces, but nothing definitive written about the country's political culture; many have studied the country's troublesome business cycle, but few have tried to measure the influence of the nation's economic forces on its politics. The best the biographer can do is to concentrate on events, describing the subject's participation in them and leaving it to the reader to determine their larger meaning.

That is precisely what Joseph A. Page has done in his lengthy and informative biography of Perón. Drawing heavily on Argentine secondary sources and periodicals, Page tells the tale of Perón from

birth to death, taking us from his conquest of the presidency in 1946 to his overthrow by military colleagues in 1955, his exile until 1973, and his second, brief presidency in 1973 and 1974. Page is content to string together the most significant events in Perón's career, offering judicious explanations for his behavior without trying to uncover revelations about his motives or to generate new insights into Argentine politics. Nevertheless, his accomplishment is an impressive one, and one that is welcomed by those who have had no choice but to sift through the bits and pieces of Perón's story on their own in the past.

Most important, Page describes a Perón who, although more cynical, less principled, and more manipulative than most, is recognizable as a politician, especially to anyone familiar with the likes of a Huey Long or the Lyndon Johnson described in Robert Caro's biography. It was not Perón's charisma or authoritarianism, but his ability to play allies and opponents against each other, his habit of promising more than he could deliver, and his perpetration of the myth that Argentina was ungovernable without him that sustained his leadership for so long.

It would be easy to fault Page for not telling us more about the deeper problems of the society Perón ruled or for his failure to draw conclusions from his lengthy study, but one must be thankful for what he has achieved. Notwithstanding occasional superficiality, especially in the last third of the book where he relies heavily on newspaper accounts of Perón's exile and return, and a narrative that sometimes reads like a series of opening paragraphs from a succession of weekly news magazines, this book deserves to be read by anyone who wants to begin to know Perón and his Argentina.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

PHILIP WAYNE POWELL *et al.* *Essays on Frontiers in World History*. Edited by GEORGE WOLFSKILL and STANLEY PALMER. (Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, number 14.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press, for the University of Texas, Arlington. 1983. Pp. 165. \$18.50.

GEORGE WOLFSKILL and STANLEY PALMER, Introduction. PHILIP WAYNE POWELL, North America's First Frontier, 1546–1603. W. J. ECCLES, The Frontiers of New France. WARREN DEAN, Ecological and Economic Relationships in Frontier History: São Paulo, Brazil. LEONARD THOMPSON, The Southern African Frontier in Comparative Perspective. ROBIN W. WINKS, Australia, the Frontier, and the Tyranny of Distance.

NATHAN SCHMUKLER and EDWARD MARCUS, editors. *Inflation through the Ages: Economic, Social, Psychological, and Historical Aspects*. (Atlantic Studies, Brooklyn College Studies on Society in Change, number 20.) New York: Brooklyn College Press or Social Science Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1983. Pp. xii, 886. \$50.00.

JAMES TOBIN, Inflation: Monetary and Structural Causes and Cures. PAUL BECKERMAN, Inflation and Inflation Feedback. DAVID COLANDER, Towards a Real Theory of Inflation. THOMAS F. WILSON, Institutional Change as a Source of Excessive Monetary Expansion. Y. S. BRENNER, Sources of Inflation: Old and New. EDWARD MARCUS, Inflation, the Terms of Trade, and National Income Estimates. PATRICIA F. BOWERS, A Theoretical Analysis of the Exchange Process and Inflation. ROBERT CHERRY, A Marxist Critique of Natural Unemployment Rate Theories. E. H. G. VAN CAUWENBERGHE, Inflation in the Southern Low Countries, from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century: A Record of Some Significant Periods of High Prices. DENNIS O. FLYNN, Sixteenth-Century Inflation from a Production Point of View. SHERRIN MARSHALL WYNTJES, Raising Hell or

Raising the Rent: The Gentry's Response to Inflation in Sixteenth-Century Holland and Utrecht. WALTER W. HAINES, The Myth of Continuous Inflation: United States Experience, 1700–1980. RONALD L. TRACY and PAUL B. TRESCOTT, Monetary Policy and Inflation in the United States, 1912–1978: Evidence from Monthly Data. ALLEN DOUGLAS, Georges Valois and the *Franc-Or*: A Right-Wing Reaction to Inflation. ROSLYN WALLACH BOLOGH, Economic Problems and Proposed Solutions in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Marx's Analysis and Critique. HYMAN P. MINSKY, Institutional Roots of American Inflation. PETER S. ALBIN, Policy Failure, Growth Failure, and Inflation. PAUL JONAS, Problems of Current Inflation in the United States. MILDRED RENDL MARCUS, The Monetary Implications of a Fixed Exchange Rate System. HYMAN SARDY, The Economic Impact of Inflation on Urban Areas. DAVID J. SMYTH, Taxes and Inflation. MIKLOS SZABO PELSOCI, Inflation and the International Monetary Order. NICHOLAS W. BALABKINS, Repressed Inflation and Uncertainty in Postwar Germany. THOMAS CHILDERS, Inflation and Electoral Politics in Germany, 1919–1929. GERALD D. FELDMAN, The Historian and the German Inflation. CARL L. HOLTFRERICH, Political Factors of the German Inflation, 1914–23. BERNARD MALAMUD, John H. Williams on the German Inflation: The International Amplification of Monetary Disturbances. STEVEN B. WEBB, Money Demand and Expectations in the German Hyperinflation: A Survey of the Models. PETER-CHRISTIAN WITT, Tax Policies, Tax Assessment, and Inflation: Toward a Sociology of Public Finances in the German Inflation, 1914–1923. GYÖRGY RÁNKI, Inflation in Post-World War I East Central Europe. LJUBEN BEROV, Inflation and Deflation Policy in Bulgaria during the Period between World War I and World War II. MUGUR ISARESCU, Inflation in Romania during the Post-World War I Period. ZBIGNIEW LANDAU, Inflation in Poland after World War I. GYÖRGY RÁNKI, Inflation in Hungary. ALICE TEICHOVA, A Comparative View of the Inflation of the 1920s in Austria and Czechoslovakia. PAUL BECKERMAN, Index-Linked Financial Assets and the Brazilian Inflation-Feedback Mechanism. MENACHEM BRENNER and DAN GALAI, The Effect of Inflation on the Rate of Return on Common Stocks in an Inflation Intensive Capital Market: The Israeli Case, 1965–79. YOGESH C. HALAN, Inflation, Poverty and the Third World: India's Experience. PAUL ORMEROD, Alternative Models of Inflation in the United Kingdom under the Assumption of Rational Expectations. WOLFGANG TECKENBERG, Economic Well-Being in the Soviet Union: Inflation and the Distribution of Resources. HERMAN VAN DER WEE, A Contribution to the Study of Inflation in the Interwar Period. WILLIAM G.

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DAVID LEVINE *et al.* *Essays on the Family and Historical Change*. Edited by LESLIE PAGE MOCH and GARY D. STARK. Foreword by LESLIE PAGE MOCH. (Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, number 17.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press, for the University of Texas at Arlington. 1983. Pp. 152. \$17.50.

LESLIE PAGE MOCH, Introduction. DAVID LEVINE, Proto-Industrialization and Demographic Upheaval. LESLIE PAGE MOCH, Infinities of the Body and Vices of the Soul: Migrants, Family, and Urban Life in Turn-of-the-Century France. LOUISE A. TILLY, Rich and Poor in a French Textile City. JOHN MODELL, Dating Becomes the Way of American Youth. ELIZABETH PLECK, The Whipping Post for Wife Beaters, 1876–1906.

W. B. STEPHENS, editor. *Studies in the History of Literacy: England and North America*. (Educational Administration and History Monographs, number 13.) Leeds: Museum of the History of Education, University of Leeds. 1983. Pp. 106. \$7.00.

W. B. STEPHENS, Literacy Studies: A Survey. JOHN BRADSHAW, Occupation and Literacy in the Erewash Valley Coalfield, 1760–1880. JOHN CAMPBELL, Occupation and Literacy in Bristol and Gloucestershire, 1755–1870. SYLVIA A. HARROP, Literacy and Educational Attitudes as Factors in the Industrialization of North-East Cheshire, 1760–1830. JACKY GRAYSON, Literacy, Schooling, and Industrialization: Worcestershire, 1760–1850. ROBERT W. UNWIN, Literacy Patterns in Rural Communities in the Vale of York, 1660–1840. HARVEY J. GRAFF, Literacy and Social Development in North America: On Ideology and History.

DAVID BERGER, editor. *The Legacy of Jewish Migration: 1881 and Its Impact*. Foreword by IRVING HOWE. (Atlantic Studies, Brooklyn College Studies on Society in Change, number 24.) New York: Social Science Monographs or Brooklyn College Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1983. Pp. 187. \$25.00.

JONATHAN FRANKEL, The Crisis of 1881–82 as a Turning Point in Modern Jewish History. MICHAEL STANISLAWSKI, The Transformation of Traditional Authority in Russian Jewry: The First Stage. STEVE J. ZIPPERSTEIN, Russian Maskilim and the City. ROBERT SELTZER, From Graetz to Dubnow: The Impact of the East European Milieu on the Writing of Jewish History. BERNARD AVISHAI, The Conquest of Labor: Gordon and the Idea of the Kvutza. MOSES RISCHIN, Abraham Cahan: Guide across the American Chasm. FAINA BURKO, The American Yiddish Theater and Its Audience Before World War I. ROBERT ALTER, The Inner Immigration of Hebrew Prose. TODD M. ENDELMAN, Native Jews and Foreign Jews in London, 1870–1914. NAOMI W. COHEN, The Ethnic Catalyst: The Impact of the East European Immigration on the American Jewish Establishment. IRVING HOWE, Pluralism in the Immigrant World. PAULA E. HYMAN, Culture and Gender: Women in the Immigrant Jewish Community. THOMAS KESSNER, The Selective Filter of Ethnicity: A Half Century of Immigrant Mobility.

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PETER SUEDELD, Authoritarian Leadership: A Cognitive-Interactionist View. IVAN VOLGYES, Personality Structure and Change in Communist Systems: Dictatorship and Society in Eastern Europe. WALTER GLEASON, Terrorism and Leninism: A Few Preliminary Considerations. DAVID DIEPHOUSE, The Triumph of Hitler's Will. RICHARD STITES, Stalin: Utopian or Antiutopian? An Indirect Look at the Cult of Personality. THOMAS E. O'TOOLE, Jean-Bedel Bokassa: Neo-Napoleon or Traditional African Ruler? PETER GRAN, Structural Logic in Authoritarian Patterns in the Third World: The Case of Nasir, Qadhafi, and Qasim. VLAD GEORGESCU, Politics, History and Nationalism: The Origins of Romania's Socialist Personality Cult. MAJID TEHRANIAN, The Despot as Theocrat: Ayatollah Khomeini and Islamic Fundamentalism in Historical Perspective. JOSEPH HELD, Conclusions.

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G. R. ELTON, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*. Volume 3, *Papers and Reviews, 1973–1981*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 512. \$49.50.

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JAMES CURRAN and VINCENT PORTER, editors. *British Cinema History*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble. 1983. Pp. vi, 445. \$32.50.

RAYMOND WILLIAMS, British Film History: New Perspectives. PHILIP CORRIGAN, Film Entertainment as Ideology and Pleasure: Towards a History of Audiences. MICHAEL CHANAN, The Emergence of an Industry. SIMON HARTOG, State Protection of a Beleaguered Industry. MARGARET DICKINSON, The State and the Consolidation of Monopoly. STUART HOOD, John Grierson and the Documentary Film Movement. TREVOR RYAN, "The New Road to Progress": The Use and Production of Films by the Labour Movement, 1929–39. ROSALEEN SMYTH, Movies and Mandarins: The Official Film and British Colonial Africa. NICHOLAS PRONAY and JEREMY CROFT, British Film Censorship and Propaganda Policy during the Second World War. ROBERT MURPHY, Rank's Attempt on the American Market, 1944–49. VINCENT PORTER, The Context of Creativity: Ealing Studios and Hammer Films. JANET WOOLLACOTT, The James Bond Films: Conditions of Production. SIMON BLANCHARD and SYLVIA HARVEY, The Post-War Independent Cinema—Structure and Organisation. JEFFREY RICHARDS, "Patriotism with Profit": British Imperial Cinema in the 1930s. TONY ALDGATE, Comedy, Class, and Containment: The British Domestic Cinema of the 1930s. SUE ASPINAL, Women, Realism, and Reality in British Films, 1943–53. IAN GREEN, Ealing: In the Comedy Frame. JOHN HILL, Working Class Realism and Sexual Reaction: Some Theses on the British "New Wave." MARION JORDAN, Carry On . . . Follow that Stereotype.

DONALD J. WITHERINGTON, editor. *Shetland and the Outside World, 1469–1969*. (Aberdeen University Studies Series, number 157.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the University of Aberdeen. 1983. Pp. 239. \$39.95.

GORDON DONALDSON, The Scots Settlement in Shetland. ALAN SMALL, Geographical Location: Environment and History. BARBARA E. CRAWFORD, The Pledging of the Islands in 1469: The Historical Background. KNUT ROBBESTAD, Udal Law. W. F. H. NICOLAISEN, The Post-Norse Place-Names of Shetland. KLAUS FRIEDLAND, Hanseatic Merchants and Their Trade with Shetland. H. A. H. BOELMANS KRANENBURG, The Netherland Fisheries and the Shetland Islands. ALISTAIR GOODLAD, Five Centuries of Shetland Fisheries. MARGARET D. YOUNG, Shetland History

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- DAHMS, JOSEPH. *Seven Decisive Battles of the Middle Ages*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall. 1983. Pp. viii, 244. \$23.95.
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- O'REILLY, MAURICE. *The Goodyear Story*. Edited by JAMES T. KEATING. Elmsford, N.Y.: Benjamin; distributed by Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio. 1983. Pp. 223. Cloth \$19.95, paper \$12.95.
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ERRATA

In Walter L. Arnstein's review of James A. Colaiaco, *James Fitzjames Stephen and the Crisis of Victorian Thought* (*AHR*, 89 [1984]: 122–23), please note that the sentence beginning on page 122, column 2, line 23 should read as follows: "Almost half the book . . . is devoted to Stephen's prime claims to fame, his writings on criminal law, and his critique of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1859), *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* (1873)."

In Kendrick A. Clements's "Herbert Hoover and Conservation, 1921–33," (*AHR*, 89 [1984]: 67–88), Vaughn Davis Bornet's name was incorrectly cited by the author on page 86.

In the essay by Melvyn P. Leffler, "The American Conception of National Security and the Beginnings of the Cold War, 1945–48," (*AHR*, 89 [1984]: 346–400), line 4 on page 381 was substituted for the correct line in the final stage of production at the press. Following is the corrected text of page 381:

perhaps even more importantly, if Soviet foreign policies tended to be opportunist, reactive, nationalistic, and contradictory, as some recent writers have claimed and as some contemporary analysts suggested, then one might also wonder whether America's own conception of national security tended, perhaps unintentionally, to engender anxieties and to provoke countermeasures from a proud, suspicious, insecure, and cruel government that was at the same time legitimately apprehensive about the long-term implications arising from the rehabilitation of traditional enemies and the development of foreign bases on the periphery of the Soviet homeland. To raise such issues anew seems essential in the 1980s, when a correct understanding of an adversary's intentions, a shrewd grasp of an adversary's perceptions of vital interests, and a sound assessment of America's own national security imperatives seem to be indispensable prerequisites for the avoidance of nuclear war and the establishment of a safer climate for great power competition.

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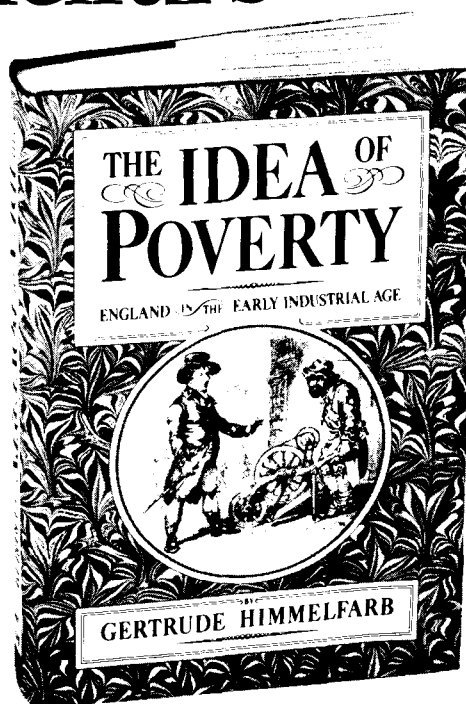
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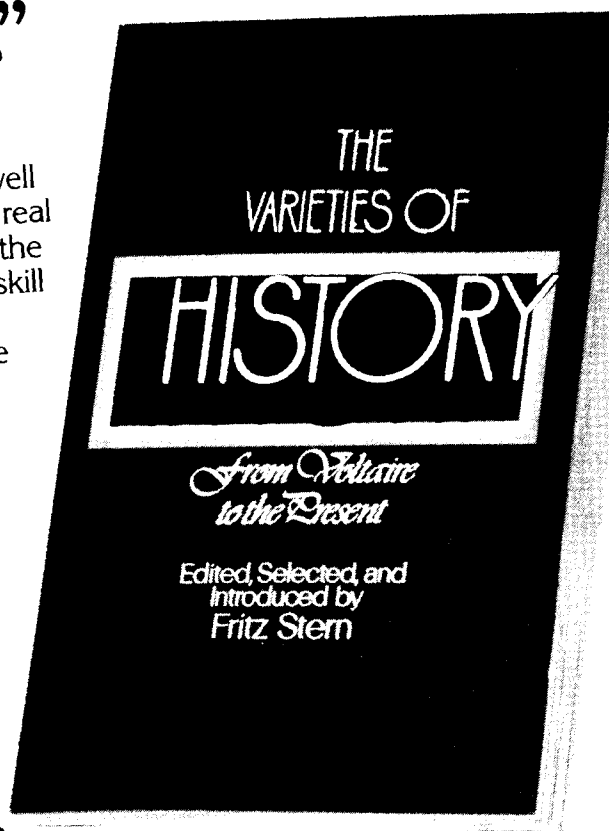
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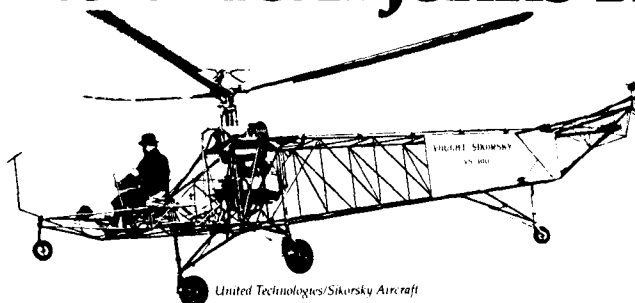
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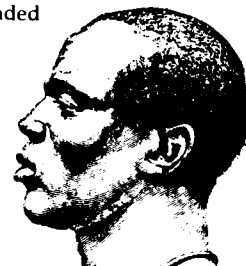
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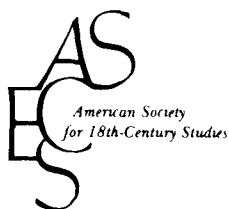
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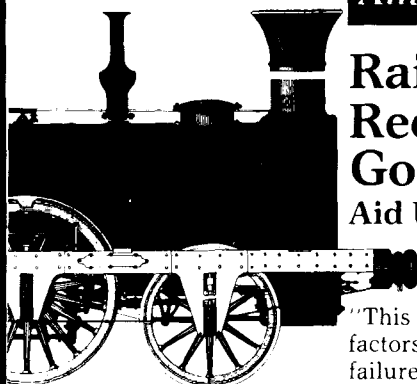
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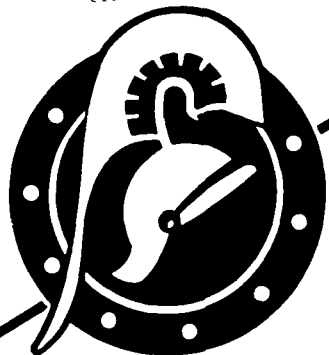
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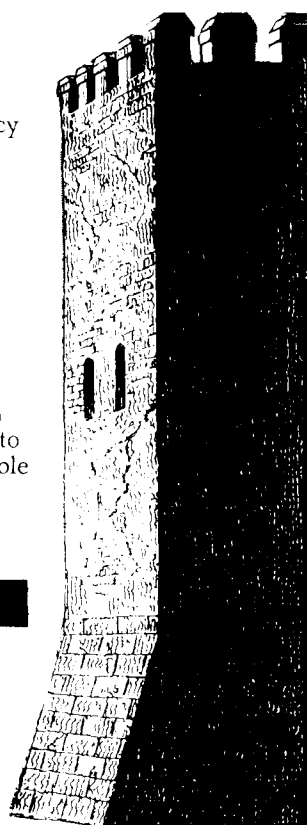
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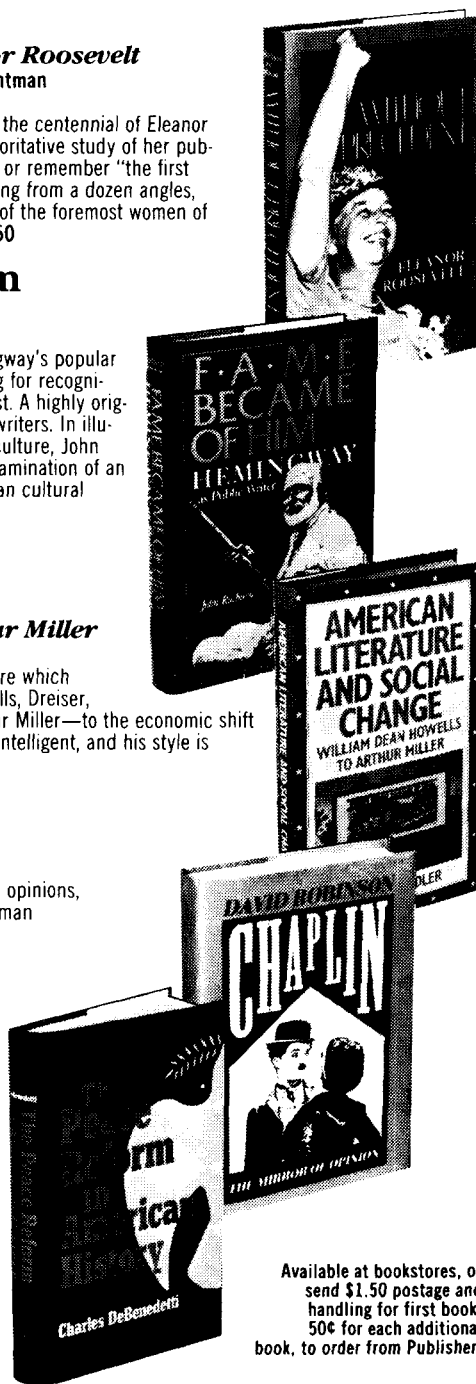
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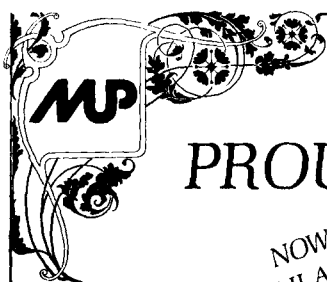
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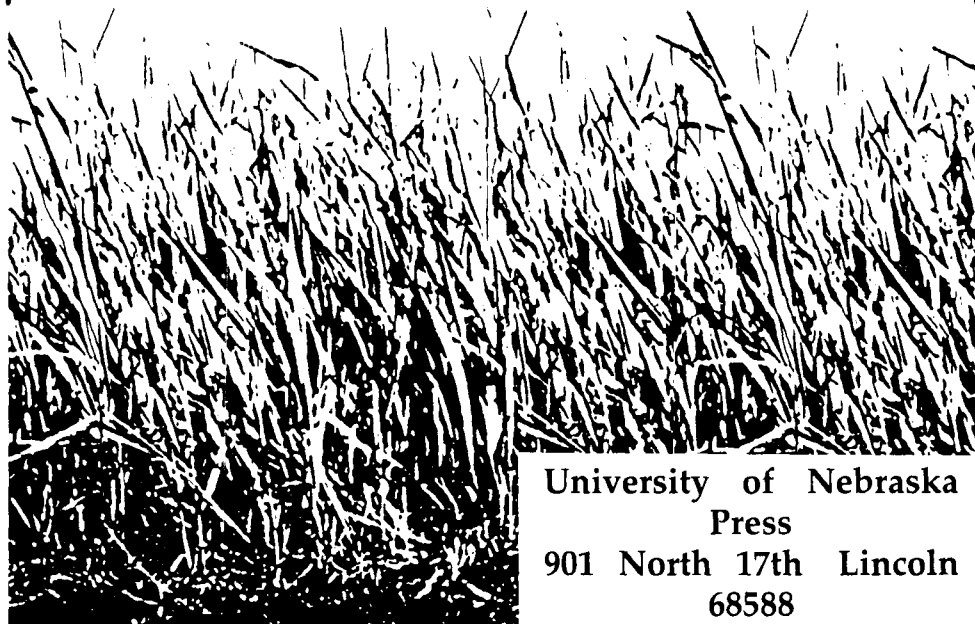
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